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HADRIAN DAICOVICIU
1932-1984

HADRIAN DAICOVICIU (1932-1984)

Hadrian Daicoviciu s-a născut la Cluj la 11 octombrie 1932, în familia profesorului Constantin și Lucia Daicoviciu. Studiile liceale le-a urmat la Sibiu și Cluj, la Liceul „Emil Racoviță”. A urmat cursurile Facultății de istorie la Universitatea Kazan (URSS) și apoi la Universitatea din Cluj, absolvindu-le în anul 1955.

După facultate a fost numit preparator la catedra de istorie antică a Universității clujene, parcurgând treptele ierarhiei universitare până la gradul de profesor, în 1978. În 1971 a obținut titlul de doctor în istorie la Universitatea „Babeș-Bolyai”, cu teza *Dacia de la Burebista la cucerirea romană*.

Dascălul Hadrian Daicoviciu era admirat de studenți pentru știința sa, pentru logica și argumentația strânsă, pentru interpretarea obiectivă a fenomenului istoric, pentru felul cum ne învăța să pătrundem în tainele nebănuite ale acestei istorii aride, ale cărei izvoare sunt nescrise, pentru verbul-i măiestru și curgător. Cursurile și seminariile sale îngemănau știința cu inteligența și cuvântul potrivit, toate învelite într-o sobrietate deplină și o artă a oratoriei fascinantă. Era o plăcere să-l asculți vorbind. Cu vocea lui caldă și gravă, cu o dicție perfectă, își expunea ideile cu eleganță și fără urmă de afectare. Puterea lui de convingere era bazată în egală măsură pe înlanțuirea logică a argumentației și pe vibrația emoțională transmisă de încrederea fermă în adevărul propriului punct de vedere. Căci, în tot ce făcea, în tot ce spunea, punea suflet, pasiune, uneori chiar patimă. Și stabilea astfel, imediat, calea de comunicare directă cu interlocutorul, fie el studentul din amfiteatru, specialistul avizat sau publicul larg.

Eruditul profesor era egalat doar de neobositul cercetător, stăpânit integral de acea curiozitate științifică mereu vie, care te face nu numai să nu iei în seamă greutatea zilelor petrecute pe câmp și în pădure, în soare dogoritor sau ploaie neîntreruptă și ale nopților însoțite de frigul corturilor. Toate i se păreau firești, neafectându-i pofta de lucru și buna dispoziție.

Arheologul Hadrian Daicoviciu, crescut de copil, alături de tatăl său, academicianul Constantin Daicoviciu, printre ruinele cetăților dacice din Munții Orăștiei și a celui mai important oraș din spațiul latinității estice, s-a dăruit ideii de a cerceta cele două „columnne” ale poporului român: Sarmizegetusa Regia și Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa. O nestăvilită pasiune i-a caracterizat și activitatea de arheolog. Din studentie și până în cea ultimă vară a vieții sale, an de an câteva luni le închina cercetărilor arheologice. Se apleca cu același interes și neostoită curiozitate asupra unei modeste locuințe sau asupra impozantelor ziduri ale fortificațiilor, a tainelor impresionantelor sanctuare dacice. A condus, din 1973, șantierul Cetățile dacice din Munții Orăștiei și șantierul Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa; pe altele le-a vizitat sistematic, mânat de aceeași

dorință de cunoaștere (șantierul de la Piatra Craivii, Căpâlna, Gornea, Caransebeș, Oncești, Potaissa, etc.).

Valoroasele lucrări științifice ale eminentului cercetător au fost completate de numeroase colaborări la ziare și reviste de cultură și istorie din țară. Dintre toate se cuvine amintită rubrica din revista clujeană „Steaua”, intitulată *Însemnări despre Dacia* în care prezenta rezultatele cercetărilor și interpretărilor sale referitoare la lumea daco-romană. A fost consultant științific la filmele: „Dacii”, „Columna”, „Burebista” precum și la numeroase documentare istorice, emisiuni la radio și televiziune. Difuzarea frecventă pe calea undelor a „lecțiilor de istorie” i-a făcut cunoscută vocea cu sonorități grave, cu inflexiuni și nuanțări sugestive, în cele mai îndepărtate colțuri de țară.

Majoritatea contribuțiilor cercetătorului Hadrian Daicoviciu au vizat istoria Daciei preromane, în speță perioada statului dac și istoria Daciei romane. Izvoare de toate categoriile – arheologice, numismatice, epigrafice, literare – coroborate cu o documentație exhaustivă în istoriografia referitoare la problematica cercetată, i-au facilitat elaborarea unor lucrări de referință în literatura de specialitate. Contribuțiile și noile interpretări privitoare la caracterul statului dac, la particularitățile acestuia, la cronologia regilor daci, la definirea în ansamblu a civilizației dacice, au fost încununate de magistrala sinteză închinată istoriei Daciei de la Burebista până la cucerirea romană.

O problematică vastă și complexă a abordat eminentul cercetător, Hadrian Daicoviciu, și în studierea epocii romane: instituțiile și organizarea provinciei Dacia, urbanismul, viața culturală și religioasă, continuitatea dacilor sub stăpânirea romană, romanizarea și esența ei.

Rezultatele cercetărilor sale au fost apreciate în țară și străinătate, dovadă fiind numărul mare de participări a eminentului arheolog la numeroase manifestări științifice interne și internaționale: Congresul internațional de științe preistorice și protoistorice de la Praga, 1966; Congresul de studii sud-est europene de la Atena, 1970; Congresul internațional de științe preistorice și protoistorice de la Belgrad, 1971; Congresul internațional de tracologie de la Sofia, 1972; Congresul internațional de epigrafie greacă și latină de la München, 1972; Congresul de studii sud-est europene, București, 1974; Congresul internațional de tracologie, București, 1976; Congresul internațional de științe istorice, București, 1980). A fost membru al Societății de Studii Clasice, (București, 1973) și membru de onoare al Societății Numismatice Române (București, 1976).

Pentru merite științifice deosebite a primit numeroase premii și distincții, cel mai important fiind premiul „Vasile Pârvan” al Academiei Române, pentru lucrarea *Dacii*, în anul 1965.

Întreaga viață și activitate a profesorului Hadrian Daicoviciu a fost strâns legată de **muzeul de istorie clujean**, pe care l-a cunoscut și îndrăgit ca nimeni altul. Și era firesc să fie așa, pentru că a copilărit în clădirea muzeului, jucându-se printre monumentele din curte, a trăit în muzeu și a „plecat” prematur și fulgerător, tot de aici.

Încă de la reorganizarea instituției, în anul 1963, a fost șef al secției daco-romane, apoi director adjunct, iar din anul 1974 director general, până la moartea sa.

Hadrian Daicoviciu a depus mult suflet în munca de director de muzeu, a inițiat și organizat expoziții de anvergură, menite să facă cunoscută istoria românilor precum și valorosul patrimoniu al muzeului, atât în țară cât și în străinătate. Expozițiile: *Romanii în*

România (Köln, Roma, 1969-1970), *Illiri și daci* (Beograd și Ljubljana, 1971-1972), *Civilizația daco-getică în perioada clasică* (Bruxelles, Luxemburg, Haga, Londra, Köln, Paris, Sofia, Cracovia, Viena, 1979-1981), au fost apreciate de public și specialiști din întreaga Europă.

A fost continuatorul priceput și perseverent al anuarului muzeului, *Acta Musei Napocensis*, fondată de părintele și mentorul său, acad. Constantin Daicoviciu.

Prietenos, cu ușa și inima mereu deschise, **DOMNUL HADRIAN** sau **HAȘU** cum îi spuneam noi, foștii studenți, subalterni sau colaboratori, prieteni am putea spune, era gata să asculte și să ajute pe oricine, indiferent de natura problemelor avute, personale și profesionale.

S-au scurs două decenii și jumătate, un interval temporal apreciabil, în care uitarea de evenimente și figuri dispărute este firească. Nu și în cazul Domnului Hadrian, care este prezent în amintirile și discuțiile noastre, cu figura-i luminoasă și zâmbitoare, cu vorba-i caldă și prietenoasă, ori cu tumultul unei furii trecătoare.

Amintirea sa, pentru toți cei care l-au iubit, stimat și prețuit atât de mult, și-a dobândit benemeritat, neuitarea.

S-a stins din viață în 4 octombrie 1984.

HADRIAN DAICOVICIU

1932 – 1984

On 11 October 2012, Hadrian Daicoviciu, the university Professor and Director of the National Museum of Transylvanian History, would have turned 80. But since “time had patience no longer,” it was also on a day of October - on 4 October 1984 - that he died, at the age of 52, much too soon and much too unexpectedly.

Hadrian Daicoviciu was born in Cluj, in the family of Professor Constantin Daicoviciu, an archaeologist and a historian of antiquity, the Rector of the University of Cluj. He attended the first year of primary school in Cluj (1939-1940), and the other three, as well as the first two years of high school in Sibiu, where his family sought refuge in 1940. After returning from refuge, he attended the University Pedagogical Seminary in Cluj (which successively became the High School for Boys no. 3 and “Emil Racoviță” High School), graduating from it in 1951. He began his university studies at the Faculty of History, at “V. I. Ulyanov - Lenin” University (1951-1953) in Kazan (the USSR) and continued and completed them at “V. Babeș” University in Cluj in 1955.

After graduation, he was appointed as a teaching assistant at the Faculty of History - Philosophy, “V. Babeș” University and in 1956 he was promoted as head teaching assistant. As of September 1957, he became Professor N. Lascu’s assistant, running the seminars of world history with a focus on the Ancient Orient, on Ancient Greece and Rome. With a view to acquiring a thorough command of the classical languages, Greek and Latin, he resorted to the generous help of Professors Th. Naum and N. Lascu. In 1973, he filled the position of associate professor by contest, becoming a full Professor of Romanian Ancient History in 1978. He delivered general and special courses and seminars of Ancient World History, Romanian Ancient History and Archaeology. Between 1961 and 1966, he worked as a lecturer at the three-year Pedagogical Institute in Cluj and Oradea. In 1971, he received his PhD in History from the University of Cluj, with a thesis entitled *Dacia de la Burebista la cucerirea romană* [*Dacia from Burebista to the Roman Conquest*], written under the scientific supervision of Professor N. Lascu.

In his dedication to fully serving Romanian history, Hadrian Daicoviciu benefited not only from the example of his father, but also from that of the illustrious scholars and professors from Cluj University, specialists in classical philology, the history of philosophy and ancient culture, and art history: Vasile Pârvan, Vasile Bogrea, Stefan Bezdechi, Mihail Macrea, I. I. Rusu, Kurt Horedt, D. D. Roșca, Virgil Vătășianu and others.

Professor Hadrian Daicoviciu was admired by his students for his erudition, for his logic and solid arguments, for his objective interpretation of historical phenomena, and for the manner in which he taught us to penetrate the unfathomable mysteries of this

arid history, whose sources are unwritten, through his skilful and flowing rhetoric. His courses and seminars entwined science with intelligence and the right word, all wrapped in full sobriety and a fascinating art of oratory. It was a pleasure to listen to him speaking. With his warm and serious voice, with his perfect diction, he exposed his ideas with elegance and without a trace of pretentiousness. His power of persuasion relied equally on the logical chain of argumentation and on the emotional vibration conveyed by his firm confidence in the truth of his own point of view. For in everything he did, in everything he said, he invested his heart and soul, passion and, at times, fervent ardour. And thus he established immediately the path of direct communication with his interlocutors, whether they be the students in the amphitheatre, competent specialists or the public at large.

The erudite professor was matched only by the tireless researcher, who was fully possessed by that scientific curiosity that is always alive, that makes one not take into account the hardships of days spent in the field and in forests, under the scorching sun or in ceaseless rain, or of nights spent in cold tents. All these seemed natural to him, leaving his appetite for work and his good mood intact.

The archaeologist Hadrian Daicoviciu, who had been raised by his father, Academician Constantin Daicoviciu, amongst the ruins of Dacian fortresses in the Orăștie Mountains and of the most important city in the space of Eastern Latinity, dedicated himself to the idea of investigating the two “columns” of the Romanian people: Sarmizegetusa Regia and Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa. His work as an archaeologist was characterised by unbridled passion. From his years as a student until that last summer of his life, he spent several months a year doing archaeological research. He would focus with the same interest and tireless curiosity on a modest abode or on the majestic walls of fortifications, on the secrets of the impressive Dacian sanctuaries. He led, starting from 1973, the Dacian Cities archaeological site in the Orăștie Mountains and the Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa site; he visited the others systematically, driven by the same desire for knowledge (the sites from Piatra Craivii, Căpâlna, Gornea, Caransebeș, Oncești, Potaissa, etc.).

The eminent researcher’s valuable scientific papers were accompanied by his numerous collaborations with newspapers and cultural and historical journals in the country. Of all, his column in *Steaua*, the journal from Cluj, entitled “Însemnări despre Dacia” [“Notes on Dacia”] deserves special mention: here he presented the results of his research and interpretations on the Daco-Roman world. He was a scientific consultant for the films: *The Dacians*, *The Column*, and *Burebista*, as well as for numerous historical documentaries, and radio and television shows. The frequent broadcasts of his “lessons of history” familiarised the viewers from even the farthest corners of the country with his serious sounding voice, with all its suggestive inflections and nuances.

Most of the researcher Hadrian Daicoviciu’s contributions focused on the history of pre-Roman Dacia, especially on the period of the Dacian state. Sources of all types - archaeological, numismatic, epigraphic, and literary - corroborated with a comprehensive historiographical documentation on the areas he researched enabled him to produce works of reference in the specialised literature. His contributions and his new interpretations regarding the characteristics of the Dacian state, its particularities, the

chronology of the Dacian kings, the definition of the entire Dacian civilisation were crowned by his outstanding synthesis of Dacian history from Burebista to the Roman Conquest.

The eminent scientist Hadrian Daicoviciu addressed a vast and complex range of issues also as regards the Roman period: the institutions and the organisation of the Dacian province, urbanism, cultural and religious life, the continuity of the Dacians under the Roman rule, Romanisation and its essence.

The results of his research were appreciated at home and abroad, as attested by the large number of participations in numerous national and international scientific events: the International Congress of Prehistoric and Protohistoric Sciences, Prague, 1966; the Congress of Southeast European Studies, Athens, 1970; the International Congress of Prehistoric and Protohistoric Sciences, Belgrade, 1971; the International Congress of Thracology, Sofia, 1972; the International Congress of Greek and Latin Epigraphy, Munich, 1972; the Congress of Southeast European Studies, Bucharest, 1974; the International Congress of Thracology, Bucharest, 1976; the International Congress of Historical Sciences, Bucharest, 1980. He was a member of the Society for Classical Studies (Bucharest, 1963) and an honorary member of the Romanian Numismatic Society (Bucharest, 1976).

For outstanding scientific merit, he received numerous awards and accolades, the most important being the prize "Vasile Pârvan," awarded by the Romanian Academy, for his work *Dacii*, in 1965.

Professor Hadrian Daicoviciu's entire life and work were closely related to the **History Museum in Cluj**, which he knew and loved like no other. And it was natural for him to do so, because he grew up in the museum building, playing among the monuments in the yard, living in the museum and also "leaving" prematurely and precipitously from here.

Starting from the moment when the institution was reorganised, in 1963, he was Head of the Daco-Roman Department, then Deputy Director and, from 1974 until his death, General Director.

Hadrian Daicoviciu put a lot of heart in his work as the museum's director. The annual scientific sessions organised by the museum under the significant title *Continuitate multimilenară* [*Multi-millennial Continuity*] were attended, throughout the years, by specialists from the entire country. The emotion of meeting with his colleagues and researcher friends was complemented by the diversity of scientific communications, followed by discussions, dialogues and incisive polemics, supported by archaeological sources and evidence.

A remarkable messenger of the Romanian people, Hadrian Daicoviciu repeatedly went abroad, presenting the material and spiritual culture of our ancestors - as a part of European civilisation - which was for centuries in close interdependence with the Hellenistic and the Roman worlds. The image of this scientist of international renown is outlined by his vast correspondence with historians of antiquity worldwide, by his study scholarships, invitations and participations in sessions and conferences in the field.

He initiated and organised major exhibitions designed to make known the history of the Romanians and the valuable patrimony of the museum, both at home and abroad. These exhibitions were greatly appreciated by the public and by professionals across Europe: *Romanii în România* [*The Romans in Romania*] (Cologne, Rome, 1969-1970); *Illiri și daci* [*Illyrians and Dacians*] (Belgrade and Ljubljana, 1971-1972); *Civilizația daco-getică în perioada clasică* [*Getic-Dacian Civilisation in the Classical Period*] (Brussels, Luxembourg, The Hague, London, Cologne, Paris, Sofia, Krakow, Vienna, 1979-1981).

He was the accomplished and tenacious continuator of the museum's yearbook, *Acta Musei Napocensis*, founded by his father and mentor, Acad. Constantin Daicoviciu.

Friendly, always open-hearted, **MISTER Hadrian** or **HAȘU** - as we all called him, whether we were his former students, his subalterns or associates, his friends, we might say - was ready to listen to and help everyone, regardless of the nature of their problems, personal or professional.

Each early October reminds us of Mister Hadrian, with his bright and smiling face, with his warm and friendly words, or with the tumult of some fleeting ire. The tragedy inherent in our premature separation makes us resort to the melancholy sentence of the Shakespearean verse "And summer's lease hath all too short a date!..."

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*

EVOCATIONS

Tudor Arghezi: *I shall ignore if and how much has been written in the so-called cultural publications by critics who are obsessed with literary aberrations, about the wonderful book filled with a massive amount of information, written by - I do not know how I should refer to him - the scholar or the profound artist, Hadrian Daicoviciu. I journeyed through the author's printed manuscript like through a valley of flowers and cool breezes, and to rejoice, I entered it with a pink chrysanthemum, plucked from his lovely garden... From excitement to excitement, I felt a tear drop onto a page from time to time. I'll go, if only I should gather strength, to Orăştie, to weep by its walls. A new universe opened to me in a flash. Let me say that I am a happy man, between constellations and balms. (Tudor Arghezi, 7 April 1966, Dacii, Editura Pentru Literatură, the collection "Biblioteca Pentru Toţi")*

Acad. Camil Mureşan: *Hadrian Daicoviciu's life was not quiet... but deeply convulsed: throughout its course, he was neither denied satisfaction, nor spared sorrow - which he stoically mastered. The convulsion in his life was one of the signs meant for the elect, for those consumed by a perpetual endeavour to reach the truth, science, those eager to share these with as many as possible - if indeed possible, with the whole world...*

He impressed his colleagues and professors from the first moment he entered this university, as a student, dedicating himself to the study of history. He had a maturity and incisiveness of thought, a precise and elegant spontaneity of expression, which distinguished his brilliance amongst several generations of young scholars from a few decades ago...

The heir of his family's old professional vocation, manifested with supreme force through the overwhelming personality of Constantin Daicoviciu, our colleague added to it, like his father before, the exquisite mastery of the written word, filling the pages of numerous monographs, studies, articles and historical notes. I read and rightly appreciated them, just like the foreign scientific opinion also valued them.

Notwithstanding all these... the image Hadrian Daicoviciu leaves behind is above all that of a brilliant oral presence, whose charm was reflected both in the expression of the most abstract and complex results of science and in his everyday conversations, punctuated by the exuberance of his optimistic temperament.

His optimism betrayed the essence of his warrior nature. He had the courage and even the passion to go into the arena, where he handled the heavy sword or the fine rapier of arguments, with the same strength and agility, in order to defend or impose his opinions; he always considered he had a duty to mould them truthfully and, as such, to make them correspond to the interest of historical science...

Like so many people of the city, living frantically amidst its tumult, he also had a taste for ovations, celebrating the victories that most often crowned his dazzling demonstrations of intelligence, wit and erudition...

Against the background of our history, featuring, at the dawn of time, that Column which enticed Hadrian Daicoviciu to study it in every revealing detail about the birth of a nation, today we may distinguish another - the column he added to the values of Romanian and world culture and science: the scientific work he created in the less than three decades of activity that fate sparingly allowed him to carry out... (The Daicoviciu Fund, In memoriam Hadrian Daicoviciu, inv. no. C2 8162, The National Museum of Transylvanian History, Cluj-Napoca).

Acad. Emil Condurachi: Hadrian Daicoviciu was an eminent specialist in the utterly complex field he mastered with such power, of studies on the early history of the Romanian people. A passionate archaeologist, a highly distinguished professor, a man of refined spiritual quality, he also illustrated, to the highest degree, the institutions to which he ceaselessly devoted all his energy - the University of Cluj and the Museum of Transylvania - and, thereby, the successive generations of the men of culture and men of country whom he represented amongst his peers. The son of a generation of scholars, Hadrian Daicoviciu was, above all, the son of the great historian Constantin Daicoviciu because, indeed, he was not his heir only by the law of nature, but by the infinitely more severe law of culture. A difficult legacy, for his father was a great man in every respect, and it was difficult for anyone to measure up to him. But Hadrian Daicoviciu was truly and in the highest sense the heir of his sharp and learned father, for he carried on the work of his lifetime, inspiring this legacy with his own high spirit, with his own creative force, going deeper, decanting more subtly, in a word, innovating - as one rightly ought to surpass one's great predecessors - with deep respect and unflinching intrepidity...

His courses were - I know this from all those who experienced the joy of attending them - both rigorous and vibrant, shaping the spirit of many generations of students; too few, we might say now, thinking of those who might have followed but were not given this chance.

It was an intellectual feast for his elderly colleagues, as well as for the other connoisseurs of history or simply for those thirsting for knowledge to hear his voice and the language he spoke with such grace, to follow his thought, which tirelessly deciphered the history of that essential chapter in the destiny of our nation, to whose study he had consecrated his entire life. Everything he said, along with everything he ever wrote bears the twofold seal of scholarly rigor and incandescent thought, beautifully lit by his great talent...

And, as it happens to the best of us, all these remarkable talents and accomplishments were integrated into a harmonious, solar, powerful personality. Hadrian Daicoviciu was a man of exquisite quality, a son and a father, a brother and a friend, a scholar and an educator - all melting into a single noble metal, whose strength, courage, cheerfulness and kindness enhanced his innate brilliance and authenticity. (Tribuna, no. 6, October, 1984, Cluj-Napoca).

Al. Căprariu: *I'm writing with the sliver left from my broken pen, bleeding because of Hadrian Daicoviciu's absurd death. We were - for more than three decades - and will remain, beyond the mourning of his departure, soul brothers, because together we shared bread and wine and hopes and dreams and ideals and wrath against stupidity and memories and still something that words will never be able to say until the very end.*

And how might I start reminiscing about what ennobled our friendship? Perhaps by remembering that road we took together to the "Merry Cemetery" in Săpânța... or recalling the countless trips - made by night trains - from Cluj to Bucharest and back.... And why not remember the dozens of mornings when we drank our coffee together with Daicoviciu the Elder and Hadrian and Professor Hărăguș and Professor Mircea Zăciu - it become a sort of ritual, a sort of tradition - spinning yarns, laughing at all and, no less, at ourselves? Could those hours have vanished into nothingness? Impossible! I can still hear, underneath inner horizons, Daicoviciu's words of wisdom - the great Professor - and Hadrian's roars of tonic laughter and Professor Hărăguș's velvet lines and Mircea Zăciu's phrases full of erudite candour...

With Hadrian, who throbbed with life, you could share, in brotherly manner, both lively discussion and silence...

Years ago - I was still working for Tribuna and the spiritual adventure of Dacia had not yet begun - I was at Arghezi's, telling the poet about the friends from Cluj, about what we were dreaming of achieving with the new journal that was just coming out its golden childhood. Arghezi exclaimed, "You're lucky. The Daicovicius are with you!" I instinctively liked that plural, whose entire meaning I grasped only later...

And now, behold, there's one more empty place at the Table of Silence in my soul. (Tribuna, no. 6, October, 1984, Cluj-Napoca).

HADRIAN DAICOVICIU

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The above list does not include the countless unpublished conferences, speeches, etc., prefaces, popularisation articles and studies published in numerous cultural journals and newspapers in the country.

STUDII

THE PAPAL TAXES COLLECTED IN TRANSYLVANIA DURING THE TIME OF THE AVIGNON POPES (1307-1377)

Abstract: Pontifical taxes represented one of the most important aspects of the Avignon period of the papacy. The French popes developed a taxation mechanism that was used throughout the Catholic world. During the time of the Avignon popes, the Catholic clergy in Transylvania was incorporated into the vast papal taxation mechanism. Thus, in the fourteenth century, Transylvania was visited by a series of papal collectors, who exacted various taxes on behalf of the French Popes. The most important action in this regard was the collection of tithes from 1332 to 1337. Papal taxation could not operate in this border area of Christianity without the support of the Angevin kings of Hungary, who were rewarded by the papacy with a part of the amounts collected. However, the collection of papal taxes had a negative impact on both the clergy and the laity. The most important papal taxes collected in Transylvania were: the *annates*, the income for the first year of holding a church benefice, *servitia communia*, paid by all the bishops and abbots, and tithes, which represented a tenth of the ecclesiastical income.

Keywords: Avignon papacy, papal taxation, Transylvania, tithe.

The Avignon papacy and the church tax system. Between 1307 and 1377, the papacy was forced to relocate its see from Rome to Avignon, in southern France. This was due to political circumstances that we examined in a previous study.¹ What is relevant for the present study is that during the Avignon period, the papacy developed a mechanism of centralised government, inspired from the example set by the secular states. The result of this process was the transformation of the ecclesiastical institution into a centralised monarchy, the Roman Church adapting thus to the spirit of the time.² In order to support this endeavour, the French popes developed a vast institutional apparatus that we also analysed in a previous study.³ We will not go back on it, but we consider it necessary to mention that the Apostolic Camera played an important role, since it was the institution that managed the papal finances and fiscality. The origins of this institution lie in the eleventh century, when it was led by a *camerarius*, who was usually a cardinal.⁴

An important aspect of centralised papal government in the Avignon period⁵ was the Holy Father's exclusive right to reserve ecclesiastical benefices (bishop, abbot,

¹ Răzvan Mihai Neagu, "Cum a devenit Avignon-ul reședința papilor," in *Istorie și Civilizație*, no. 23, 2011, p. 56-60.

² Alexandru Florin Platon, Laurențiu Rădvan, Bogdan Petru Maleon, *O istorie a Europei de Apus în Evul Mediu. De la Imperiul Roman târziu la marile descoperiri geografice (secolele V-XVI)*, Iași. Ed. Polirom, 2010, p. 432.

³ Răzvan Mihai Neagu, "Considerații privind mecanismele de guvernare ale papilor de la Avignon," in *Comunicări științifice*, IX, Mediaș, 2010, pp. 29-34.

⁴ Șerban Turcuș, *Vademecum la Sfântul Scaun*. Bucharest. Ed. Academiei Române, 2007, p. 183.

⁵ The popes of the Avignon period were: Clement V (1305-1314), John XXII (1316-1334), Benedict XII (1334-1342), Clement VI (1342-1352), Innocent VI (1352-1362), Urban V (1362-1370) and Gregory XI (1370-1378). Let us emphasise that they were all of French extraction (author's note).

canon, etc.), which was the most effective means of governing the Church during this period. This process started on 27 August 1265, when under the decretal *Licet Ecclesiam*, Clement IV stipulated that in the future, the popes would have full right of decision over the ecclesiastical dignities and benefices, which they could distribute if they were vacant, and that they would also be entitled to grant a right to a benefice before it was vacant, through the system of expectative grace.⁶ The Avignon popes extended this provision, so much so that at the end of Gregory XI's pontificate (1378), almost all the church benefices were at the papal discretion.⁷

In the first year of his pontificate, John XXII distributed 3,000 benefices and expectative graces.⁸ These appointments served to augment the papal authority over the local churches and weaken the influence of the sovereigns, the feudal lords and the cathedral chapters. The measures adopted by the sovereign pontiffs sparked diverse reactions of opposition in England, Bohemia or the German space. The German cathedral chapters did not want to lose the right of election, which is why a significant part of the clergy supported Emperor Louis of Bavaria in his confrontation against John XXII. Those who took advantage of the system of appointment to benefices were the clerics from the entourage of the papal Curia, those who were close to the cardinals, and in the border areas of *Christianitas*, such as Hungary, even the lay princes. An eloquent example was the appointment of the Bishop of Transylvania, Andrei, by Pope John XXII in 1320.⁹ The appointments to benefices increased considerably the pope's influence over the clergy, but this influence was not received positively in all the areas. Thus, in Würzburg, a French cleric sent 3 of his compatriots to publish the bull which appointed him as archdeacon, but the chapter canons had his envoys thrown into the River Main.¹⁰

During the Avignon era, all the minor and major benefices were subject to rigorous and oppressive taxation, which could also be interpreted as an effort made by the church to adapt to a rising monetary economy. In the Avignon period, the papacy introduced a new tax, the *annatus*, which stipulated the payment by the holder of any ecclesiastical function of his first year's profits from that office.¹¹ The tax was first

⁶ Michel Mollat du Jourdin, André Vauchez, *Storia del Cristianesimo*, vol. VI *Un tempo di prove (1274-1449)*. Citta Nova, 1998, p.66.

⁷ Philip Hughes, *A History of the Church*, vol. III. London. Sheed & Ward, 1960, p.163.

⁸ For John XXII's beneficial policy, see John Weakland, "Administrative and Fiscal Centralization under Pope John XXII, 1316-1334, Part I," in *The Catholic Historical Review*, Vol. 54, No. 1, 1968, passim and John Weakland, "Administrative and Fiscal Centralization under Pope John XXII, 1316-1334, Part II," in *The Catholic Historical Review*, Vol. 54, No. 2, 1968, passim.

⁹ Addressing himself to Bishop Andrei of Transylvania on 1 July 1320, Pope John XXII said that although the bishop's learning was not abundant and he was at a disadvantage in terms of his position in the church hierarchy and his age, "since you are assigned to the smallest rungs and you are known to be in the twenty-seventh year of your life or around it, under the age required," he had accepted his appointment because "our beloved son in Christ, Charles, the illustrious King of Hungary, through his envoys and his special letters, like other magnates, from those parts, has praised you to us for the worthiness of your great honour," *Documente privind istoria României seria C Transilvania, veacul XIV, vol. I (1301-1320)*. Bucharest, Ed. Academiei Române, 1953, p.361 (hereinafter DIR C, XIV, I).

¹⁰ Jean Favier, *Les Papes d'Avignon*. Paris, Fayard, 2006, p.232.

¹¹ Bernard Guillemain, *Les papes d'Avignon 1309-1376*. Paris, Les Éditions du Cerf, 2000, p. 55.

introduced by Clement V in 1306 only for England and only for the benefices that remained vacant through the death of the holder located in the Curia. In 1326, John XXII generalised this tax for the entire church and for all the benefices.¹² An austere spirit, Pope Benedict XII (1334-1342) suppressed the tax, but it was reintroduced by his successor, Clement VI (1342-1352). In 1376, Gregory XI extended the tax over the benefices granted through the system of expectative graces, where the holder of that office was not yet installed.¹³ The *annatus* was an extremely heavy duty and threatened the livelihood of the cleric. It was paid in instalments, sometimes for a long period behind, since a cleric could also be bound to pay this tax for his predecessor. The holders of the major benefices (the bishops and the abbots) were subjected to taxation with the *servitia communia*. Initially, this was a gift, a gesture of gratitude that a bishop or an abbot made towards the Roman pontiff and his subordinate staff, which became generalised from the thirteenth century on and turned into a permanent tax.¹⁴ This could be paid in instalments, in person or by proxy, within a period of maximum two years. Starting from the period of Clement VI's pontificate, the payment of this tax was delayed for a rather long time interval. Thus, the prosecutor Thomas Le Pourri granted deferrals, for up to 20 years, as for instance in the case of the Abbot of Saint Germer de Fly, who in 1372 undertook to pay 500 florins, but which he fully paid only in 1390.¹⁵ It very often happened for a bishop or an abbot to pay also a part of the *servitia communia* which had not been acquitted by its predecessor. One such case occurred in 1367, when Bishop Dominic of Cenad paid the Holy See - through Jacob, the lector of the church in Cenad - 88 florins, 55 solidi and 6 deniers, representing the *servitia communia* of his predecessor, Bishop Grigore.¹⁶ The amount of this tax varied from one diocese to another.

Another important duty was the tithe (*taxatio ad decimam*), which began as a voluntary tax paid by the holder of a benefice in response to a distress call launched by the papacy.¹⁷ In the Avignon period, this tax became compulsory and those who eschewed paying it were excommunicated. A vast action of collecting tithes was deployed in the Transylvanian space between 1332 and 1337. The Avignon papacy did not limit itself to these taxes. If a prelate was invested as archbishop, he had to pay the *pallium* tax, as well as the *ad limina* tax if he undertook the *ad limina apostolorum* visits (to the door of the Apostles). Other papal revenues were derived from the commutation of various sentences and from the papal vassals: the Neapolitan, Aragonese and English Kingdoms.

Another source of papal income was the Roman pontiff's right to the property of deceased clerics (*ius spoli*), the right to manage the goods of the bishops and the abbots who had passed away. In the case of Hungary, the first collection of papal taxes was

¹² Hughes, *op. cit.*, p.165.

¹³ Guillemain, *op. cit.*, p. 56.

¹⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 55.

¹⁵ Favier, *op. cit.*, p.240.

¹⁶ *Documenta Romaniae Historica, seria C, Transilvania, vol. XIII (1366-1370)*. Bucharest, Ed. Academiei Române, 1994, p. 355 (hereinafter DRH C, XIII).

¹⁷ Such a tithe was levied in 1221 for the crusade against the Albigenses, another in 1274, at the Second Council of Lyon, as well as at the Council of Vienne (1311-1312), the last two for crusades that were never undertaken (author's note).

conducted between 1281 and 1286, the one entrusted with this mission being Gerardo da Modena.¹⁸

Papal fiscality and Cardinal Gentile's legation. The papacy's fiscal mechanism also included Hungary and, implicitly, Transylvania, through the Dioceses of Alba Iulia, Oradea and Cenad, which were the suffragans of the Archdiocesan See of Caloccea.

A definitive and absolute total amount of the papal revenues collected in Transylvania throughout the fourteenth century would be impossible to ascertain, given the lack complete documentation. Still, a partial reconstitution of these amounts can be made based on the notes of the various papal collectors who also functioned in the Transylvanian area. This reconstitution may clearly reveal the types of taxes exacted by the Holy See. The first amounts collected by the papacy in Transylvania in the fourteenth century came from the maintenance fees of the pontifical legate Gentile, a Cardinal-Priest of the Church of San Martino ai Monti in Rome. These taxes had an exceptional character, being generated by the presence of the cardinal as a papal legate. He was appointed as a legate to Hungary by Pope Clement V in 1307, in the context of the Arpadians' dynastic struggle for succession.¹⁹ Gentile had the mission to impose the candidate approved by the Holy See, Charles Robert of Anjou, as king. The cardinal was a *de latere* legate, which meant that he was not only sent by the pope, but that he also stood by his side, that he was an extension of the pope's spiritual and physical body.²⁰ The *de latere* legate's field of action was rather broad, and he enjoyed the highest authority. He had the right to assign the minor benefices, he was entitled to enforce ecclesiastical sanctions, excommunication and interdict, and his authority also extended over the religious orders, as he had the mission to persecute the heretics and the competence to negotiate in international conflicts.²¹ The arrival of this papal envoy in Hungary also entailed a special tax that the prelates had to pay. On 8 August 1307, Pope Clement V authorised Gentile to compel the Hungarian prelates to contribute to his maintenance. The cardinal could force the archbishops, bishops, abbots, priors, deans, provosts, archdeacons and parish priests to pay the due maintenance taxes under the threat of ecclesiastical penalties. The papal provision also extended to the monks, the chapters and the convents. The tax was also to be paid by all the orders of monks and warrior-monks.²² In a document bearing the same date, the pope requested all the prelates in Hungary to assist Cardinal Gentile: "we demand your community and insistently advise it, proposing to you, through this apostolic letter, that out of the honour due to the apostolic see and to us, receiving with kindness and honour the said

¹⁸ Pál Engel, *Regatul Sfântului Ștefan. Istoria Ungariei Medievale 895-1526*. Cluj-Napoca, Ed. Mega, 2006, p. 170; *Monumenta Vaticana Historiam Regni Hungariae Illustrantia*. Series Prima. Tomus Primus. *Rationes Collectorum Pontificorum in Hungaria*. Pápai Tized-Szedők Számadásai. 1281-1375, Budapest, 2000, pp. 1-12 (hereinafter *Monumenta Vaticana Hungariae*, I).

¹⁹ Tudor Sălăgean, *Transilvania în a doua jumătate a secolului al XIII-lea. Afirmarea regimului congregațional*. Cluj-Napoca, Centrul de Studii Transilvane, 2007, p. 306; Zombori István, *Magyarország és a Szentsek Kapcsolatának ezer éve*, Budapest, 1996, p. 59.

²⁰ Șerban Turcuș, *Sinodul general de la Buda (1279)*, Cluj-Napoca, Presa Universitară Clujeană, 2001, p. 33.

²¹ *Ibidem*, p. 34.

²² DIR C XIV, I, p. 53.

legate or, rather, us through him, you should go to great lengths when he or his envoy prompts you to do so.”²³

An overall picture of the amounts collected by Gentile in Hungary and, especially, in the Transylvanian area can be found in the cardinal's account book, which includes notes on the years 1308-1311. For the year 1308, the elected Bishop of Transylvania, Benedict, paid 306 marks and one vierdung, which represented a part of the maintenance fee for the first year of the legation.²⁴ In connection with the Diocese of Transylvania, another entry from 1311 has been preserved: on 25 August, another sum was paid, the exact amount of which is unknown, on behalf of the bishop, representing another part of the total amount due. Another instalment was paid at Wienerneustadt on 12 September 1311, through the Canon of Alba, Ioan Nobilul. He paid 228 marks of sterling Venice silver, after the weight in Buda, into the account of the bishop's 646-mark debt to the cardinal. Gentile stated that 418 marks still had to be paid by the Easter holiday of the year 1312. The maintenance fees for the papal legate represented one of the reasons for delaying the process of electing the new Bishop of Transylvania, the Dominican Benedict. This process spanned the period from 1308 to 1310. Throughout the year 1309, in the election process, the cardinal's auditors invoked several times the fact that the maintenance fee for the pontifical legate had not been paid on time.²⁵ Because of this, the bishop could not obtain his confirmation from the cardinal. On 14 November 1309, the Transylvanian chapter paid 12 silver marks after the weight in Buda, representing the maintenance fee owed to the cardinal.²⁶

The maintenance fees were also a reason for the pressure that was exerted on Bishop Benedict. On 2 May 1310, Gentile instructed Benedict about the fees “[due] to us for the first and the second years, whatever you have gathered so far or may still gather, you shall order it brought into our treasury.”²⁷ If the above-mentioned fees were not paid, in addition to the spiritual penalties, their due amounts would be tripled. The cardinal advised the bishop “to satiate us at once” and not wait until he was convicted.²⁸ Raising the amount necessary to pay the taxes for the cardinal was not easy, especially in a period of distress to the diocese, which was at the discretion of Voivode Ladislaus Kán for a substantial period of time. Only on 15 December 1310, in Bratislava, did Gentile confirm that he had received 15 marks from the Bishop of Transylvania, paid through the merchant Francesco Lapi Rocchetti.²⁹

The sums exacted by Cardinal Gentile burdened the Church of Transylvania, and Bishop Benedict officially protested to the Holy See against these taxes. In a letter he sent from Alba Iulia to Pope Clement V, on 24 June 1311, Benedict showed his concern about the proximity of the payment date for the fourth year of Gentile's legation, being afraid that he, his church and the entire diocesan clergy would have to pay 500 or 450 silver marks. The bishop stated that “neither my means, nor those of my church or [even] those

²³ *Ibidem*, p. 54.

²⁴ *Ibidem*, pp. 61-62.

²⁵ *Ibidem*, pp. 79-81.

²⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 86.

²⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 174.

²⁸ *Ibidem*.

²⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 182.

of the entire clergy will suffice, for given the payment of the maintenance expenses of the previous legations, unjustly placed upon us in the face of God and of justice, we have plunged, together with the clergy, into such great poverty and lack that the means of the churches no longer cover even our sustenance.”³⁰ Benedict accused Gentile before the pontiff that he had not taken into account the fact that the Church of Transylvania had been robbed of its property during the vacancy of the episcopal see. Hoping for aid from the pope, the bishop entrusted to the Holy See “my being, my church, my movable and immovable property, my town and my entire clergy, as well as their property and their churches.”³¹ The Bishop of Transylvania described the taxes levied by the cardinal as “unjust spoliations.” The lamentation of the Bishop of Alba before the Apostolic See failed to achieve its purpose because on 12 September 1311, Cardinal Gentile certified the receipt of part of the amount owed to him by the Transylvanian bishop. This part amounted to 520½ silver marks, out of the total debt of 938½ silver marks for the first, second and third years of the legation. Because of this gesture, the cardinal relinquished the ecclesiastical penalties of excommunication and interdict, which would have been applied to the chapter if that amount had not been paid. As for the rest of the 418 marks, a postponement was granted until the Easter of 1312, provided that the full maintenance fees were paid through Hambott, a citizen of Bratislava, or the Peruzzi Bank in Venice, at the expense of the Bishop of Transylvania.³² This document reveals the vast mechanism for the collection of papal taxes, which included agents in the territory (Hambott from Bratislava), as well as good cooperation with the Italian banks of the time (the Peruzzi Bank in Venice). Moreover, like any bank, the papacy claimed interest if the payment of the amounts was delayed. Thus, on 20 April 1312, the convent in Bratislava issued a letter of protest to Ioan, Archdeacon of Cluj and Protonotary of the Bishop of Transylvania, denouncing the fact that the episcopal envoy had refused to pay Hambott, Cardinal Gentile’s attorney, an interest of 10% for the sum of 370 marks and 100 vierdungs.³³ Gentile’s activity in Transylvania also included supporting the interests of Charles Robert of Anjou, who was strongly contested by Voivode Ladislaus Kán, the holder of the Holy Crown. Thus, on 25 December 1309, to pressure Kán, he pronounced the excommunication of the Transylvanian voivode.³⁴

The papacy did not want to strike off the outstanding amounts of Cardinal Gentile’s maintenance fee. At the end of 1316, the Holy See assigned the task of recovering this debt to Rufinus of Civino, Archdeacon of Tolna, in the Diocese of Pécs. His mission was not limited only to Transylvania, since he also had the task to recover the debts owed to the cardinal by Archbishop Toma of Esztergom, Bishop Ladislau of Pécs and Bishop Ștefan of Veszprém. It is known that Rufinus left Avignon and entered Hungary on 22 October 1317, through Zambor, in Zagreb County, and that he left the Angevin kingdom on 12 March 1320. From his account book, we learn that Bishop Benedict of Transylvania owed 953 marks for the maintenance of the cardinal.³⁵ Four

³⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 193.

³¹ *Ibidem*.

³² *Ibidem*, p. 195.

³³ *Ibidem*, p. 200.

³⁴ Sălăgean, *op. cit.*, p. 274.

³⁵ DIR, C XIV, I, p. 256.

payments were made on behalf of Bishop Benedict, as follows: the first payment: on 20 September 1318, Ioan Nobilul, Archdeacon of Alba paid 44½ marks plus 7 bullions and a half of sterling silver, after the weight in Buda;³⁶ the second payment: on 25 October 1318, 2 marks and 4½ silver bullions were paid, the first and the second payments totalling 46 marks and 3 vierdungs, which was the equivalent to 187 florins;³⁷ the third payment: on 1 January 1320, the Dominican Mihail of Buda paid, on behalf of the Bishop of Transylvania, 43 marks, 37 marks of which represented the tithe retained by Hambott from Bratislava, Cardinal Gentile's attorney, for the expenses that he would incur for sending 370 marks to Venice. The papal collector stated that out of the 953 marks paid by the Bishop of Transylvania, he had given 6 marks to Hambott for the expenses entailed by sending 47 marks and one vierdung to Venice. Rufinus complained in that document that "this silver was not sterling silver."³⁸ The fourth payment was carried out by Archdeacon Petru of Solnoc and Canon of the Church of Transylvania, who showed Rufinus of Civino a letter written by Cardinal Gentile which confirmed that the Bishop of Alba had paid him 520½ marks for the first, second and third years of his ministry as an apostolic legate. Another document was also submitted, ascertaining that Bishop Benedict had paid Hambott, the cardinal's attorney, 370 marks, and there is a further document written by Gentile which states that the Bishop of Transylvania paid another 15 silver marks.³⁹

In the conclusion to his accounts referring to Cardinal Gentile's legation, Rufinus the collector said that the money levied from the Archdiocese of Esztergom, the Dioceses of Transylvania, Veszprém and Pécs and from the money cashed by Hambott in Bratislava amounted to a total of 269½ marks, 43 marks of which were not sterling silver, and that the 131½ marks received from the Bishop of Veszprém had been both sterling and common silver.⁴⁰

The questions that naturally arise are what these amounts represented to the papacy and why the pontiffs carefully oversaw their collection. The answer to these questions is found in the centralising policies and the fiscal imperatives promoted by the popes of Avignon. Cardinal Gentile's legation was extremely important and meaningful for the Hungarian Kingdom. Gentile was sent as *legatus de latere*, in other words, as an *alter ego* of the pope. He confirmed the papal favourite, Charles Robert of Anjou, as King of Hungary. Gentile came to Hungary in a troubled period, which marked the transition from the Arpadian to the Angevin dynasty. In such a fretful period, the higher Hungarian clergy showed signs of insubordination: it was the case of Bishop Antoniu of Cenad, who crowned Otto of Bavaria as King in 1305, even though only the Archbishop of Esztergom had that right.⁴¹ This constituted a serious breach of the rules established by the pope regarding the coronation of the King of Hungary. On the other hand, the situation in the Diocese of Transylvania was more than delicate, because after the death

³⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 257.

³⁷ *Ibidem*.

³⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 258.

³⁹ *Ibidem*.

⁴⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 259.

⁴¹ *Cronica pictată de la Viena în Izvoarele Istoriei Românilor*, vol. XI, Text, translation and comments by G. Popa-Lisseanu, Bucharest, 1937, p. 226.

of Bishop Petrus in 1307, Voivode Ladislaus Kán occupied the cathedral and forced the canons to elect his son as bishop. The voivode continued to insult the diocese, invading all its estates and properties. Because of these deeds, the Diocese of Transylvania was in a state of general chaos. One of Cardinal Gentile's purposes was to put an end to this situation and to restore order and discipline in the Hungarian Church. The cardinal launched a long process for validating the election of the new Bishop of Transylvania, a Dominican monk, Benedict, who had also been proposed by Ladislaus Kán. An important role in this process was played by the maintenance fees owed to Gentile by the clerics. Their payment signified the obedience and submission of the local clergy to the *de latere* legate and, implicitly, to the Holy See. If we take into account that John XXII - the one who created the tax collection mechanism in the Avignon period - became pope in 1316, we may realise why the recovery of these amounts was so important to the papacy. Their payment strengthened and consolidated the bonds between the Holy See and the local Churches of Hungary and Transylvania in particular, despite the fact that the amounts were not to the liking of the local hierarchy, as proved by the memorandum sent by Bishop Benedict of Transylvania to the pope in 1311.

The question of vacant benefices. The revenues of the vacant ecclesiastical offices were attracted to the papal treasury starting in 1265. The matter was definitively regulated by Pope John XXII through the apostolic constitutions *Ex debito* of 1316 and *Execrabilis* of 1317. This activity included the Dioceses of Transylvania, Oradea and Cenad, which demonstrates that the new fiscal policy adopted by the Holy See expanded to the eastern edge of the Christian world.

Among the tasks Rufinus of Civino was sent to carry out in Hungary, there was the collection of the ecclesiastical revenues from the vacant benefices, a mission in which he was to be assisted by the Archbishops of Esztergom and Caloccea (8 December 1316).⁴² Fortunately for the Dioceses of Transylvania, Oradea and Cenad, Rufinus's account books for the vacant benefices of these dioceses have been preserved. The document that presented the reckoning of the papal taxes stated that Rufinus's task, assisted, as he was, by the two archbishops, was to gather for the Apostolic Camera "half of the fruits from the vacant benefices, valued at over 6 silver marks a year, and the other [half] we shall leave to the beneficiaries, so that they may be able to cover the burden of the benefices from it."⁴³ This new fiscal burden imposed by the Holy See did not please the local clergy, which is why on 17 June 1318, John XXII gave Rufinus the right to constrain the Hungarian prelates to reveal the amount of the profits from the vacant ecclesiastical benefices. The pope confessed that the collection of the amounts "stumbled across a heavy obstacle because the said prelates and the other ecclesiastical faces from the said country will not reveal the size of those fruits, revenues and interests of the aforementioned benefices."⁴⁴ To address this drawback, Rufinus was granted the right to pass ecclesiastical sentences of interdict, anathema and suspension on any ecclesiastical dignitary who might obstruct the collection action.

⁴² DIR C, XIV, I, p. 255.

⁴³ *Ibidem*, p. 260.

⁴⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 299.

Pope John XXII was judicious about the revenues destined for the papal treasury. Thus, he asked the prelates of Hungary and Rufinus of Civino not to engage in unnecessary expenses with the collection of the revenues from the vacant benefices. The pontiff complained about the collectors and subcollectors in Hungary, who “waste many of these fruits, revenues and benefices through their senseless expenses.”⁴⁵ Wishing for a better use of the revenues collected, the pope sternly demanded that useless spending should cease, the two archbishops and Rufinus of Civino becoming responsible for this matter.

To get an idea about the income of the various prelates from the Dioceses of Transylvania, Oradea and Cenad, we consider it necessary to present Rufinus of Civino's accounts mirroring the situation he encountered here. The Archdeacon of Tolna appointed Coradus, the parish priest of Orăștie, as a subcollector in Transylvania, and he physically collected the money. We should specify that the amount owed to the Apostolic Camera represented half of the the income of the cleric who held that ecclesiastical position.

In the case of the Diocese of Transylvania, for the Archdeaconry of Tilegd, Coradus requested 20 silver marks, which was half of the revenue from the vacant benefice.⁴⁶ This amount was paid by Coradus to Rufinus on 6 September 1319. For the Archdeaconry of Ozd, the sum of 10 marks was paid.⁴⁷ For the various parishes in Transylvania, the sums that represented half of the revenues were 20 marks for the parishes of Sebeș and Călnic, 14 marks for the parish of Petrești (Alba County), 6 marks for the parish of Săsciori (Alba County), 7 marks for the parish of Răhău (Alba County), 10 marks for the parish of Bistrița and 6 marks for the parish of Dumitra (Bistrița-Năsăud County).⁴⁸ What may be noted is that all these vacant parishes were from the Saxon area, which explains the appointment of a Saxon subcollector, Coradus from Orăștie.

Rufinus's account books also recorded information about the canonries in the cathedral chapter of Alba Iulia. For a vacant canonry, subsequently occupied by Ruffus Petrus, half of his revenues totalled eight marks, but Coradus paid only 5 marks to Rufinus on 6 September 1319. The remaining 3 marks was paid to the papal envoy on 13 January 1320 by the Dominican Mihail of Buda from the Convent of St. Nicholas, who acted thus on behalf of the said canon. Another vacant canonry was received by Petrus Tartarus, who had to pay the collector also 8 marks, which were acquitted through the same Mihail of Buda at the same date.⁴⁹ Ioan of Mauriciu had to do the same for the archdeaconry that had been assigned to him. He paid the same amount through the same Dominican monk at the same date.

During Rufinus's mission, the Archdeaconry of Târnava was also vacant; 35 marks had to be paid for it, 30 marks being paid to the papal collector, leaving a debt of 6 marks.⁵⁰ The end of Rufinus of Civino's mission in Hungary coincided with Bishop Benedict's death (1319). The collector also mentioned other vacant benefices in the

⁴⁵ *Ibidem*.

⁴⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 264; *Monumenta Vaticana Hungariae*, I, p. 31.

⁴⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 265; *Monumenta Vaticana Hungariae*, I, p. 32.

⁴⁸ *Ibidem*, pp. 265-266; *Monumenta Vaticana Hungariae*, I, pp. 32-33.

⁴⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 267; *Monumenta Vaticana Hungariae*, I, pp. 34-35.

⁵⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 268.

Church of Transylvania, but said he had been unable to exact half of their revenue because of the bishop's death and had asked the chapter's members to deal with these amounts: the parish priest of Șibot had to pay 6 shillings, the one from Petrifalău 20 marks, the one from Vurpăr 15, the one from Aiud 10, the one from Brărabanț 6, the one from Sângeorgiu (the Beclean area) 10, the one from Apoldul de Sus 20.⁵¹

Those who did not want to declare the amount of the proceeds resulting from the church benefices or who made them impossible to find out risked losing them entirely, their entire revenues going to the pope. Rufinus's accounts show that the revenues of Albkarak parish could not be determined with certainty, being seized for the pope. A similar situation occurred in relation with Nicolae's canonry from the Church of Transylvania, who would not reveal the truth, but the bishop estimated the value of this canonry to 8 marks.⁵²

The analysis of these amounts shows that sometimes they were too high for those who paid them, which is why they were paid in instalments. What may be noticed is the dissatisfaction of the local clergy, who hesitated in being honest about the sums exacted by the papal collector. Worth mentioning is the fact that all the vacant canonries in the Church of Transylvania were assessed equally, to the same value of 8 marks, which demonstrates that the prebends that were attached to those canonries were also equal. For the archdeaconries mentioned in the accounts, the amounts owed to the papal treasury differed. This can be explained by the area in which each particular ecclesiastical unit was located, in terms of the development of the area and the number of parishes that pertained to it.

Rufinus of Civino collected a total of 137 marks, after the weight in Buda, from the Diocese of Transylvania, which was the equivalent of 548 florins. To these were added another 29 sterling silver marks, after the weight in Transylvania, and eleven groschen of Bohemia.⁵³

From across Hungary, Rufinus collected 2,960 florins, 1,744 of which were destined for his remuneration. Thus, the pope ended up with less than half of the sum levied, the remaining money being intended for the collector and probably for his apparatus of the actual cashing in of the money (the subcollectors and the other servants).

Insofar as the Diocese of Oradea was concerned, the great provostship of this cathedral church brought an income of 50 sterling silver marks, after the weight in Buda. On 2 February 1319, Provost Telegdi Csanád⁵⁴ paid Rufinus 25 marks, equivalent to 100 gold florins.⁵⁵ The lecturer's dignity was also vacant in the chapter in Oradea, and its income amounted to 18 silver marks. The 9 marks owed to the Apostolic Camera were paid to the papal collector by Ioan, the lecturer of the church in Oradea, on 2 February 1319.⁵⁶ For a canonry in the same church, later assigned to a certain Mauriciu, the Provost of Oradea paid Rufinus 8 marks on the same date, which was half

⁵¹ *Ibidem*; *Monumenta Vaticana Hungariae*, I, pp. 35-36.

⁵² *Ibidem*, p. 269.

⁵³ *Ibidem*.

⁵⁴ Telegdi Csanád was an intimate of King Charles Robert of Anjou, who supported him to become Archbishop of Esztergom and Primate of Hungary (1330-1349).

⁵⁵ DIR C, XIV, I, p. 262.

⁵⁶ *Ibidem*.

of the income of that canonry.⁵⁷ For the office of cantor, which was vacant in Oradea and was later given to Jacob, Provost Telegdi Csanád paid the papal collector four marks, representing half of the income of the cantorship.⁵⁸ From the Diocese of Oradea, Rufinus of Civino also collected the following amounts on 14 February 1319: 2.5 marks for an archdeaconry, 8 marks for a canonry, 8 marks for another canonry, 2.5 marks for the Archdeaconry of Bihor.⁵⁹ On 6 November 1319, the papal collector levied from the Diocese of Oradea 4 marks for a canonry and 3 marks for the cantorship of the Church in Oradea. The amount Rufinus gathered from the Diocese of Oradea was 81 silver marks, after the weight in Buda, which was the equivalent of 324 gold florins.⁶⁰

From the territory of the Diocese of Cenad, Rufinus of Civino levied the smallest amount of money. Thus, during his mission in the Diocese of Cenad, the Archdeaconry across the Mureș was vacant, and it had an income of 10 marks attached to it. On 7 November 1319, Bishop Benedict of Cenad paid the papal collector the 5 marks he owed, which represented the total amount of the money levied from the Diocese of Cenad.⁶¹

What may be noticed is that of the three dioceses, that of Transylvania paid the highest amount, followed by that of Oradea, while the money levied from the Diocese of Cenad corresponded to an insignificant amount. The documents of the various papal collectors who acted on the territory of Hungary also provide information about the vacant benefices in Transylvania and the amounts collected for the Apostolic Camera. Unfortunately, this information is incomplete, even though it highlights the continuity of the papal fiscal policy throughout the entire period of Avignon.

In the accounts of Peter of Gervasius, the papal envoy to Hungary in the years 1341-1342, there is also a mention referring to the vacancy of the provostship of the Church in Oradea. This remained vacant for two years and a half, and its revenues were collected by Bishop Andrei. He informed the papal collector that he had paid 1,000 florins to the Apostolic Camera, as evidenced by a letter from the papal treasurer, Jacob of Broa: "Item est sciendum, quod dominus Andreas episcopus Waradiensis convenerat mecum de fructibus prepositure ecclesie Waradiensis, que per morte domini Stephani quondam prepositi dicte ecclesie per duos annos cum dimidio apud sedem apostolicam vacaverat, de quibus idem episcopus confessus fuit fructus huiusmodi percepissee pro mille florenis auri, quos camare solvit, pro ut constare vidi per litteras domini Jacobi de Broa tunc apostolice camere thesaurarii."⁶²

Tithes and other papal taxes. Tithes represented a tenth of the clerics' annual revenues, which had to be paid to the Apostolic Camera. Between 1332 and 1337, a vast action of levying the papal taxes took place in Transylvania and throughout Hungary. Fortunately, the collectors' accounts referring to this area have been preserved, allowing

⁵⁷ *Ibidem*.

⁵⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 263.

⁵⁹ *Ibidem*.

⁶⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 264; *Monumenta Vaticana Hungariae*, I, p. 31.

⁶¹ *Ibidem*, p. 264; *Monumenta Vaticana Hungariae*, I, p. 31.

⁶² *Monumenta Vaticana Hungariae*, I, pp. 430-431.

us to present and analyse the mechanism of collecting this tax. On 1 March 1331, Pope John XXII entrusted this task to Jacob of Berengarius, the manciple of the Benedictine Monastery of Grasse, the Diocese of Carcassonne, and to Raymund of Bonofato, the parish priest of St. Michael's Chapel in the Diocese of Limoges. They also had to investigate whether some amounts of the tithe imposed by the Council of Vienne (1311-1312) for aiding the Holy Land, as well as other papal tithes had been concealed and unreported by those concerned in Hungary.⁶³ In the event that such cases were identified, the collectors were entitled to report them and levy them entirely. To compel the clergy to pay, the collectors could resort, if necessary, to the sentences of interdict and anathema. Interestingly, the pope instructed the two collectors to draw up two certifying documents (receipts), one of which had to be given to the payer, while the other was to reach the Apostolic Camera.⁶⁴

The collection itself involved the local clergy to the highest degree, so the pope addressed himself to all the prelates in Hungary, archbishops, bishops, abbots, priors, deans, provosts, and archdeacons: "we advise, entreat and exhort your community in the name of the Lord and also, by apostolic letter, we command that you should pay, without raising any hindrance or difficulty, from your church income and interests, the above said tithe, which has not been gathered and paid so far to the said [church] for six uninterrupted years."⁶⁵ The Holy Father referred to the tithe established at the Council of Vienne, which was "to be used to help the Holy Land, and, in another way, against the rebels and the enemies of the Catholic faith."⁶⁶ The importance of this collection was highlighted by the pope, in that he invalidated any decision reached by any of his predecessors, which granted any exemption from this tax. Similarly, if anyone was exempted by any court or secular authority, the pope declared the decision null and void. Thus, no one was exempt from paying the six-year tithe as imposed at Vienne.

The collection of the papal taxes was inconceivable without the cooperation and goodwill of the royalty. Aware of this fact, the pope wrote to Charles Robert of Anjou on 18 March 1332, asking him to support the papal collectors.⁶⁷ At the local level, there were other forces that were bound to support the action undertaken by the Holy See. In this respect, Pope John XXII addressed himself, on 1 April 1332, to Voivode Thomas of Transylvania, Comes Pavel of Satu Mare, as well as all the archbishops and bishops of Hungary. They were all requested to help the papal collectors.⁶⁸ Even though the pope's collection order did not need any approval from any secular or ecclesiastical authority, in practice it had to be supported both by the central authority (King Charles Robert of Anjou) and the local rulers (the Voivode of Transylvania and the Comes of Satu Mare). The highest ecclesiastical authorities in Hungary (the two archbishops and the other bishops) were also invited by the pope to offer their good offices to the collectors.

⁶³ *Documente privind istoria României seria C Transilvania, veac. XIV, vol. III (1331-1340)*. Bucharest, Ed. Academiei Române, 1954, p. 4 (hereinafter DIR C, XIV, III).

⁶⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 5.

⁶⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 7.

⁶⁶ *Ibidem*.

⁶⁷ *Ibidem*, pp. 260-261.

⁶⁸ *Ibidem*, pp. 262-263.

Regarding the collection of the papal tithes, this action also included the three Catholic dioceses that today mostly overlap the territory of Romania: Oradea, Cenad and Transylvania. The tithe records offer a broad perspective on the organisation and functioning of the three dioceses. From the beginning, we should mention that all these ecclesiastical units were canonically subject to the Archdiocese of Caloccea. The papal collectors' account books reveal that the Diocese of Transylvanian was divided into 13 archdeaconries (protopopiates), each headed by an archdeacon: Turda, Alba, Ozd, Hunedoara, Cojocna, Târnava, Tylegd, Dăbâca, Solnoc, Crasna, Ugocea, Satu Mare and Chezdi. In terms of the area of jurisdiction, the territorial span of the archdeaconries incorporated Transylvania proper, the Szekler area, and the three counties situated on the north-western border of Transylvania, Crasna, Ugocea and Satu Mare. The payment of the amounts was recorded for each archdeaconry in the papal document, for each of the six years. In the above-mentioned archdeaconries, there was also included a part of the Saxon population, not comprised in the Provostship of Sibiu. Thus, the Archdeaconry of Dăbâca included the Deanery of Bistrița, the Archdeaconry of Ozd included the Deanery of Reghin, the Archdeaconry of Târnava included the Deaneries of Târnava Mare and Târnava Mică, and the Archdeaconry of Alba included the Deaneries of Orăștie, Sebeș, Șpring, Șeica, Laslea, Chizd, Cozd and Mediaș. An examination of the accounts kept for the papal taxes shows that one cannot speak of a unity among the archdeaconries from the Diocese of Transylvania, in terms of the number of parishes. This gives a picture of the spread of Catholicism in the area, especially as regards the Romanian population. Thus, while the Archdeaconry of Turda comprised 29 parishes, the Archdeaconry of Hunedoara had only 9 parishes. It is worth noting that throughout the Middle Ages, Hunedoara was an area predominantly inhabited by the Romanians. The Benedictine Abbey of Cluj-Mănăstur and all its assets were excluded from the jurisdiction of the Transylvanian Diocese. According to the papal tithes records of the years 1332-1337, the Diocese of Oradea included six archdeaconries (protopopiates): Bihor, Bekes, Homorog, Călata, Zeghalm, Coleșer, while the Diocese of Cenad had the following archdeaconries: Timiș, Arad, Cenad, Torontal, Caransebeș, Caraș and the Archdeaconry across the Mureș.

Some of the papal collectors were actively involved in collecting the tithes, as was the case of Jacob of Berengarius, who was attested on 1 and 3 March 1332 in Transylvania, where he levied sums of money from the clergy.⁶⁹ Most of the times, the actual gathering of the tithes was entrusted to subcollectors, like Archdeacon Benedict of Tylegd, Toma, the custodian of the chapter in Alba Iulia, Ioan of Vitus and Ioan of Dominic (1333-1334), Ioan of Vitus and Ioan of Gașpar (1335) from the Diocese of Agria.⁷⁰

As an expression of the important role played by the royalty in the collection of the papal revenues in Hungary, the pope consented, on 1 June 1332, to grant Charles Robert of Anjou a third of all the proceeds from the vacant benefices and the papal tithes collected, but insisted on clarifying the destination of the amounts offered to the Hungarian royalty: "as the Ruthenians and other schismatics and infidels, neighbours

⁶⁹ *Ibidem*, pp. 122-123.

⁷⁰ *Ibidem*, pp. 248, 251.

and yeomen of your kingdom, quite often invade your kingdom and haunt, in all manner of ways, the Christians who live there and whose blood they crave, you, most precious son of ours, you must often make varied and burdensome expenses for defending the kingdom and the aforesaid Christians, and we humbly pray your highness, for a more useful defence [against them] and for curbing those heretics and unbelievers and for the spreading of the true faith in those parts, that we will kindly see, out of our apostolic mercy, to give you help.”⁷¹ The good cooperation between the papacy and the Angevin royalty in the matter of the pontifical tax collection was expressed in the document of 24 November 1332, in which John XXII thanked Charles Robert for the support given to the collectors and requested him to continue to offer them his help.⁷² Benedict XII reiterated his predecessor’s desire and, on 5 August 1335, he asked, in his turn, the Hungarian king to support the papal envoys to Hungary.⁷³

The action of collecting tithes from Hungary did not witness a positive course up to the very end. Thus, on 15 March 1337, Benedict XII appointed a new representative with the collectors in the person of Galhard of Carceribus, “for some matters regarding our treasury in the Kingdom of Hungary.”⁷⁴ He occupied the see of Bishop of Cenad between 1344 and 1345. At the moment of his appointment to the episcopal see of Cenad, Galhard of Carceribus occupied the position of Provost of Titel (now in Vojvodina, the Republic of Serbia), in the Diocese of Caloccea, but he had been ordained only as subdeacon. However, the pope praised the new bishop: “about whose learning, life and noble conduct, wisdom in spiritual matters and watchfulness in the mundane, as well as the other merits of your many virtues trustworthy testimonies have been brought before us.”⁷⁵ In order to have him consecrated as bishop on 3 November 1344, the pope allowed Galhard to be elevated to the rung of priesthood.⁷⁶ Before coming to Hungary, Galhard had been appointed by the papacy as church tax collector in Poland. Here he had distinguished himself through the accuracy of his records and the inflexibility he had demonstrated. As regards his activity as a papal tax collector in Poland, Galhard of Carceribus also had some personal initiatives, which resulted in prejudicing the interests of the Holy See. We refer here to the fact that in 1335, he entrusted the sums of money collected from St. Peter’s mite to some merchants from Krakow, Nicholas Wierzynek and Wigand of Lubczyce, who had to remit them to the banking company in Bruges, which had been approved by the papacy. Still, the destination of those sums remained unknown, despite the repeated appeals made by the popes of Avignon.⁷⁷ Galhard of Carceribus was also involved in Poland’s political affairs, especially with the Teutonic Order, supporting the group of Polish noblemen who wanted the Crown to take a tougher stand against the German knight-monks. In 1339, Galhard presided over the

⁷¹ *Ibidem*, p. 269.

⁷² *Ibidem*, p. 285.

⁷³ *Ibidem*, pp. 356-357.

⁷⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 408.

⁷⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 207.

⁷⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 218.

⁷⁷ Marian Malowist, “Le développement des rapports économiques entre la Flandre, la Pologne et les pays limitrophes du XIII^e au XIV^e siècle,” in *Revue belge de philologie et d’histoire*, tom. 10, fasc. 4, 1931, p. 1039.

trial of the Warsaw case filed by King Casimir III the Great against the Teutonic Order. The trial was conducted from February to September 1339, and Galhard of Carceribus gave a resolution against the Teutonic Order, stipulating that it must return entire Pomerania, together with Dobrzyń and Kuyavia, to Poland.⁷⁸

Galhard's mission in Hungary was to oversee the two papal tax collectors, whom the Holy See suspected of fraud. On 5 February 1338, Benedict XII replaced Jacob of Langres and Jacob of Berengarius as collectors of papal taxes with the Galhard of Carceribus and Peter of Gervasius.⁷⁹ In his action to recover the sums owed to the Holy See by the previous collectors of papal tithes, Benedict XII ordered, on 21 August 1339, that Galhard of Carceribus and Peter of Gervasius should compel, if necessary even by resorting to the assistance of the secular authorities, Jacob of Berengarius and the men of the late Jacob of Langres to uncover the money and the other property they had collected in Hungary on behalf of the church and the Apostolic Camera, since, despite the steps taken, they had given no account of those sums to the Holy See and the Pontifical Camera. The new papal envoys were urged to trace the property they had deposited or that was owed to them, which would be found in the possession of others, and were granted power to give absolution and exemption for the amounts that the depositories would hand over to them.⁸⁰ This papal document issued by Benedict XII reveals two aspects, *primo*: the initial collectors of papal taxes were suspected of fraud and theft; *secundo*: to discover the truth, the pope appointed reliable people as new collectors, who were also in charge with the investigation of the accused. In other words, the future Bishop of Cenad was a close collaborator of the papal court in Avignon.

On 14 March 1340, Pope Benedict XII granted Galhard of Carceribus and Peter of Gervasius the right to absolve from ecclesiastical penalties those who had not paid the papal tithes on time,⁸¹ and he also gave them the mission to subpoena Jacob of Berengarius, the former papal collector, to trial by the Holy See.⁸² Galhard of Carceribus played a particularly important role for the Holy See in Hungary, by shedding light on the action of collecting tithes and recovering the outstanding amounts, but also by investigating the former collector, Jacob of Berengarius. It is very likely that he received the dignity of Bishop of Cenad following his successful completion of the papal missions assigned to him. Still, Galhard did not last too long on the episcopal see of Cenad, since he was transferred to Veszprém in 1345 (1345-1346).⁸³ In 1346, Galhard of Carceribus entered a conflict with King Louis of Anjou, and he was transferred, by papal decree, to the position of Archbishop of Brindisi, in southern Italy. He died in Nîmes on 30 May 1348.

⁷⁸ Norman Housley, *The Avignon Papacy and the Crusades 1305-1378*, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 2002, p. 278; Irena Sułkowska-Kuraś, Stanisław Kuraś, *La Pologne et la papauté d'Avignon, Aux origines de l'état moderne. Le fonctionnement administrative de la papauté d'Avignon*. Actes de la table ronde organisée par l'école française de Rome avec le concours du CNRS, du Conseil général de Vaucluse et de l'Université d'Avignon, École Française de Rome, Palais Farnèse, 1990, pp. 117-118.

⁷⁹ DIR C, XIV, III, p. 439.

⁸⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 510.

⁸¹ *Ibidem*, p. 531.

⁸² *Ibidem*, p. 532.

⁸³ *Monumenta Romana Episcopatus Vesprimiensis*, tomus II 1276-1415, Budapest, 1899, p. 109.

On 6 May 1337, the new envoy to Hungary appointed by Benedict XII was Peter of Gervasius, the Canon of Viviers. He had the task “to inspect the state of the affairs regarding the treasury in Hungary and to take the measures that would be necessary for carrying out” the action of collecting the tithes, and was entitled to impart sentences of interdict and excommunication to those who opposed him or rebelled.⁸⁴ In another deed issued on the same date, the pope urged the other envoys to Hungary, Galhard of Carceribus, Jacob of Langres and Jacob of Berengarius to inform the new papal messenger, “without concealing or fabricating anything,” about the sums collected. The pope commanded his four envoys from Hungary to pay the money from the tithes to the Venice branch of the Acciaiuoli Company in Florence, which would deliver it to the Apostolic Camera. For this purpose, Benedict XII asked the support of King Charles Robert of Anjou and of Queen Elizabeth.⁸⁵

Through his actions, the pope wished to establish greater control over the collectors of tithes, appointing two other envoys, Galhard of Carceribus and Peter, Canon of Viviers. These papal actions lead us to believe that Pope Benedict XII wanted to ensure that the money collected would reach the Apostolic Camera and, to this end, he desired that additional control should be exerted.

On 5 February 1338, Benedict XII replaced Jacob of Langres and Jacob of Berengarius with Galhard of Carceribus and Peter, Canon of Viviers, as collectors of the papal tithes in Hungary.⁸⁶ The reason for this decision is found in a document issued by the pope in Avignon, bearing the same date. Benedict XII rebuked Jacob of Langres and Jacob of Berengarius because despite his command, they had not presented themselves before the papal see to account for the mission that they had carried out in Hungary. The pope stated that the two had not supported him and had not handed over to Galhard of Carceribus, as they had been demanded, the account records and the documents referring to the amounts collected. The two collectors were removed from their positions and replaced, being summoned by the pope to unhesitatingly carry out the orders issued by the new envoy, Peter, Canon of Viviers.⁸⁷ We have reason to believe that the severe attitude displayed by the pope in this document was dictated by some mistakes committed by the two initial collectors of tithes. Perhaps they had been tempted by the amounts collected and had appropriated some of them, which caused the pope's anger. This reprehensible act, if it was committed, led to their replacement with two other trusted collectors of the pope. A possible theft might be suggested by the fact that Jacob of Langres and Jacob of Berengarius refused to hand over the documents they had drafted to the new collectors and that they refused to answer to the pope. On 7 February 1338, the pope addressed himself again to the King and Queen of Hungary, asking them to give their support in order for the collected tithes to arrive safely in the Apostolic treasury.

The suspicion hanging over the first two collectors of tithes in Hungary was confirmed once again by the pope on 21 August 1339, when he addressed himself to

⁸⁴ DIR C, XIV, I, p. 412.

⁸⁵ *Ibidem*, pp. 412-413.

⁸⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 439.

⁸⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 440.

Galhard of Carceribus and Peter, Canon of Viviers, who were demanded to compel - if necessary by resorting to the secular authorities - Jacob of Berengarius and the men of Jacob of Langres, who had died in the meantime, to identify the sums of money and the other goods they had collected in Hungary, on behalf of the church. About this, the pope stated that the former collectors had not answered either to the Holy See or to the two new papal envoys to Hungary. Those amounts and goods had to be identified and returned to the papal treasury as soon as possible.⁸⁸

The collection of papal tithes was not to the liking of the believers in Hungary, whether they belonged to the clergy or the laity. Their failure to pay their due contribution on time entailed ecclesiastical penalties. Meeting the needs of the faithful in Hungary and aiming for the salvation of their souls, the pope authorised the two new collectors of taxes to absolve from punishments those who fulfilled their pecuniary obligations to the Holy See, even if they did so at a later date.⁸⁹

The papacy could not forget about these revenues, because their collection symbolised, at the level of the collective perception in Hungary and elsewhere, that kingdom's submission and obedience to the Apostolic See. While in the previous centuries the sign of a secular prince's submission to the pope had been the oath of allegiance, the pledge of fidelity submitted in the consecrated formula of any vassalage contract, in the fourteenth century this practice was supplanted by the fiscal factor and the financial aspects owed to the Holy See. That is why the pope did not want to leave the case of Jacob of Berengarius in abeyance, and on 14 March 1340, Benedict XII wrote to Galhard of Carceribus and Peter, Canon of Viviers, who had meanwhile also become Canon of Le Puy, to find the culprit and summon him before the Apostolic See so that he could account for the revenues he had not delivered to the Apostolic Camera.⁹⁰

The action for collecting the papal tithes between the years 1332-1337 had the following end result: the amounts collected in the Diocese of Transylvania included 1,835 silver marks, 3 silver pieces, 3 groschen and one denier, 1,170 marks of which were paid by Bishop Andrei of Transylvania and the rest by the parish clergy. Adding the amount corresponding to the Diocese of Transylvania to the sum collected from the Diocese of Oradea, a total of 3,247 marks, 3 vierdungs, 10 groschen and two deniers⁹¹ was obtained, the equivalent of 12,991 florins. With this amount, one could buy 78,000 bushels⁹² of wheat at that time. Across Hungary, 9,385 marks were collected, a third of which went to King Charles Robert of Anjou.⁹³ From the Diocese of Cenad, the papal taxes were collected over a period of three years 1333-1335, the amount levied being 76 marks, 3 vierdungs, 3 and a half groschen.⁹⁴

⁸⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 510.

⁸⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 531.

⁹⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 532.

⁹¹ *Ibidem*, p. 221.

⁹² In the Middle Ages, a bushel was an instrument used to measure the volume of cereals (wheat, barley, oats), beans, peas and onions. There was a small bushel, which was the equivalent of 37.356 litres, and a large bushel, measuring 74.712 litres. Cf. Nicolae Stoicescu, *Cum măsurau strămoșii: metrologia medievală*. Bucharest, Ed. Științifică, 1971, pp. 221-224.

⁹³ Camil Mureșan, G.S. Ardeleanu, "La politique fiscale de la papauté en Transylvanie au cours de la première moitié du XIV^e siècle," in *Nouvelles études d'histoire*, Bucharest, 1955, p. 235.

⁹⁴ DIR, C, XIV, III, p. 248.

The subsequent documents issued by the chancery of the Avignon popes suggest that this sum did not represent the entire amount of the tithes owed by the clergy in Transylvania to the Holy See. On 3 May 1344, Pope Clement VI appointed Arnold de La Caucina, Canon of the Church of Titel from the Archdiocese of Caloccea, as envoy of the Apostolic See to Hungary and Poland, with the mission of collecting the outstanding debts for the papal tithes over a period of 6 years (1332 - 1337) from these kingdoms and their neighbouring areas.⁹⁵ For the same purpose, the new Bishop of Cenad, Galhard of Carceribus, was appointed on 3 November 1344: he had to verify the accounts of the tithe collectors sent by Popes John XXII and Benedict XII to Hungary, Poland and Bohemia. To carry out his duties, the Bishop of Cenad could resort, if need be, to the help of the secular power and issue the ecclesiastical sentences of anathema and interdict.⁹⁶ No details about the action of the two papal collectors appointed by Clement VI have been preserved.

Any cleric appointed by the pope to a vacant benefice was obliged to pay the tax called *annates* to the Holy See. This was the equivalent of the income for the first year from that benefice. Information about the collection of this tax on the territory of the three Transylvanian dioceses may be found out from the papal collectors' sparse records. Thus for the years 1350-1354, Arnold de La Caucina raised 4,739 florins in Hungary, but this money came from the income for the first year (*annates*) of the vacant benefices from the Dioceses of: Esztergom, Caloccea, Transylvania, Pécs, Sirmiu, Zabgreb, Vaŕ, Veszprém, Agria, Oradea, Cenad, Nitra, Győr and Bosnia.⁹⁷ In another record referring to the papal collections, Arnold de La Caucina said that he had taken 436½ florins from Transylvania, but the money had come from different sources. Thus, Nicolae of Valentin, Archdeacon of Ugocea, paid 32 florins, Dominic of Zeche, the Provost of the Church of Transylvania, paid an aid of 400 florins against the Ottomans, which represented the condition laid by the pope in order to confirm him to the position of Provost of Transylvania, while Fr. Ioan from Daia Săsească paid 4½ florins, representing his debt for the tithe of the years 1332-1337.⁹⁸ From the Diocese of Oradea, Arnold levied the following amounts (*annates*): from a vacant canonry granted to Ștefan of Laurențiu, 40 florins had been paid; Filip of Boda from Tărcaia, who was appointed Provost of Oradea, following Cardinal Bertrand's relinquishment of this position, paid 175 florins; Ladislau of Grigore, who was appointed cantor in Oradea, paid 33 florins to the papal collector and, following the vacancy of a canonry that the same cardinal had given up, the new holder, Iacob yclept the Noble paid 40 florins.⁹⁹

From the Diocese of Cenad, Arnold collected 40 florins paid by Albertus Ulrici for his appointment as a lecturer, a vacant position following the death of Petru of Dominic, and another 49 florins paid by Ioan of Henric, Archdeacon of Arad, for his appointment as Provost of St. Albert's Church in the Diocese of Győr.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁵ *Documente privind istoria României seria C Transilvania, veac. XIV, vol. IV (1341-1350)*. Bucharest, Ed. Academiei Române, 1955, p. 183 (hereinafter DIR, C, XIV, IV).

⁹⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 218.

⁹⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 221.

⁹⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 221; *Monumenta Vaticana Hungariae*, I, 443-444.

⁹⁹ *Monumenta Vaticana Hungariae*, I, pp. 449-450.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 450; *Documenta Romaniae Historica, seria C, Transilvania, vol. X (1351-1355)*. Bucharest, Ed. Academiei Române, 1977, p. 1.

Referring to the other amounts collected by Arnold de La Caucina, an incomplete note for the years 1359-1363 has been preserved. The money recorded by the papal collector came from the remainders and the *annates* of the benefices in Hungary (from the town and Diocese of Esztergom, the Dioceses of Calocsa, Transylvania, Veszprém, Agria, Oradea, Sirmiu and Győr): he levied 1,519½ florins, less than eight Hungarian deniers, which was the equivalent of a Bohemian groschen. The collector considered that the amount of 839½ florins was owed from Hungary, from the remainders of the benefices bestowed there by the Apostolic See and for which confirmation had been granted, that is, those from the towns and Dioceses of Esztergom, Transylvania, Veszprém, Agria and Sirmiu.¹⁰¹ Of course, breaking down that amount by dioceses was impossible, according to the testimony of the papal collector. The amount was considered globally, for all the dioceses that had various outstanding debts to the Holy See. To the sums recorded by Arnold de La Caucina, another 2,000 florins were added for the benefices from the Archdeaconry of Torontal in the Diocese of Cenad.¹⁰²

The analysis of the documents relating to fourteenth-century Transylvania which cover aspects related to the papal taxation highlights the success registered by the monetary economy to the detriment of economy in kind, which had been widely practiced until then. The catalyst of this phenomenon was King Louis of Anjou, who demanded, on 20 September 1352, that the payment of the tithes due to the diocese and the chapter of Transylvania should be made in cash and not in kind.

The good relations between Louis of Anjou and the Holy See were also expressed through the concession of the papal tithes to the Angevin king for certain periods of time. Thus on 11 August 1357, Innocent VI ordered the prelates in Hungary to collect and pay to the king the church tithes owed to the pope for three years. The destination of this money was clearly stated by the pope: the fight against the enemies of the church, the Tatars, the Lithuanians, the Ruthenians, the Serbs, the heretics and the schismatics from Hungary's borders. The pope also stated that the payment had to be made in the currency circulating in the country.¹⁰³ In this way, the tithes were used, at least theoretically, also in the interest of the Roman Church, in the action of Christianising some pagans or attracting the schismatics to the Roman rite.

The last two popes from Avignon, Urban V (1362-1370) and Gregory XI (1370-1378), tightened the fiscal policy, since they needed funds to fight against the enemies of the church, especially those in Italy. This was also noticeable in Hungary and, implicitly, in Transylvania. Thus on 29 February 1364, Urban V requested King Louis of Anjou to support the collectors of papal tithes who had been sent to Hungary to collect this tax from the prelates and other church people. In his letter, the pope complained that the clergymen refused to pay the tithe and urged them to deliver the payment of this tax.¹⁰⁴

¹⁰¹ *Documenta Romaniae Historica, seria C, Transilvania, vol. XI (1356-1360)*. Bucharest, Ed. Academiei Române, 1981, p. 344 (hereinafter DRH C, XI); *Monumenta Vaticana Hungariae*, I, pp. 452-453.

¹⁰² *Ibidem*, p. 453.

¹⁰³ DRH, C, XI, p. 166.

¹⁰⁴ *Documenta Romaniae Historica, seria C, Transilvania, vol. XII (1361-1365)*. Bucharest, Ed. Academiei Române, 1985, p. 230.

Gregory XI continued his predecessor's line and on 15 April 1372, he requested the Hungarian king to help Ilie of Vodronio, the collector of the one-year tithe exacted by the papacy on the church revenues from Hungary and Poland for the war against Bernabo Visconti, the leader of Milan, who persecuted the church.¹⁰⁵

The firmness of the papal command prompted the Hungarian clergy to fulfil their obligations to the Holy See. Concerning the amounts levied following the imposition of this tithe, information is found in the document kept by the papal envoy, Peter of Stephen, who acted in Hungary between 1373 and 1375. He had the mission of collecting both the tithes and the revenues from the vacant ecclesiastical benefices in Hungary. Insofar as the Diocese of Transylvania was concerned, Bishop Dumitru (1368-1376)¹⁰⁶ paid 850 florins for himself and 1,545 florins for his clergy as papal tithes.¹⁰⁷ It should be noted that the Diocese of Transylvania paid on this occasion the highest taxes of all the Catholic suffragan dioceses of Caloceia which are now on the territory of Romania. By comparison, Bishop Dominic of Cenad (1360-1373) paid 214 florins for himself and 40 deniers and 218 florins for his clergy, while Bishop Dominic of Oradea (1373-1374) paid 303 florins for himself and 121 florins in old deniers, 79 gold florins and 30 Hungarian deniers for his clergy.¹⁰⁸ Peter of Stephen accurately recorded in his books the situation of the vacant benefices from Hungary for the fourth, fifth and sixth year of Urban V's pontificate, as well as for the first four years of Gregory XI's pontificate. In what follows, we shall present this situation, as recorded by the papal collector in the Dioceses of Oradea, Cenad and Transylvania.

Throughout Hungary, Peter of Stephen collected 1,169 florins and a half from the benefices.¹⁰⁹ The analysis of the information from this papal tithe register shows that the ingenious fiscal mechanism devised by the popes of Avignon expanded to the eastern border of *Christianitas*. The end result of the collection of papal taxes from the three dioceses was, between 1373 and 1375, as follows: from the Diocese of Oradea, 132 florins were collected, from that of Cenad - 120 florins, and from that of Transylvania - 315 florins. This reveals that the Diocese of Transylvania contributed the largest amount to the papal treasury, followed by the Dioceses of Oradea and Cenad. This ranking was identical with that from the period 1332-1337 as regards the papal tithes. This demonstrates a certain consistency in terms of the economic situation of the clergy from the three dioceses during the fourteenth century. Based on these data, we may say that the clergy in Transylvania had a better economic-financial situation, while the clergy from the Diocese of Cenad had a more difficult financial situation.

Towards the end of his pontificate, Gregory XI imposed a new tithe. On 5 December 1377, the pontiff ordered the Archbishops of Esztergom and Caloceia that as

¹⁰⁵ *Documenta Romaniae Historica, seria C, Transilvania, vol. XIV (1371-1375)*. Bucharest, Ed. Academiei Române, 2002, p. 161 (hereinafter DRH C, XIV).

¹⁰⁶ Bishop Dumitru was the most important Bishop of Transylvania in the fourteenth century. In 1376, he was transferred as Bishop of Zagreb, and later he became Archbishop of Esztergom and Primate of Hungary (1378-1387), with the broad support of King Louis I of Anjou. In the Consistory of 18 October 1378, Pope Urban VI made Dumitru Cardinal-Priest of the Church of Quattro Santi Coronati in Rome.

¹⁰⁷ DRH C, XIV, p. 303.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibidem*; *Monumenta Vaticana Hungariae*, I, pp. 456-457.

¹⁰⁹ *Monumenta Vaticana Hungariae*, I, p. 520.

of 1 January 1378, they should levy the tithes for two years. The pope also established the dates for the payment of the amounts: the Calends of April (1 April) and the feast of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin (15 August). Exempt from the payment of this tithe were: the cardinals, the masters, the priors, the preceptors and the brothers of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem and the Order of St. Mary of the Teutons, because they battled against the enemies of the Christian faith.¹¹⁰ Internal documents do not mention anything about the amounts levied in Transylvania on this occasion.

Other pontifical taxes. The tithes and the revenues collected from the vacant benefices were not the only taxes paid by the clergy to the Holy See. Each new Catholic bishop who was appointed to a diocese had the obligation to pay a confirmation fee, called *servitia communia*. The sum was meant for the Apostolic Camera, but the new bishop also had to pay any outstanding amounts of his predecessors in the episcopal see. According to a record dating, according to the editors of the document, from the time of John XXII's pontificate (1316-1334), the situation of the *servitia communia* owed by the bishops was as follows: the Bishop of Oradea had to pay 2,000 florins, the one of Transylvania 1,500, and the one of Cenad 900.¹¹¹ Information about the payment of this fee is extremely scarce for the territory of the three aforementioned dioceses. There are some documents, especially referring to the Diocese of Cenad. Thus, Grigore II of Cenad (1345-1350), who admitted, on 19 May 1345, the debts of his predecessors, Galhard of Carceribus (1344-1345), who had to pay 900 florins and 5 solidi, and Ștefan II (1343-1344), who owed 400 florins and 5 solidi.¹¹² These sums owed to the Holy See reveal the scrupulousness with which the popes from Avignon kept track of the money had to receive from the various dioceses of Christendom. This was also an effective means of centralising the pontifical government of the church, but it generated fierce discontent and criticism, which eventually generated protest movements. There is no testimony in the internal documents about such fees being paid by the Transylvanian bishops, but this does not mean that they were not paid. Each newly elected bishop had this duty to the Apostolic See.

Another tax owed to the papacy was the *pallium* tax, which only the archbishops had to pay. In the fourteenth century, there was no bishop in Transylvania who became an archbishop, but interesting in this regard was the case of Bishop Toma of Cenad. On 25 August 1358, he was appointed by Pope Innocent VI as Archbishop of Caloccea.¹¹³ The new archbishop requested the *pallium* from the pope through Conrad, Archdeacon of Nitra, his envoy to the court of Avignon. It was only in December 1358 that Innocent VI sent Toma the *pallium* through Nicolae, the Provost of the church from Hont, so that it could be granted to him by the Bishop of Oradea or of Sirmiu, who were to receive, in

¹¹⁰ *Documenta Romaniae Historica, seria C, Transilvania, vol. XV (1376-1380)*. Bucharest, Ed. Academiei Române, 2006, p. 351 (hereinafter DRH C, XV).

¹¹¹ DIR C, XIV, I, p. 253. The sums indicated in this document also appear in Borovszky Samu, *Csanád vármegye története 1715-ig*. Budapest, A Magyar tudományos Akadémia Palotájában, 1896, p. 353, cited by Koloman Juhász, *Ein Italienischer Arzt Als Ungarischer Bischof Giacomo da Piacenza († 1348)* in *Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie*, Band 80 (1958), Heft 4, p. 571.

¹¹² DIR, C, XIV, IV, p. 242.

¹¹³ DRH, C, XI, p. 316.

the pope's name, the oath of allegiance of the Archbishop of Caloccea.¹¹⁴ On this occasion, the *pallium* tax was paid, the amount of which is not mentioned in the documents.

The taxes the bishops owed to the pope were not revoked on the appointment of a new bishop. It was the duty of the recently appointed hierarch to pay the Holy See any outstanding amounts of his predecessors. Again, documents are silent as regards Transylvania, but we may get an idea by studying the case of the Diocese of Cenad. Thus on 10 March 1361, Innocent VI confirmed Dominic as Bishop of Cenad.¹¹⁵ In September 1362, Dominic paid his confirmation fee of 80 florins and 23 solidi through Gaucelmus, Bishop of Nîmes and the papal legate to Hungary.¹¹⁶ On 5 May 1367, the same bishop paid the Holy See, through Iacob, the church lecturer from Cenad, 88 florins, 55 solidi and 6 deniers, representing the confirmation fee of his predecessor, Grigore.¹¹⁷ On the same date, Dominic paid another 5 florins and 53 solidi, completing his own confirmation fee.

On 26 February 1377, another Bishop of Cenad, Pavel (1377-1379), undertook to pay the ordinary sum to the Apostolic Camera, on the occasion of his appointment. This amount (*servicium communae*) amounted to 165 florins and it could be paid in two instalments.¹¹⁸

Through this fiscal policy, the Holy See imposed its control over the local churches, the bishops being left with no choice but to pay the due amounts if they wished to preserve their position and not to be anathemised or have their dioceses put under an ecclesiastical interdict. The taxes were scrupulously recorded by the Apostolic Camera, the bishops being also obliged to pay the debts of their predecessors.

Final considerations. During the Avignon papacy, the Catholic clergy of Transylvania was incorporated into the vast mechanism of papal fiscality. Thus, throughout the fourteenth century, Transylvania was visited by a series of papal collectors who levied, on behalf of the French pontiffs, the various taxes exacted by the latter. In this respect the most important action was the collection of tithes from 1332-1337, in relation to which a document of paramount importance for the history of Transylvania, the register of papal tithes, has been preserved. Papal taxation could not have operated in this border area of the Christian world without the support of the Angevin monarchy, which appropriated some of the amounts collected, with the assent of the French pontiffs. Notwithstanding all this, the collection of papal revenues had a negative impact on both the clergy and the laity.

¹¹⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 341.

¹¹⁵ DRH, C, XII, p. 18.

¹¹⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 97.

¹¹⁷ DRH, C, XIII, p. 355.

¹¹⁸ DRH, C, XV, p. 130.

ASPECTS OF THE HUNGARIAN-WALLACHIAN MATRIMONIAL RELATIONS OF THE FOURTEENTH AND FIFTEENTH CENTURIES

Abstract: In this study my aim was to demonstrate without doubts the fact that even in the case of Transylvanian nobility, from the end of 13th century and all along the 14th century, a pattern is present in naming the offspring of nobles. This model of giving name of the father to one of the sons, or from the grandfather to one of the grandson, or from an uncle to a nephew was identified by French and Italian scholars at the middle of the 90's, as existing in medieval world of nobles, studying the primary sources [documents from chapters, convents etc.]. In this case I tried to demonstrate with the help of 18th genealogical tables, drawn from published collections of documents, the fact that, in part, an unspecified amount of Transylvanian nobles knew this rule and tried it in the century proposed for investigation. The main idea it's that the rule of name giving doesn't represent a firm rule for Transylvanian nobility, but, with a retard, is tending to impose itself in some major clans but not only, at the half of the 14th century.

Keywords: Dynasty, Hungarian wives, royal marriage, genealogy, international relations.

The genealogy of the ruling House of Basarab, as well as of the House of Mușat, has stirred the interest of Romanian historiography since the late nineteenth century¹ and, so far, the studies examining this issue have been quite numerous. An aspect that is not insignificant as regards the genealogical evolution of our ruling houses is that of the voivodesses or princesses consort,² and thus far, there are considerable gaps and ambiguities in this niche.³ Thanks, however, especially to the monographs dedicated to the Wallachian and Moldavian voivodes from the first period of the formation and consolidation of state power, the chapters devoted to their families have allowed new fields of research to open, which have been successfully completed.⁴

¹ For a broader historiographical analysis of the problem, see C-tin Rezachevici, *Cronologia critică a domnilor din Țara Românească și Moldova a. 1324-1881*, volume I, *secolele XIV-XVI*, Bucharest, Editura Enciclopedică, 2001, pp. 53-59.

² Among the most recent studies on this subject, see Ștefan Andreescu, "Alliances dynastiques des princes de Valachie (XIVe-XVIe siècles)," in *Revue des Études Sud-Est Européennes*, tome 23, no. 4, Bucharest, Editura Academiei RSR, 1985, pp. 359-368 [hereinafter RESEE].

³ Insofar as the problem of the ruler's wives is concerned, we should like to mention the study written by Gr. G. Tocilescu, *Doamna Stanca, soția lui Mihai Vitezul*, București, Noua Tipografie a Laboratorilor Romani, 1877, Nicolae Iorga's study, "Doamna lui Ieremia Vodă," an extract from *Analele Academiei Române, Seria II, Tom XXXII, Memoriile Secțiunii Istorice, no. 13*, Bucharest, Institutul de arte Grafice "Carol Göbl," 1910, pp. 1019-1077, the catalogue published by Nicolae Iorga, *Portretele Doamnelor Române*, Bucharest, 1937 or the work of Constantin Gane, *Trecute vieți de doamne și domnițe*, volume I, Bucharest, Editura ziarului Universul, S. A., 1933 [second edition], which remains indebted to the information from the 1900s-1920s, with all the incontestable beauty of the rhetoric, which was intended as a pioneering study on the border between history and literature, written by the illustrious descendant of the Gănești boyars.

⁴ See, for instance, the monograph of Ștefan S. Gorovei și Maria Magdalena Székely, *Princeps omni laude maior. O istorie a lui Ștefan cel Mare*, Sfânta Mănăstire Putna, 2005, pp. 9-13 or Ștefan S. Gorovei and

For the subject we wish consider in this study, information is available, and, still, it seems that there is not a lot left to be said about the known wives of the Basarabs from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries; nonetheless, the matter has not been fully explored, to the extent that the existing sources might allow this.

The Wallachian princesses consort were of diverse ethnic and confessional origins, and they also differed as regards their social status: we do not intend to dwell on all of the most well-known of these ladies, but only on those whose extraction is certainly ascribed to the area of the medieval Kingdom of Hungary. Despite the parsimonious information, however, we shall consider at least five of these princesses consort, derived exclusively from the nobility of the Hungarian kingdom. With only one exception perhaps - Mircea the Elder's wife, who came from the aristocracy, if Constantin Rezachevici's estimation is accurate⁵ - it would be safe to assume that these ladies came most likely from the middle nobility of the kingdom.

A somewhat different situation was that of Justina Szilágyi, the second wife of Vlad Țepeș,⁶ not because she was not derived from the comital nobility, but because of her family's alliance with the Hunyadis, which propelled her to the status of a royal cousin⁷ and a possible match for the royal interests.

From our perspective, the matrimonial preferences of the Wallachian rulers for the territory North of the Carpathians indicated, above all, the expression of a political will that was connected to the interests of the ruling Hungarian house South of the Carpathians⁸ and, secondly, the strictly Aulic perception of the subordinating realities at the level of the dominant elite, from the Hungarian Aulic Chancellery to Ungrovlahia.⁹ Whereas the first statement does not require many explanations [the Basarabs' oscillations between independence from and vassalage to the Holy Crown because of numerous factors of external and internal influence], the second statement has been

Maria Magdalena Székely, *Maria Asanina Paleologhina. O prințesă bizantină pe tronul Moldovei*, Sfânta Mănăstire Putna, 2006, 290 pages.

⁵ C-tin Rezachevici, *Cronologia critică a domnilor...*, see the genealogies attached at the end, plate I, row III, *supra*.

⁶ Pál Engel, *Magyar középkori adattár. Magyarország világi archontológiája 1301–1457. Középkori magyar genealógia*, Budapest, 2001 [CD-ROM], Szilágyi entry [horogszegi]. The reference to the two wives from the extended family of the Hunyadis offered to Vlad Țepeș is owed to the recent studies written by Alexandru Simon: "Refacerea trecutului dorit: ipostaze medievale, moderne și contemporane ale unui monarh," in *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie "George Barițiu" din Cluj Napoca, seria Historica*, no. 50, 2011, p. 103, the end of note 10, and "Soțiile ungare ale lui Vlad III Țepeș: Rolul, impactul și receptarea unor alianțe și rivalități medievale," in *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie "A.D. Xenopol" din Iași*, no. 48, 2011, pp. 5-12. We shall mention, in addition, only the author's preference for the sytagm Justina Pongrácz, instead of Szilágyi, after her first husband.

⁷ In the case of the Hunyadis, there may be certain explanations for their rapid access to the ranks of the aristocracy, just like the possible links of the Szápolya family with John Hunyadi may explain the nobility's fixation on János Szápolya as the "elected" King of Hungary, after the disaster from Mohács in 1526. To these, however, I shall refer in a few lines hereinafter.

⁸ For instance, by way of confirmation, see also the opinions of Ștefan Ștefănescu, *Țara Românească de la Basarab I "Întemeietorul" până la Mihai Viteazul*, Bucharest, Editura Academiei RSR, 1970, pp. 35-36.

⁹ Nicolae Stoicescu, Florian Tucă, *1330. Posada*, Bucharest, Editura Militară, 1980, pp. 67-70, with the standpoints of Romanian historiography and with references to the Hungarian historiography from the 1910a-1970s.

much discussed and debated in all its aspects [see the note above], but, as far as we know, never in depth. They may be easily proved by recourse to the documents issued by the Hungarian Chancellery.

In the decree of 26 July 1324, King Charles Robert spoke about the faithful services rendered to His Majesty by Master Martinus, son of Bugar, mentioning, among others, the “delivery of his ‘embassies’ [*nostras legaciones*]” to “Bazarab, woyuodam nostrum Transalpinum.”¹⁰

This is the first document that indicates Basarab in a relation of subordination to the Angevin, but also places him in history. On 18 June 1325, Bozarab/ Bazarab was already “Bozarab Transalpinum, sancte corone regie infidelem.”¹¹

This time, Basarab was stripped of his natural authority of a royal/ ours voivode: he was only an unfaithful Transalpine of the Holy Crown. He was, in fact, to maintain this status and other appellatives in the documents of the royal chancellery of the Angevin monarch¹² whenever the latter resumed the subject of the disaster from Wallachia.

If for the Angevin King, Basarab was the “unfaithful Transalpine” in 1325, for Pope John XXIII, the same ruler was, on 1 February 1327, “our beloved son, the noble man, Basarab Voivode of Wallachia” [*dilecto filio, nobili viro Bazarab, voivoda Transalpino*].¹³

In this context, here, we are interested in this “noble man.” For the pontiff addressed in the same way the Comes of Braşov, Salomon, at the same date, in a letter with an identical content [*dilecto filio, nobili viro comiti Salomoni de Brasso*].¹⁴ From other sources, we know that identical letters were sent to Thomas, Voivode of Transylvania, and Mykud, Ban of Slavonia, Basarab being the last one introduced in the pontifical register, in accordance with his importance in the kingly structures.¹⁵

On 5 August 1331, however, the same John XXII wrote to King Charles Robert: “our most beloved son in Christ, Charles, illustrious king of Hungary” [*carissimo in Christo filio, Carolo, regi Ungarie illustri*].¹⁶ He had addressed the king in the same way on 13 September 1325, in a matter concerning a provost.¹⁷ In fact, this appears to have been the standard formula of address used by the pontiff towards the Hungarian sovereigns.¹⁸ From the point of view of the pontifical Curia, equality was found between

¹⁰ *Documenta Romaniae Historica, seria D, Relații între Țările Române*, volume I [1222-1456], Bucharest, Editura Academiei RSR, 1977, doc. 15, p. 36 [hereinafter DRH, D].

¹¹ *Ibidem*, doc. 16, p. 37.

¹² *Ibidem*, doc. 23, p. 48 or doc. 25, pp. 49-52, doc. 26, pp. 52-54.

¹³ *Ibidem*, doc. 17, p. 39.

¹⁴ Franz Zimmermann, Carl Werner, *Urkundenbuch zur Geschichte der Deutschen in Siebenbürgen*, volume I, Hermannstadt, 1892, doc. 452, p. 408 [hereinafter *Ub.*].

¹⁵ E. Vârtosu *apud* Nicolae Stoicescu, Florian Tucă, 1330. *Posada*, p. 81. This would have indicated, in Emil Vârtosu's opinion, the weak connection with Hungary and would not lessen the status of Wallachia.

¹⁶ DRH, D, doc. 21, p. 44.

¹⁷ *Documente privind Istoria României, seria C, Transilvania, veacul XIV*, vol. II [1321-1330], Bucharest, Editura Academiei RSR, 1953, doc. 338, p. 159 [hereinafter DIR, C].

¹⁸ Georgius Fejér, *Codex Diplomaticus Hungariae ecclesiasticus ac civilis*, volume I, Pest, 1829, p. 274 [doc. from the year 1000; the pontiff Sylvester addressed Ștefan I with the formula: *Silvester Episcopus, Seruus Seruorum Dei, Stephano Duci Vngarorum salutem, et Apostolicam benedictionem*], p. 420 [doc. from 1074: *Gregorius Episcopus, Seruus Seruorum Dei, Geusae, Duci Hungarorum, salutem et*

the noble comes/ graf of Braşov and the Transalpine voivode, and not between Basarab and Charles Robert. A very simple explanation lies in the difference in status between the monarchies with a tradition and those newly created by people without a previous dynastic status or considered to be, in terms of the suzerain-vassal rapports, on a lower rung of nobility. In 1269, seeking to acquire a matrimonial alliance with the Kingdom of Hungary, Charles of Anjou said about Stephen V: “natus est de genere Sanctorum et maximorum Regum, Princeps potens et bellicosus, et probatus contra inimicos fidei Christianae, et sancte Romane Ecclesie.”¹⁹

Resuming the thread of the argument, we may see that almost one century before the events mentioned above, the Duchess of Austria was called by Pope Innocent IV “dilecta in Christo filia, **nobilis mulier** Ducissa Austriae.”²⁰ This should lead us to understand that in the hierarchy of *Christianitas*, Basarab was regarded as a duke or deemed to be on an intermediate rung between a duke and a comes, but he was certainly seen as a nobleman.²¹ In a letter that praised the arduous application for the Roman faith exhibited by some Romanians on either side of the mountains, his son, [Nicolae] Alexandru, the future ruler, was also called “tam nobilibus quam popularibus” by Pope Clement VI.²²

Similarly, in Moldova, in 1370, Laţcu was called by Pope Urban V: “**nobilis vir**, Laczko, dux Moldaviensis, partium seu nationis Wlachie,”²³ just like Lady Clara was referred to as “dilecte in Christo filie **nobile mulieri** Clare”²⁴ by the same pontiff.

Vladislav I [Vlaicu] not[no longer?]being* part of the Roman Church, could be only “**nobili viro** Latizlao wayvode Vlachie,”²⁵ without being a “beloved son” any more.

apostolicam benedictionem], p. 421 [doc. from 1074: *Gregorius Episcopus, Seruus Seruorum Dei, Salomoni Regi Hungarorum, salutem et benedictionem*], pp. 423-424 [doc. from 1075: *Gregorius Episcopus, seruus seruorum Dei, Geuzae, Hungariae Duci, salutem et apostolicam benedictionem*]; the standard formula of address appears to have been used for the first time for King Coloman, volume II, Pest, 1829, p. 13 [doc. from 1096: *Vrbanus Episcopus, Seruus Seruorum Dei, dilecto in Christo Filio Columbano, magnifico Vngarorum Regi, salutem, et apostolicam benedictionem*] from this moment, the address was made constantly in the standard or abbreviated form; volume III/2, Pest, 1829, p. 17 [doc. from 1225, the first part of the address syntagm is missing from the formula of address: *carissimo in Christo filio*], p. 19 [doc. from the same year, a complete formula of address], p. 48 [doc. from 1225], volume IV/1, Pest, 1829, p. 30 [doc. from 1235, the first part of the address syntagm is missing from the formula of address: *carissimo in Christo filio*], pp. 33-34 [doc. from 1236], p. 41 [doc. from 1236], p. 88 [doc. from 1237], p. 175, p. 206, etc. [hereinafter *Fejér*].

¹⁹ *Fejér*, IV/3, p. 510.

²⁰ *Fejér*, IV/2, pp. 27-28.

²¹ *DIR, Introducere*, volume II, Bucharest, Editura Academiei RSR, 1956, note 11, p. 287.

²² *DRH*, D, doc. 32, from 17 October 1345, p. 60: “**nobilibus viri** Alexandro Bassarati et aliis [...] Olachis Romanis.”

²³ *Documente privitoare la Istoria Românilor culese de Eudoxiu de Hurmuzaki*, vol. I, Part 2 [1346-1450]. *Cu două Apendice. Documentele slavone [1189-1450] şi cu portretulu lui Mircea cel Mare şi alu fiului seu Mihailu*, Sococ, Bucureşti, 1890, doc. 124, p. 160; [hereinafter *Hurmuzaki*].

²⁴ *Ibidem*, doc. 122, p. 158.

²⁵ *Ibidem*, doc. 123, p. 159.

* The text of the pontifical document suggests that Vladislav I had previously considered converting to the Latin confession, just like, in fact, all his predecessors.

All of these appellations show without the trace of a doubt that from the perspective of the papal Curia, the Romanian rulers' monarchical rank was similar to that of a Western *dux* from the structures of *Christianitas*. Moreover, the semantic equivalence of the two terms - **duke** and **voivode** - was identical: a military commander.²⁶

Moving on to the Hungarian Chancellery and the official mode of perception of the Romanian extra-Carpathian voivodes, we must start with a few explanations, which complete their official image, establishing the necessary nuances from the Hungarian monarch's point of view.²⁷

At the end of the thirteenth century and the beginning of the fourteenth, the forms of address that may be noticed tended to be definitively implemented: for example, in one of the monarch's documents with a donative purpose, King Charles Robert mentions the facts of bravery committed by the Vice-Castellan of Unguraş [Baluanus], Mark, and his brother, Nicolaus, the familiars of Stephanus Pogan, in his turn the familiar of the "magnificent man" [*magnifici viri*] Thomas Szécsényi, Voivode of Transylvania and Comes of Solnoc, in the context of the unfortunate campaign from the fall of 1330 against the Romanian infidels.

At the intervention of his relative [*proximi nostri*], Thomas, the sovereign granted them noble rank, elevating them from the category of conditional castrensians²⁸ to that of full nobility. We have selected the text from the vantage point of the protocol terminology used by the monarch as a form of address, *magnificus vir*, which was employed for the royal dignitary and from this period on, began to serve as a written indicator of the aristocrats who were part of the royal council.²⁹

²⁶ On the terms hertzog, voievod, dux belli and their equivalences, see an extensive treatment in Valentin Al. Gerogescu, *Bizanțul și instituțiile românești până la mijlocul secolului al XVIII-lea*, Bucharest, Editura Academiei RSR, 1980, pp. 38-40.

²⁷ Francisc Pall, the editor of the part dedicated to Latin diplomatics from the introductory section of DIR indicates very clearly: protocolar terminology allows the use of *magnificus vir* for the high royal dignitaries [the judge of the royal court, the voivode, the bans], in *DIR, Introducere*, volume II, Bucharest, Editura Academiei RSR, 1956, p. 287.

²⁸ DRH, D, doc. 26, pp. 52-54.

²⁹ For an extensive discussion of the royal council and the imposition of the term *magnificus vir* for the kingdom's barons, the dignitaries in office, see András Kovács, *Voievozii Transilvaniei și evoluția instituției voievodale până la începutul secolului al XV-lea*, Bucharest, 2005 (doctoral thesis), pp. 23-28.

In the royal diplomas, most of the times the monarch called the aristocrats with whom he ruled, our barons, starting from the thirteenth century: *Fejér*, IV/1, p. 148 [document from Bela IV in 1239: *quorum nos causam Baronibus nostris exposuimus intelligendam*], p. 314, p. 391, p. 402 [*de Baronum nostrorum consilio iudicaueramus*]. Nicolaus, the vice-judge of the royal court, mentioned them in 1239 with the formula: *Domino autem regi, et nobis simul cum omnibus regni Magnatibus*, including himself among the latter, *Fejér*, IV/1, p. 151. In fact, for instance, in 1239, when he issued a document referring to an estate matter, Palatine Dionysius, the most important magnate in the kingdom after the king, entitled himself: *Dionisius, Dei gratia, Palatinus et Comes de Zonuk*, in *Fejér*, IV/1, p. 167; the formula is found on p. 170 [1239]. In 1244, the new Palatine Ladislaus also entitled himself: *Ladislaus, Dei gratia, Palatinus et Comes Simighiensis*, in *Fejér*, IV/1, p. 309; the same formula was used in 1246, p. 442; it appears that Palatine Rolandus no longer used it in 1252 or 1255, in *Fejér*, IV/2, p. 156, p. 328; the first who used it appears to have been Gyula, the palatine in 1216, *Fejér*, VII/1, p. 95, while the last one was Moys in 1270, in *Fejér*, V/1, p. 89. About these aspects, see also the chapter dedicated to Latin diplomatics in the

The fixation of the formula of address used by the Hungarian king for his barons in his internal documents of the 1310s-1320s also provides a new perspective on the position adopted by the Transalpine - and Moldovan - rulers in relation to their mighty neighbour from the North or the West, amid the tumultuous political context of South-East Europe³⁰ and, insofar as the subject of our study is concerned, it explains, in our view, the reason for the choice of noble young women from the kingdom as the wives of princes: the Romanian voivodes were perceived as belonging to the category of the kingdom's great barons, and the fact starting with Nicolae Alexandru, they also received fiefs in the Hungarian Monarchy ensured, in addition, the Hungarian nobiliary indigenate. These statements are strongly supported by the chancellery documents existing so far.

Still, we do not wish to go further with the illustration before we bring some clarifications in this respect.

In the fourteenth century, of the great barons of Hungary, Thomas Szécsényi married, a second time, Anna of Auschwitz,³¹ a Polish kneginja related to the Piasts, and became thus the relative of the Angevin king by his last wife, as the monarch insisted on saying on various occasions.³² It was one of the highest marital alliances an aristocrat coming from the heirs of the Hungarian "dismounters" (founders) could hope for in the

introductory volume from *DIR, Introducere*, volume 2, Bucharest, Editura Academiei RSR, 1956, note 5, p. 282. From the time of King Stephen V [1270-1272], in the formula for authenticating the document through the list of dignitaries the syntagm: "*et honores*" was added after "*et aliis quam pluribus, Comitatus regni tenentibus*," in *Fejér*, V/1, p. 138, which indicated exactly the assignment of offices through the royal will and through the council's will. On *honor*, see András Kovács, *Voievozii Transilvaniei și evoluția instituției voievodale...*, pp. 28-31. The first list of dignitaries from the end of a royal document which assigned them the particle of *magnificus* also belonged to the chancellery of King Stephen V and dated from 19 March 1272: "**Magnificis** Moys, Palatino, Comite Soproniensi et iudice Cumanorum; Nicolao iudice Curiae, Comite Simegiensi"; etc., in *Fejér*, V/1, p. 230; on 19 May of the same year, the syntagm was not attached to the list, in *ibidem*, p. 236 and was only found there again on 5 January 1322 in a document from Charles Robert: "**Magnificis viris** Dosa Palatino Comite de Zonuk et de Zathmar; Demetrio Magistro Tawernicorum nostrorum, Comite Vachiensi et Trinchiniensi, Magistro Lamperto, Iudice Curiae nostrae, Comite Chanadiensi et Nitriensi, Thoma Vajuoda Transilvano et Comite de Zonuk, Nicolao Bano totius Sclauoniae, Comite Suproniensi et de Camarum, Paulo Bano de Machou, Comite Symmiensi, de Volkou et Bodrug, Dionysio Magistro Dapiferorum nostrorum, Blasio Magistro Agazonum, Paulo Magistro Tauemicorum Dominae reginae, consortis nostrae charissimae, Magistro Deseu Iudice Curiae eiusdem Dominae reginae, Magistro Blasio, Comite de Scepus et de Vjwar, Nicolao Comite Posenien. et aliis compluribus regni nostri Comitatus tenentibus et honores," in *Fejér*, VIII/2, p. 328. From now on, it was constantly used: on 2 June 1322, in *ibidem*, p. 337, on 10 June 1323, in *ibidem*, p. 401, etc.

³⁰ See also the observations of Ștefan S. Gorovei from *Princeps omni laude maior...*, note 80, p. 23, for the end of the fifteenth century [Stephen the Great, Vlad Țepeș], referring to the status of voivodes from the royal Hungarian perception. We believe, however, and will show hereinafter that unfortunately for our rulers, with the exception, perhaps, of Mircea the Elder, this was the perception of the royalty and its chancellery until the fall of Hungary at Mohács in 1526.

³¹ Pál Engel, *Magyar középkori adattár. Magyarország világi archontológiája 1301–1457. Középkori magyar genealógia*, Budapest, 2001 [CD-ROM], Kacsics/Szécsényi entry.

³² *DIR, C, Trans.*, veac XIV, volume III, Bucharest, Editura Academiei RSR, 1954, doc. 349, pp. 427-428, from 1337, 15 November, doc. 365, pp. 440-441, from 9 February 1338, doc. 447, pp. 514-515, from 21 September 1339, doc. 448, p. 516, from 23 September 1339.

Western *Christianitas*, given his own status, and with this marriage he cemented his old friendship with his sovereign. Thomas, who came from a good albeit less affluent family, had tied his fate to the destiny of the Angevin pretender from early on and played a winning card,³³ which eventually earned him even access to the royal family and a brilliant financial situation. It was an example which, by extrapolation, established - at the level of medieval perception - the Romanian voivodes' "pool of marriage options" on the territory of that Latin *Christianitas*. In the Greek, Orthodox environment, the situation was more lax and this can be seen in the dynastic connections established by the Wallachian and Moldavian voivodes with the Bulgarian Tsarates, the Serbian Empire, the Ukrainians, the Russian and Crimean princes, who were also related, collaterally, with the Constantinopolitan imperial families, which offered them great dynastic prestige and raised the monarchical standing of all these princes from South-East Europe. It is well known that it was on such a matrimony - between Zoe/Sophia Paleologhina and Ivan III - that the Moscow Knezate of the sixteenth century based its claim about their capital being the third Rome and representing the successor of the Constantinopolitan Empire.³⁴

In addition, after his marriage to Maria Asanina Paleologhina from the principality of Theodoro-Mangop, Stephen the Great called himself a "tsar," and asserted his claims of being the new Constantine.³⁵ This occurred amid the situation in which, in the mid-fourteenth century, the Orthodox states from the Balkans had increasingly fallen under the control of the young and rather aggressive state of the Ottoman Turks and the matrimonial alliances between the Orthodox states had become more and more difficult to form. Suffice it to think about the fact that after 1449, none of the Orthodox sovereigns assumed in practice a marriage with the Palaiologoi who ruled over a dying empire.³⁶

Closing the parenthesis and returning to the issue of the forms of address used in the Hungarian chancellery for the Wallachian rulers, we shall focus, to start with, on the one from the chronicle of the Archdeacon of Târnave, where he is referred to as a "baron,"³⁷ and then on that of 18 February 1355, where King Louis I simply calls [Nicolae] Alexandru Basarab "our Transalpine voivode,"³⁸ just like Basarab I had been called by the first Angevin in his good old days. Here, the scribe from the royal

³³ On Thomas's options, see a more extensive discussion in Pál Engel, *Regatul Sfântului Ștefan. Istoria Ungariei medievale [895-1526]*, Cluj Napoca, Editura Mega, 2006, pp. 171-172.

³⁴ A. A. Vasiliev, *Istoria Imperiului Bizantin*, Editura Polirom, Iași, 2010, p. 562: "Moscow started to be compared with 'Rome of the Seven Hills' and was called 'the third Rome.' The great Prince of Moscow became the 'Tsar of the entire Orthodoxy,' and Moscow, the capital of the Russian state, became 'the new city of Constantine' [...] at the beginning of the sixteenth century, the monk Filotei wrote: 'Two Romes have fallen down and the third is still standing, while the fourth will never be.'"

³⁵ Ștefan S. Gorovei and Maria Magdalena Székely, *Princeps omni laude maior...*, pp. 90-98, and especially 95-97.

³⁶ Donald M. Nicol, *Împăratul fără de moarte. Viața și legenda lui Constantin Paleologul, ultimul împărat al romanilor*, Iași, Editura Polirom, seria Historia, 2003, pp. 50, especially 56-62.

³⁷ Dimitrie Onciul, *Anul morții marelui Basarab voievod*, in *Scrieri istorice*, edited by Aurel Sacerdoțeanu, volume II, Bucharest, Editura Științifică, 1968, p. 326: "quidam princeps seu baro potentissimus... Alexander vayvoda Transalpinus."

³⁸ *DRH*, D, doc. 38, p. 70: "wayuodam nostrum Transalpinum."

chancellery did not grant the ruler south of the Carpathians the gratification of “*magnificus vir*.” He also refused to award it to him on 29 August 1359, when the monarch made a donation in Timiș County to the grandchildren of Zarna [Zârna?], the sons of Ladislaus [Vladislav], “his faithful Romanians,” Romanian boyars who had fled Wallachia and entered the Hungarian king’s service, at the time when Nicolae Alexandru no longer recognised Louis as his suzerain.³⁹

On 5 January 1365, when the king made conscription to war public, neither the late Alexandru Basarab, nor his son, Vladislav [Ladislaus], considered to be the usurper of the regal rights by his self-appointment as the ruler of Wallachia, with the “treacherous consent and secretive agreement of the Romanians and the inhabitants of that country” [of the legal country, we might say, that wanted him as ruler] held, under these circumstances, any other position than that of “Transalpine voivode.”⁴⁰ Of course, we may note that the son’s royal wrath was milder than that of his illustrious father, who had called Basarab merely the “Transalpine,” infidel, of course, denying him even his title, not to mention his rights.

In fact, it seems that during this period, even the Romanians who were the “*dilectis*” and “*fidelis*” of the mighty Angevin did not yet enjoy the gratification of a Baronial rank, although they had shed their blood in his Moldovan country, where Bogdan and his sons, “the devil-stricken,” had fled.⁴¹ The lack of titular gratifications was probably caused by the fact that they had just lost a borderland for the king. The irony notwithstanding, the reason why Balk does not appear in the document of 1365 except with the syntagm “*strenuum virum*” and “*voyvodam nostrum Maramoriensem*” lies in lower nobiliary status and, obviously, in his lack of an official mandate in the royal council.⁴²

The document of 10 October 1366, by which the king required that an estate boundary should be established between Aciliu [*Echellev*] and Tilișca [*Thylichke*], Săcel [*Ffeketevyz*] and Orlat [*Waraliafalu*] indicated a reconciliation between the two parties previously involved in a conflict [the possessive pronominal adjective “*nostrum*” from the expression “*wayuodam nostrum Transalpinum*” reoccurs, this time in the genitive singular, for Vladislav I] and used a phrase reminiscent of the notion of *honor*. In fact, in this case, it is synonymous to the point of becoming identical with it, the sense that it is no longer referred to as the “territory pertaining to this *honor*,” but as “*parte terrarum sub vaivodatu domini Ladislai*,”⁴³ that is, the part pertaining to the voivodeship/

³⁹ *Ibidem*, doc. 40, p. 73: “*wayuoda Transalpinus*.”

⁴⁰ *Ibidem*, doc. 42, p. 78: “*wayuoda Transsalpinus*.”

⁴¹ *Ibidem*, doc. 43, pp. 80-81.

⁴² In 1373 Balk and his brothers, the sons of the late Voivode Saaz, bore the title of *magister* and were familiars of the royal court [*aule nostre familiares*], cf. Ioan Mihalyi de Apșa, *Diplome maramureșene din secolele XIV și XV*, second edition, Cluj Napoca, Editura Societății Culturale Pro Maramureș “Dragoș Vodă,” 2000, doc. 36, p. 65. It was in the same year, on 30 October, that Voivode Balk was mentioned also with the office of Comes of Maramureș County, *ibidem*, doc. 38, p. 69. On 18 November 1378, Balk and his brother, Drag, were mentioned with the position of Comites of Maramureș and Sătmar, *ibidem*, doc. 41, p. 73. Finally, on 25 November 1387, both brothers were mentioned as “*magnificorum virorum Balk et Drag Woywode inter ceteros honores Comitum Siculorum*,” *ibidem*, doc. 52, p. 87.

⁴³ *DRH*, D, doc. 44, p. 83.

mandate/ *honor* of the ruler Vladislav, “our Transalpine voivode” for Făgăraș and Amlaș. A novelty was the placement of the particle “dominus” before the Wallachian voivode’s name, used in the forms of address to the monarch,⁴⁴ certain clerics⁴⁵ or magnates⁴⁶ of the kingdom, which reinforces the idea of the relations between the two rulers being more than cordial. The answer of the chapter in Alba Iulia, dated 24 November 1366, which informed the king that the boundaries of the estates had been drawn, was part of the classical editorial pattern: the royal witness was mentioned, in this case the very Vice-Voivode of Transylvania, Petrus Járái, and the man of the chapter, the priest Stephanus who had raised the border signs, separating the estates of Săcel [*Ffeketevyz*] and Orlat [*Waraliafalu*] from “terra seu tenutis **magnifici viri, domini** Ladislai, **vaivode** Transalpini.”⁴⁷

By way of comparison, let us refer to a document issued by the convent from Cluj Mănăstur in 1368 and two notes addressed to the voivodes of Transylvania. The document of the convent is reminiscent of the call to war against Vladislav I from 1368 and mentions the royal army commander, Nicolaus Lackfi: “**magnifico viro, domino** Nicolao, **woyuoda** Transsilvano et comite de Zonuk.”⁴⁸ The notes are as follows: one from 1408, sent by the Vice-Voivode of Transylvania, Johannes Dobokái, referring to his masters: “**magnificorum virorum, dominorum** nostrorum metuendorum **vayvadarum**,”⁴⁹ and the other sent by the Congregation of Cojocna County to the Voivode of Transylvania in 1467: “**Magnifico viro** Johanni, comiti de Sancto Georgio et Bwzyn, **wayuoda** Transsilvano Siculorumque comiti **domini** ipsorum multum metuendo et precolendo, universitas nobilium comitatus de Colus notificamus eidem vestre magnificentie.”⁵⁰

⁴⁴ Fejér, IV/3, p. 12: *Quod cum Dominus Bela Rex*; *ibidem*, p. 80: *Dominus Rex, et Domina regina eiusdem monasterii fundatores maluerint*, etc.

⁴⁵ *DIR*, C, Trans., veac XIV, volume II, doc. 451, pp. 223-226: *venerabilis pater dominus, frater...*, *dominus* Ladislaus prepositus..., in *DIR*, C, Trans., vol. III, doc. 56, pp. 41-253; Fejér, IV/1, p. 97: *Dominus Vrias Abbas, Pater venerabilis praefatae Ecclesiae...*

⁴⁶ *Documenta Romaniae Historica, seria C, Transilvania*, volume X, Bucharest, Editura Academiei RSR, 1977, doc. 247, pp. 253-256: “as regards the complaint filed against him by that Master Toma in the ruling assembly of the said *our lord, the voivode*, comprised in that letter of *our lord, the voivode*”; Fejér, XI, p. 506: *et ipse Dominus Joannes Vajda, in loco certaminis de equo suo in terram prostratus et deiectus, annotatus Theodorus equum sub ipso habitum, eidem Domino Vajda contulisset...*; *hodie a Magnificis Dominis, Nicolao (Ujlaki) Vaywoda, et Ladislao de Palocz (Curiae regiae Iudice) ad nos in legacione aduenisse [...] et iam Dominus Nicolaus, Waywoda Transilvanus, per se profecturus est Wiennam, predictum Mathiam captum, ad Strigonium reducturus, qui Matthias captus interim pro obside in manibus Dominorum, Dionysii Archiepiscopi Strigoniensis, et eiusdem Nicolai Waywode Transilvani debet permanere, quousque predicta castra regia Domino nostro Regi restituentur*, in *ibidem*, pp. 260-262.

⁴⁷ *DRH*, D, doc. 45, p. 84. The formula of address to King Louis: “Excellentissimo principi domino Lodouico, dei gratia illustri regi Hungarie, domino ipsorum naturali.”

⁴⁸ *Ibidem*, doc. 52, p. 92.

⁴⁹ Barabás Samu, *A romai szent birodalmi gróf Szeki Teleki Család oklevéltára. A család áldozatát a Maros-Vásárhelyi levéltárból kiadja*, volume I [1206-1437], Az Athenaeum R. Társulat könyvnyomdája, Budapest, 1895, doc. 255, pp. 329-330 [hereinafter *Teleki*].

⁵⁰ Béla Ivány, *A Tomaj Nemzetségbeli Losonczi Bánffy család története. Oklevéltár a Tomaj nemzetségbeli Losonczi Bánffy család történetéhez*, volume II [1457-1526], Hornyámszky V. R. T. M. KIR. UDV. könyvnyomda, Budapest, 1928, doc. 75, pp. 90-91 [hereinafter *Bánffy*].

On 20 January 1368, in the letter patent to the merchants from Braşov, negotiated with Master Demetrius Lepes, a knight of the court and a royal envoy entrusted with this matter, Vladislav entitled himself as “Dei et regi maiestatis gracia weyuoda Transalpinus et banus de Zeurino.”⁵¹

The king called him in two consecutive decrees, of March 1368, simply Layk, “the Transalpine voivode,” but these were two mandates for his friend and dignitary, Benedictus Himfi, not *citatoria* or *prorogatoria*.⁵² In September, the Hungarian-Wallachian relations were difficult again because of the situation of the Vidin Tsarate and war loomed on the horizon.⁵³ There followed a few years in which relations vacillated between concord and conflict, a state that would actually be perpetuated until the death of the Wallachian ruler and even during the reign of his brother, Radu I [cca. 1377-1385]. We should also note that in 1372, Vladislav entitled himself *Baron* of Făgăraş and Amlaş⁵⁴ when he made a few donations, and in 1374, the king summoned his friend and close collaborator, Benedictus Himfi, the “expert” on Wallachian problems, to resolve an emergency situation of several runaway boyars, one of whom was Selibor, the voivode’s henchman, because he did not know how the ruler would react if he received them.⁵⁵

A document issued by the Făgăraş castellan, Paulus Thomoryi, in 1511 strengthened the ownership of some estates belonging to a man by the name of Costea, whose ancestors had received them from “quondam magnifici domini Mirce vajvode partium regni Transalpinarum et bani Zveriniensium.”⁵⁶

The ruler’s standing as an indigenous nobleman, Mircea, in this case, is proved also by the fact that like any magnate of the kingdom, with estates in Transylvania, in 1399, his case was defended by his procurator Nicolaus of Ludas, in the general congregation of Transylvania for the domain of the Bologa fortress: “Nicolaus de Ludas pro magnifico viro domino Meche, waywoda partis Transalpine, cum procuratoriis litteris eiusdem...”⁵⁷

King Sigismund of Luxemburg wrote to a close collaborator on 23 March 1399, mentioning the fact that he had written only one week before to “fidelis nostri, dilecti magnifici viri, domini Merche, woyuode Transalpine”.⁵⁸ On April 4 1404, speaking about the loss of the city of Turnu [Small Nikopol], King Sigismund showed that it had been conquered by the Sultan Bayezid from “Merche, waiuoda, **familiari nostro**.”⁵⁹ A few years later, the relations went sour, and the king was attacked at (a) Posada (a gorge,

⁵¹ DRH, D, doc. 46, p. 86.

⁵² *Ibidem*, doc. 47-48, pp. 88-89.

⁵³ *Ibidem*, doc. 51, p. 91. An extensive treatment in Maria Holban, *Din cronica relaţiilor româno-ungare în secolele XIII-XIV*, Bucharest, Editura Academiei RSR, 1981, *passim*.

⁵⁴ *Ibidem*, doc. 59, p. 103.

⁵⁵ *Ibidem*, doc. 63, p. 107.

⁵⁶ *Ibidem*, doc. 103, p. 170.

⁵⁷ *Ibidem*, doc. 104, p. 171.

⁵⁸ *Ibidem*, doc. 105, p. 171. A solid study on Sigismund of Luxembourg Oriental policy during all these years, with all the obvious errors, due to later clarifications is that written by I. Minea, *Politica orientală a împăratului Sigismund. Note istorice*, Bucharest, Tipografia Convorbiri Literare, 1919.

⁵⁹ *Ibidem*, doc. 108, p. 177.

in Romanian), incurring great losses,⁶⁰ by Mircea who had slid down the slope of infidelity and who resumed his alliance with the Poles in around 1411.⁶¹

On 10 July 1424, King-Emperor Sigismund wrote referring to Voivode Dan II as “*fidelis nostri magnifici Daan vayvode*.”⁶² On 10 November of the same year, Dan thanked “*dominus meus naturalis et graciossimus*” for having allowed him to mint coins called *fileri* and small *denari* in vernacular out of “*sue regie maiestati immensas graciaram accione*.”⁶³ On 4 April 1425, Sigismund wrote a writ to Dan, drafted as for a high royal dignitary exercising his *honor* in the areas subjected to the authority of the Holy Crown, lest he should oblige the people of Braşov to accept his coin. Sanction was not present in its classical form: *aliud secus non facturi*,⁶⁴ but “*aliud pro nostra gracia non facturi in premissis*.”⁶⁵ In the document of 5 November 1426, the monarch established with the Barons’ Council the military necessary for guarding Voivode Dan in the Transalpine areas of Emperor-King Sigismund; the formulas of address were unchanged compared to the previous documents.⁶⁶

We shall conclude here this long exposition, whereby we wanted to show that according to the perception of the monarch and, implicitly, of all the decision makers at the superior level of the Hungarian kingdom, the South Carpathian ruler was seen as a magnate, a high dignitary of the court,⁶⁷ a familiar of the king’s, with a document from Vlad Ţepeş who wrote to the people of Braşov that he would defend them against their enemies just like all the rulers from Mircea’s family had done for the Holy Crown and for the Holy Roman faith, as faithful loyals.⁶⁸

Considering that these explanations have clarified certain image-related aspects of perception on the Hungarian-Wallachian relations, which were already intuited and partly discussed by Nicolae Iorga, P. P. Panaitescu, Maria Holban or Ştefan Ştefănescu,

⁶⁰ *Ibidem*, doc. 112, p. 182.

⁶¹ *Ibidem*, doc. 115, pp. 187-188.

⁶² *Ibidem*, doc. 140, p. 225.

⁶³ *Ibidem*, doc. 141, p. 227.

⁶⁴ More about these aspects in Francisc Pall, *DIR, Introducere*, volume II, p. 299.

⁶⁵ *DRH*, D, doc. 146, p. 235: “*Sigismundus, dei gratia Romanorum rex semper Augustus... fideli nostro dilecto, specatbili et magnifico Daan, parcium nostrarum Transalpinarum wayuode, salutem et graciarn*.” By way of comparison, the writ for the Castellans of Bran is drafted in almost the same manner, doc. 148, p. 236. Doc. 149, p. 238 a reference of the king-emperor to the former Voivode of Transylvania, identical in terms of its wording with that addressed to Dan. Only the geographical space is different. Moreover, in document 149 of 8 May 1426, King Sigismund expressly asserted that the Holy Crown was directly interested in *parcium nostrarum Transsilvanarum ac parcium nostrarum Transalpinarum*.

⁶⁶ *Ibidem*, doc. 151, pp. 242-243. Doc. 128, 129 and 169 from *DRH*, D, the years 1419, 1429. Igumen Agaton received, in fact, the letter patent drafted in Slavonian at Pojon. Sigismund seemed in those years the true sovereign of Ungrovlahia, which was one of his numerous possessions. This only meant in this case accepting some self-evident realities: the Wallachian state had to be preserved and that could only be done through the mightiest monarch of the time. Being the emperor’s direct familiar must have been a proof of being held in high esteem.

⁶⁷ Adrian Andrei Rusu has noticed, in his turn, that the rulers across the mountains had the custom of considering themselves the equals of the appointed voivodes of Transylvania: “Truly, but partially unjustly, the rulers across the mountains deemed themselves to be the equals of the Transylvanian voivodes, even though their internal authority was incomparably more substantial,” in “Ştefan cel Mare şi Transilvania. Un inventar critic, date nevalorificate şi interpretări noi,” in *Analele Putnei*, I, 2005/2, p. 94.

⁶⁸ *Ibidem*, doc. 338, pp. 456-458.

we may now address the central theme of this study: the Wallachian princesses-consort of Hungarian origin or originating from the Hungarian kingdom.

1. Lady “Marghita”/ Margareta [?] of Basarab I.

Chronologically, the first envisaged would be Lady “Marghita”, the wife of Voivode Basarab I [prior to 1324-1352]. Several natural questions arise from the very beginning: whence did the name Marghita/Margareta become naturalised in our historiography at some point and what type of sources called her thus? (since, in fact, they barely said anything about the founder), and, last but not least, why was she considered to be of Hungarian origin? The last query should be linked to the number of matrimonies: was this lady the sole wife of the first Basarab? Let us start logically, with one question at a time, hoping to remove at least a few small veils.

We do not consider it useful to resume the problem of the origins of Basarab I and his father, Thocomerius,⁶⁹ despite the controversy recently revived by Neagu Djuvara.⁷⁰ Thus, as Constantin Rezachevici noted in 2001, he was called *Olacus* in most of the royal diplomas because the nations of contact in the kingdom were well known⁷¹: Pechenegs, Cumans, Saxons, Szeklers, Romanians, etc. Of course, the voivode’s and his father’s names may be Cuman,⁷² but in this case ethnic evidence was definitively

⁶⁹ István Vásáry, *Cumans and Tatars. Oriental Military in the pre Ottoman Balkans, 1185-1365*, Cambridge U. P., 2005, p. 159, the author claims that he upholds the perspective adopted by Györfy G., who saw the royal diploma in the original and allegedly read *Thotomery*.

The letter patent number DL 2733 from 26 November 1332 [with the Romanian translation in DRH, D, doc. 25, pp. 51-52] is found in photocopy, in digitised form, posted on the official site the National Archives of Hungary, at the address: <http://mol.arcanum.hu/dldf/opt/a110505htm?v=pdf&q=JELZ%3D%282733%29&a=list>, accessed on 10.09.2012.

Although there is the shadow of a doubt on the letter read as “c,” I also incline to think that it might represent a “t,” because, if the text is magnified very much, that c/t considerably resembles the “t” in “*merita*” [*eximia merita que nobis...*], while the lower part of the letter has the tendency to curve on the inside. If it were read Thotomerius/Thatamerius, as the Hungarian author noticed, then the name would have been frequently encountered in Hungary in that period, *ibidem*, p. 152 and note 6. Furthermore, we would like to highlight, as a “curiosity,” besides the royal vice-chancellor attested between 1332 and 1351/1368, the knezial serf *Thathemirus Rufus*, a districtual juror assessor in Hațeg in 1360, DL 41429; *Tatamerius de Zalathna Banya* [Zlatna], a local, son of Kend, son of Nicolaus, Ioannes, Henneng, Blasius, Ladislaus and Stoyan, who in 1363 was in a conflict with the Voivode of Beiuș, Iwan and his brothers, for several crimes, *Fejér*, VII/3, p. 46; similarly, Knez *Tatamyr* in 1366, in *DRH, C, Trans.*, XIII, doc. 61, p. 107; also, Knez *Thamerius* in 1372, *DRH, C, XIV*, doc. 152, p. 238; we may mention a nephew of Balk’s, *Thatamir*, who died in Louis’s battles, referred to as such in 1387, in *Fejér*, XI/1, p. 372. We may notice that it is a common Romanian name from Hațeg, the Apuseni, Maramureș and the Banat.

⁷⁰ *Thocomerius. Negru Vodă. Un voivod de origine cumană la începuturile Tarii Romanesti*, Bucharest, Editura Humanitas, 2007, and, respectively, “*Răspuns criticilor mei și neprietenilor lui Negru Vodă*,” Bucharest, Editura Humanitas, 2011.

⁷¹ C-tin Rezachevici, *Cronologia critică a domnilor...*, pp. 68-70.

⁷² Constantin C. Giurescu, *Istoria Românilor. Din cele mai vechi timpuri până la moartea lui Alexandru cel Bun [1432]*, volume I, fifth edition, Bucharest, Fundația Regală pentru Literatură și Artă, 1946, p. 316: “conquering father”; p. 386. Nicolae Stoicescu, Florian Tucă, 1330. *Posada*, p. 64, note: Basarab, “dominating father” who vanquished the Black Tatars from the former Black Cumania = Negru Vodă [Radu the Black], plus other plausible explanations. István Vásáry, *Cumans and Tatars. Oriental Military in the pre Ottoman Balkans...*, a very well-balanced analysis on pp. 151-153.

confirmed by a king⁷³ surrounded by schismatics and pagans whom he knew very well. Besides, the Roman pontiff knew this and mentioned it quite often: on 16 June 1332, Holy Pope John XXII wrote to King Charles that “we were shown by you that, sometimes, when you, most dear son, driven by the zeal of the Catholic faith, turn your army against the *schismatics* and the *infidel heretics neighbouring your kingdom* (our emphasis), you often happen to reach with your army some places that are so dry and barren”⁷⁴; the same Pope John XXIII wrote on 11 July 1334, this time to “all the believers in Christ found in the Kingdom of Hungary and in other lands subjected to our beloved son in Christ, the illustrious King of Hungary [...] *you endure* from the *schismatics, Tatars, pagans and other mixed nations of unbelievers, invasions, devastation, the taking of captives, enslavement, imprisonment and other various kinds of torture and countless torments* (our emphasis)”⁷⁵; on July 11 1351, Clement VI wrote that “in the kingdom and *around his kingdom of Hungary* (our emphasis), there are many schismatics, Philistines, Cumans, Tatars, pagans and infidels, whom he is going to make receive the Holy Baptism”⁷⁶; on 1 August 1410, Pope John XXIII addressed his envoy to Hungary, the Bishop of Placentia, “*reformatoris [...] in spiritualibus*,” for eradicating the heresy that had seized the Roman faith because of the proximity to the kingdom’s borders of the mixed nations of Cumans, Tatars, Romanians and others,⁷⁷ the idea being reiterated in the document of 18 August 1410.”^{78*}

Regarding the first question, according to Bogdan Petriceicu Haşdeu, those who launched the names of Marghita/Margareta for the consort of Basarab I in their chronicles were Dionisie Fotino and Tunusli,⁷⁹ while the genealogy of the Cantacuzinos simply calls her Cneajna [*<kneaghina = the knez’s daughter*].⁸⁰ Since the entire genealogy of the first Basarabs up until 1352/1364 was a phantasmagoric blend and some continue to perpetuate it on the Internet by going back to the Roman Empire, we believe that the reference from the Cantacuzinian Genealogy relates to Nicolae Alexandru’s first wife, while Fotino and Tunusli referred to the wife of Basarab I [the Radu Negru of the first genealogies]. In an extraordinary attempt to clear the genealogical detritus from Basarab’s family, Alexandru Lapedatu showed that the unaltered popular tradition was aware that the Catholic spouse of Negru Vodă,

⁷³ C-tin Rezachevici, *Cronologia critică a domnilor...*, p. 69.

⁷⁴ *DIR, seria C, Transilvania, veacul XIV*, vol. III, doc. 95, pp. 271-272.

⁷⁵ *Ibidem*, doc. 197, pp. 328-329.

⁷⁶ *DRH, seria C, Transilvania*, vol. X, doc. 45, p. 40.

⁷⁷ *Hurmuzaki*, I/2, doc. 385: “hereses pullulant et imunerabilia catholice fidei ex propinquitate, quam habent cum Cumanis, Philisteis, Valachis, Tartaris et quamplurimis aliis infidelibus in finitibus partibus commorantibus, ...,” pp. 466-468.

⁷⁸ *Ibidem*, doc. 386, pp. 468-469. In a letter issued from Rome on 15 December 1399, Boniface IX was even more explicit when he stated: “in oppido de Corona seu vulgariter Brascho nuncupato Strigoniensis dioceses in **confinibus christianitas** situato,” in *Ub.*, III, doc. 1445, pp. 246-247. The same holds for Martin V, when he made reference to “Transilvanensis dioceses in **ultimis confinibus** regni Hungarie constitutum,” in *Ub.*, IV, doc. 2092, p. 402.

* The passage was taken, with slight modifications in the footnotes, from our doctoral thesis: *Proscrişi şi infractori în Transilvania în secolele XIV-XVI*, Cluj Napoca, 2007, p. 4.

⁷⁹ Bogdan Petriceicu Haşdeu, *Etymologicum Magnum Romaniae...*, tome IV, p. 207.

⁸⁰ *Ibidem*.

Marghita, had raised the church in Câmpulung [Cloașter] and was prosecuted for this fact by her husband, or being embittered that he had destroyed her church, she committed suicide in *Pârâul Doamnei*.⁸¹ The historian then followed a logical thread and dismantled the legends about Negru Vodă. In note 1 on page 291, he showed the same sources as Hașdeu, but added others as well. Alexandru Lapedatu's excursus clearly demonstrated that the source of inspiration remained the Diptych from Câmpulung Muscel.⁸² Dimitrie Onciul wrote in one of his articles from 1916 that the Diptych from Câmpulung was rewritten, "revised and renewed" [according to a note from the manuscript probably] in 1701 and was kept in the Romanian Academy Library with the call number mss. 3722⁸³: "Io Basarab Voevod i gospodža ego Marghita." The fact that Lady Marghita appears in the Diptych from Câmpulung would logically/theologically have only one explanation: because the Orthodox Church forbids [forbade] commemorating the dead of other confessions in the Proskomedie during the Liturgy, aside from the personal prayers for the demised made in the special ceremonies, and, for instance, the second wife of Voivode Nicolae Alexandru, Clara, known to have been a Catholic, was not mentioned together with her husband [the first, Maria, was] leads to the idea of the Greek confession for the wife of Basarab the schismatic, son of Thocomerius - Thotomerius. We shall offer three working hypotheses below. Could this have been a scribal error from 1710, when the text was copied, or from 1758-1762? Could the fact that the "hierarch" Nicola was unable to make the association between Nicolae and Alexandru, actually, already irreversibly confused in the mentality of the time with Radu Negru Vodă not have been the only error? This is possible too, but, for example, the list of metropolitans from the copy of 1826-1831 is accurately rendered,⁸⁴ without graphic errors. But this copy of the diptych comprises the list of rulers that Onciul knew to be incomplete because there were two types. In the copy of 1831, they appear to be mixed, as noted in the two descriptions that are 91 years apart. From our perspective, despite all the possible graphic errors, we believe that

⁸¹ Alexandru Lapedatu, "Cum s-a alcătuit tradiția națională despre originile Țării Românești," in *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie Națională al Universității din Cluj*, volume II/1923, Bucharest, Editura Cartea Românească S.A, 1924, p. 290.

⁸² *Ibidem*, p. 291. The same source was given by Constantin Kogălniceanu, *Cercetări Critice cu privire la Istoria Românilor, Basarab I zis Negru Vodă întemeietorul Țării Românești*, Fascicola I, Bucharest, Minerva, Institut de Arte Grafice și Editura, 1908, p. 5.

⁸³ Dimitrie Onciul, "În chestiunea bisericii domnești de la Curtea de Argeș," in *Scrieri istorice*, edited by Aurel Sacerdoțeanu, volume II, Bucharest, Editura Științifică, 1968, pp. 239-240. Fr. Lecturer Dr. Radu Tascovici indicates that the diptych is from 1710, copied by Nicola the "hierarch" [renewed at the order of kir Iosif the pilgrim hieromonk] and recopied between 1758 and 1762 and updated during the time of Igumen Nicodim Belețeanul. In fact, we find out further on, the document of 1710 no longer exists, only the copy from 1762, another copy from 1784 identified in 1925 also disappearing until the present moment. Instead, the copy from 1831 has been retrieved, having initially been considered lost; the call number BAR given by Onciul is in fact the call number of the copy from 1758-1762, in "Manuscrisele copiate în Mănăstirea Negru Vodă din Câmpulung," in *Revista Teologică*, no. 3, Editura Andreiană, Sibiu, 2007, pp. 306-307.

⁸⁴ Fr. Lecturer Dr. Radu Tascovici, *Manuscrisele copiate în Mănăstirea Negru Vodă...*, pp. 312-315. We do notice that the historian C-tin Rezachevici is inclined to name Basarab's consort in *Cronologia critică a domnilor...*, plate II.

Basarab's consort was called Marghita⁸⁵ <Margaret, but as regards her confession, there are three possibilities: she may have been Catholic, but converted to Orthodoxy, or she was Orthodox and, possibly, not from the Kingdom of Hungary, or she was Catholic, but her association with the church of the Orthodox founder was so strong [through donations, support of another type, cofounder] that all hindrances were in this case surpassed. What do we base our statements on? On the comparison with the Diptych from Monastery of Moldovan Bistrița. The ladies known to have had the Latin confession also do not appear there: Margaret-Mușata, Ringalla, Maria Holszanka, the relatives of Governor John Hunyadi married to the rulers of Moldova, and while some are very well known [Ringalla, the founder's wife, Maria, the founder's daughter] and from the founder's next of kin [Alexandru cel Bun], the Diptych overlooks them. Just like it overlooks the Armenian or the Jew Aron [princely name Petru],⁸⁶ just like it overlook the sons and the wife of Iuga Ologul, the founder Alexandru's brother, the wife of Stephen I, the brother of the founder, or that of Peter I, with her sons Roman and Ivașcu, the cousins of the ruler. This would explain the first two situations presented.

We believe that the very strong foundational associations could also explain the difference of names between the two Wallachian diptychs for the wives of Voivode Radu, the nephew of Lady Marghita: Ana⁸⁷ [the Diptych from Câmpulung Muscel]⁸⁸ and Kalinikia⁸⁹ [Tismana Monastery].⁹⁰ The clerics from Câmpulung commemorated Ana as a cofounder/ donor of their church, and those from Tismana - Lady Kalinikia, who had made donations of villages⁹¹ to her husband's monastery. As other historians have noticed too, when Dan I made donations to the monastery, on behalf of his late father, he did not mention Lady Kalinikia,⁹² Dan II called her "lelea" [aunt, big sister], but Vlad Dracul reconfirmed the donations made by "Lady Kalinikia, the grandmother of my highness."⁹³

The name of the first princess consort of Wallachia is that of a saint from the primary age, worshipped both in the West and in the East, but under different names [Saint Margaret of Antioch - Saint Marina]. After 1271, in the space of the Hungarian

⁸⁵ În 1213, the Register from Oradea attested a *Margueta*, the servant of the priest Custodia, which makes us believe that this is name that the lady must have used for herself, and the first drafters of the diptych will have written down exactly this form, which after being recopied several times turned from Margueta into Margita, in *DIR, C, XI-XIII*, doc. 67, p. 48.

⁸⁶ Damian P. Bogdan, *Pomelnicul Mănăstirei Bistrița*, f. ed. Bucharest, 1941, p. 86.

⁸⁷ According to a Serbian chronicle, the daughter of Knez Lazăr of Serbia, in C-tin Rezachevici, *Istoria popoarelor vecine și neamul românesc în Evul Mediu*, Editura Albatros, Bucharest, 1998, p. 374. Let us retain only the basic idea from the chronicle: the possibility that Lady Ana came from the highest ranks of the Serbian nobility.

⁸⁸ Nicolae Șerbănescu, Nicolae Stoicescu, *Mircea cel Mare [1386-1418]. 600 de ani de la urcarea pe tronul Țării Românești*, Bucharest, Editura Institutului Biblic și de Misiune al Bisericii Ortodoxe Române, 1987, p. 12.

⁸⁹ On her origins, see the discussions from Panaitescu, Andreescu, Șerbănescu and Stoicescu, *op. cit.* in the chapters dedicated to Mircea's family.

⁹⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 8.

⁹¹ P. P. Panaitescu, *Mircea cel Bătrân*, pp. 47-48.

⁹² *Ibidem*, p. 42.

⁹³ *Ibidem*.

kingdom, at least, the adoption of the anthroponym Margaret for girls would, of course, be increasingly linked to the initiation of the beatification process for the daughter of King Bela IV of Hungary. What is interesting in the above-mentioned context is the mention of a church dedicated to Saint Marina in Câmpulung, with a dating that ranges from the thirteenth to the sixteenth century.⁹⁴

The first Margaret mentioned in the Transylvanian area, whence Basarab's "Catholic Lady" was assumed to have come, was the daughter of Forcasius, the wife of Torcunca, attested by the Registry of Oradea in 1234⁹⁵ as *Margaretha*. She was accused of having donated an estate to the Joannites unbeknownst to her brothers. On 1 July 1296, the chapter of the Church of Transylvania issued a document which mentioned another *Margaretha*, Iwanka's wife, the mother of Johannes and Gregorius, the grandmother of Johannes, who along with her grandson Johannes prevented her sons from selling certain estates from Cojocna County to the nobles of Geoagiu.⁹⁶ We mention her in opposition to the noble lady Margaretha from 1234, who donated estates to the Joannites. The second seems related to an anthroponymic environment of Oriental confessional extraction, with a Slavic background, *via* her husband, the noble Iwanka. In 1313 was attested a *Margareta*, Tyuan's daughter, Scolastic's sister, in the German space near Alba County.⁹⁷ Perhaps Basarab's consort was from this southern area of Transylvania, where the name Margareta was rather well documented in the families of grafs, or perhaps even from Câmpulung and its surroundings,⁹⁸ an area of definite Saxon colonisation and expression until the late fifteenth century. The Saxon graf families were quite strong and proud of their origin and status. Perhaps it should be noted that only after crushing the revolt of Henning of Petrifalău near Rupea fortress [Cohalom] by the Cumans' light cavalry troops and the other troops of Voivode Thomas [1324] did King Charles I have definitive silence in Transylvania, giving full rope to his violent and corrupt relative.⁹⁹

The answer to the last question in this section, that of multiple matrimones, it is quite clear: from the evidence we have so far, such a possibility is not confirmed. Basarab and his consort, Margueta/ Marghita/ Margaret/ X did, however, have heirs. The descendants of the royal couple were a daughter [see below] and several sons, as we are informed by a document from the Hungarian chancellery of 19 May 1335, which, recalling the disaster of the royal army on the return journey, said that it had been caused by "Bazarab Olacus et filios eius,"¹⁰⁰ We know one of them, probably the only survivor

⁹⁴ Gheorghe I. Cantacuzino, *Săpături arheologice la monumente din Câmpulung*, a presentation from 2006 in the seventh symposium of the Association for Architecture Restoration Archaeology, seen online: http://www.simpara.ro/ara7/a7_01_10.htm, accessed on 12.09.2012.

⁹⁵ *DIR, C, XI-XIII*, doc. 67, p. 143.

⁹⁶ *DIR, C, XIII/2*, doc. 476, p. 425.

⁹⁷ *Ub.*, I, doc. 333, p. 306.

⁹⁸ Tudor Sălăgean, *Un voievod al Transilvaniei: Ladislau Kán [1294-1315]*, Cluj Napoca, Editura Argonaut, 2007, p. 120, the clear idea of the control Ladislaus Kán exerted over the Câmpulung area, connected also with the presence of Laurencius's tombstone.

⁹⁹ See also *Ibidem*, pp. 180-184.

¹⁰⁰ *DRH, D*, doc. 29, p. 57.

of his father in 1351/1352, by his first name "Alexandrum Bozorabi,"¹⁰¹ that is Alexandru son of Basarab. One of these sons had been offered by his father as hostage to the Hungarian royal court, as part of the peace offer proposed to the Angevin sovereign, "I shall send one of my sons to your court, so that he may serve on my money and on my expense."¹⁰² Perhaps, in terms of his age, he fit into that category of court youth [*aule iuvenis*].¹⁰³ Pál Engel believes that the court officers were called *aule parvulus*, while the pages/ court youth were *aule juvenis*, the first in rank being the knights of the court, *aule miles*; these were generalised at the Angevin court in the period 1311 [the youth] - 1321 [the officers] - 1324 [the knights].¹⁰⁴

What seems certain is that some of Basarab's sons were past the apprenticeship of weapons, so they could already consider themselves to be fighters. This also shows us that Basarab must have been over 40-45 years old in 1330. If the founder had not been past the middle age, it would mean that all Wallachian voivodes after him were teenagers. In support of this idea comes some information from the Balkan space. According to the memories of Emperor John VI Cantacuzenus, between 1323 and 1330 the Ungro-Vlachs and the Scythians [Tatars] supported Tsar Michael III Shishman [1323-1330] to seize power in Bulgaria.¹⁰⁵

Given the fact that during this period Basarab appeared as Voivode of Wallachia, it is already known that he supported Michael III both in 1323 and in the lost battle against the Serbs in Velbujd [28 July 1330].¹⁰⁶ This was confirmed in the preface of Stephan Dušan's *Zakonik*, where the Serbian Tsar remembered how his father had also fought against "Basarab Ivanco, the father-in-law of Tsar Alexandru" in the already mentioned battle.¹⁰⁷ The one who first put the news into circulation appears to have been Bogdan Petriceicu Hașdeu. Beyond his eccentric attempts to explain the name Basarab = ban sarab [the ruler *sarabă*]¹⁰⁸ or the invention, furthermore, after reading a passage of the text we shall reproduce below, an Alexandru [by misreading the extended apposition of the text], because of the very genealogical chaos of our first Wallachian rulers,¹⁰⁹ the historian nonetheless provided some valuable information, including the reporting of black heads on the Angevin coins in Hungary.

¹⁰¹ *Ibidem*, doc. 38, p. 70.

¹⁰² George Popa-Lisseanu, *Izvoarele istoriei românilor*, volume XI, *Cronica pictată de la Viena*, Bucharest, Tipografia Bucovina, 1937, p. 234.

¹⁰³ On these, see András Kovács, *Voievozii Transilvaniei și evoluția instituției voievodale...*, p. 27.

¹⁰⁴ Pál Engel, *Regatul Sfântului Ștefan...*, pp. 173-174.

¹⁰⁵ *Fontes Historiae Daco Romanae*, edited by Alexandru Elian, Nicolae Șerban-Tanașoca, volume III, *Scriptori bizantini [secolele XI-XIV]*, Bucharest, Editura Academiei RSR, 1975, pp. 483-486.

¹⁰⁶ Nicolae Stoicescu, Florian Tucă, 1330. *Posada*, pp. 66-67. More recently, for an extensive presentation of the actions in Bulgaria from the years 1323-1324, see C-tin Rezachevici, *Istoria popoarelor vecine și neamul românesc în Evul Mediu*, Bucharest, Editura Albatros, 1998, pp. 326-327.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 67. According to *The Cambridge Medieval History*, volume IV, editor John B. Barry, Cambridge University Press, 1923, p. 538: next to the 12,000 Bulgarians, there also participated Basarab's troops and 3,000 Tatar mercenaries against Stephen Uroš III.

¹⁰⁸ Bogdan Petriceicu Hașdeu, *Etymologicum Magnum Romaniae, Dicționarul limbei istorice și poporane a Românilor*, volume III, *B-Bărbat*, Stabilimentul Grafic I. V. Socecu, Bucuresci, 1893, p. 2550 *et sqq.*

¹⁰⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 2458. The same error appears in Iorga, though with the mention, this time, of a more probable Basarabă, son of Ivancu, in *Istoria Românilor*, volume III, *Ctitorii*, f. ed., Bucharest, 1937, p. 176.

We shall reproduce the exact text of the *Zakonik*'s preface after Haşdeu's study from his already cited work: "Alexandru, the Tsar of the Bulgarians and Basarab Ivanca, the **father-in-law** of Tsar Alexandru of the neighbouring Black-Tatars and the Saxon rulers and other rulers with them"¹¹⁰ [we have operated a small change/ reversal in the translation because the Serbian text has the following wording: *Alezendra xara Blagarmu n Basarabu Ivanka tasta Alezendra*, meaning "Basarab Ivanka" and not "Ivanco Basaraba" for which Haşdeu opted in his translation].

After the disaster from Velbujd, where Tsar Mikhail died either killed under his horse or a few days later, from his wounds, his army was dismantled and the Serbian King Uroš reinstated his repudiated sister and his nephew, John Stephen, on the Bulgarian throne.¹¹¹ Tsar Michael's last wife, the sister of the basileus Andronikos III Palaiologos, was banished from the capital, and in revenge, the Greek emperor occupied the South of Bulgaria.¹¹² A few months later, Ivan Alexander, a nephew of Michael III's and Basarab's son-in-law, gave a coup and seized power [1331-1371].¹¹³ The father-in-law was perhaps not a stranger to these actions,¹¹⁴ in the sense that he might have financially helped his son-in-law, being able, for example, to offer 7,000 silver marks to the Hungarian king a different context in the fall of 1330.¹¹⁵

During the campaign that ended with defeat from Velbujd, the future tsar, then only the nephew of the tsar in office,¹¹⁶ had long been married to Basarab's daughter,¹¹⁷ which makes us believe that she was grown up, having been born probably in 1299/1300 at the earliest and no later than in 1302/1303. This is not simply a hypothesis [see note], and towards the end of 1321, the eldest son of the future tsar was already born, being baptised Michael Asen,¹¹⁸ after his uncle, which leads to the idea that perhaps

¹¹⁰ Bogdan Petriceicu Haşdeu, *Etymologicum Magnum Romaniae...*, p. 2458. Translated also in G. Mihăilă in 1972, cf. Ştefan Andreescu, *Alliances dynastiques des princes de Valachie...*, p. 360, note 7.

¹¹¹ *The Cambridge Medieval History*, volume IV, p. 538.

¹¹² *Ibidem*.

¹¹³ *Ibidem*, p. 539.

¹¹⁴ C-tin Rezachevici, *Istoria popoarelor vecine şi neamul românesc...*, p. 328, claimed that the party of the anti-Byzantine and anti-Serbian boyars, who wanted the alliance with Wallachia, actively supported Ivan Alexander.

¹¹⁵ George Popa-Lisseanu, *Izvoarele istoriei românilor*, volume XI, p. 234.

¹¹⁶ On the prosopography of the last tsars, see Ivan Božilov, *Familijata na Asenevci (1186-1460)*, Izd-vo na Bŭlgarskata akadēmii a na naukite, Sofia, 1985.

¹¹⁷ According to C-tin Rezachevici, the matrimonial alliance Shishmanids-Basarabs was concluded in 1321, when Ivan Alexander's father had not been appointed yet as ruler in Kran by his brother-in-law Michael III, in *Istoria popoarelor vecine şi neamul românesc...*, p. 328. In our opinion, the matrimonial alliance should be placed a little earlier, in around 1315/1316, when the Transylvanian rebels of King Charles Robert were in close connections with Halicz, Serbia, Vidin, Wallachia and the Bulgarian Tsarate and unleashed the revolt that would last until 1321/1322; for all these aspects, see Tudor Sălăgean, *Un voievod al Transilvaniei: Ladislau Kán [1294-1315]*, Cluj Napoca, Editura Argonaut, 2007, pp.168-182. For the external alliance of the rebels, see p. 173. A royal document from 23 October 1317 relates about the conflicts with Ban Theodor of Vejtech, with "*domini dozpoth de Budinio*" and with the sons of Ladislaus Kán, under the city of Deva, in Zsigmond Jakó, *Codex Diplomaticus Transsylvaniae*, II, 1301-1339, Akadémiai Kiadó, Budapest, 2004, doc. 281, p. 125 [hereinafter *CD Trans.*].

¹¹⁸ In 1332, at his engagement with Maria, the 4-year old daughter of the Byzantine Emperor Andronikos III, the fiancé was 10, see *Ibidem*, p. 329.

Basarab I, the grandfather of the child, must have been, in 1330, 50-52 years old, at most, and 44-45 years old, at least, so he must have been born sometime between 1278 and 1286.¹¹⁹ According to several statements made by the Romanian historians, the daughter was called Theodora¹²⁰ and had served as a means of strengthening the alliances of the two sovereigns¹²¹ [Michael III and Basarab I] against neighbours¹²² [for instance, Serbia, Hungary, the Empire of Constantinople], in the context of increased instability on the Balkan-Danubian political stage. Later, the divorce of the couple was pronounced [after 1341], and Ivan Alexander married a Jew who had recently converted to Orthodoxy, Sara-Theodora.¹²³

We know nothing about Basarab's other sons, except that Alexandru outlived him, as shown above. Alexandru or Nicolae Alexandru, as his only document refers to him, preserved in transumpt, from 13 November 1618,¹²⁴ for the church of the princely court in Câmpulung, has raised extensive discussions among our historians on account of his two names.¹²⁵ We do not wish to resume the issue but simply to make a few observations. Alexandru is neither a "Catholic," nor simply a Greek name. Through the victory of Christianity in the Roman Empire and the imposition of the worship of saints

¹¹⁹ Alexandru Lapedatu also places his birth towards the end of the thirteenth century, "Cum s-a alcătuit tradiția națională despre originile Țării Românești," in *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie Națională al Universității din Cluj*, volume II/1923, Bucharest, Editura Cartea Românească S.A., 1924, p. 303.

¹²⁰ Ioan Lupaș, "Atacul lui Carol Robert, regele Ungariei, contra lui Basarab cel Mare, domnul Țării Românești," in *Studii, Conferințe și Comunicări Istorice*, volume II, Bucharest, Tipografia Cartea Românească, 1940, p. 46; P. P. Panaitescu, *Mircea cel Bătrân*, f. ed., Bucharest, 1943, p. 33: "On Teodora, daughter of Basarab this is what the old diptych from Târnova says in Slavic: 'Teodora the right believer tsarina of the great Tsar Ivan Alexandru, who took on the face angel being called Theofana, eternal memory'; Ion I. Nistor, *Istoria Românilor*, edited by Florin Rotaru, volume I, Bucharest, Editura Biblioteca Bucharestlor, 2002, p. 142. C-tin Rezachevici, *Istoria popoarelor vecine și neamul românesc...*, p. 328 [Teofana as a nun]; C-tin Rezachevici, *Cronologia critică a domnilor...*, genealogical plate I.1, r. 3.

¹²¹ Ioan Lupaș, *Atacul lui Carol Robert, regele Ungariei...*, p. 46.

¹²² The defensive-offensive purposes of the military alliance, derived from the goals of the matrimonial relations from around 1315/1316 are also confirmed by the letter of King Charles Robert from March 1329, who admitted that he had placed Dionysius Szécsi as castellan of the city of Mehadia "located at the margin [of the kingdom, our note]" in 1322, "in order for him to stand against the Bulgarians, of Basarab, Voivode of Wallachia, the schismatic King of Serbia and the Tatars," his former enemies. Charles Robert accused them of undermining the unity of the Roman faith and his kingdom, in *DRH, D*, doc. 18, p. 41. The four powers were engaged in a conflict 8 years later in a rapport of 3:1. On 18 March 1322, Dionysius Szécsi was attested with the position of Castellan of Mehadia, in Pál Engel, *Magyarország világi archontológiája 1301-1457*, vol. I, MTA Történettudományi intézete, Budapest, 1996 [*Archontológia*], p. 367. Similarly, the document of 1329 confirmed Basarab's rule also for the period prior to 1322, but also the swivelling policy of the surrounding states relative to the aggressive approach of the Angevin monarch, who continued a project idea launched by his great-grandfather, Charles of Anjou, the brother of the Holy King Louis IX, that of creating an empire, see Steven Runciman, *Vecerniile Siciliene*, Bucharest, Editura Nemira, 2011, after the ninth English edition Cambridge UP, 2008 [ed. I, CUP, 1958], p. 318.

¹²³ C-tin Rezachevici, *Istoria popoarelor vecine și neamul românesc...*, p. 337.

¹²⁴ *DRH, B, Țara Românească*, volume I, Editura Academiei RSR, Bucharest, 1966, doc. 2, p. 11: "Io Neculai Alixandru voivode, the son of the old, the late Io Basarab voivode...."

¹²⁵ The most recent overview, with an attempt to conclude the polemics, in C-tin Rezachevici, *Cronologia critică a domnilor...*, p. 71.

and angels at the level of Christian society, anthroponyms of a hagiographic, martyrial nature, or in any way connected with the Church became charisma bearers, just like their carriers became citizens of Heaven, enjoying the gifts of the King Eternal.

In such clear conditions, “the need was felt in the Christian atmosphere to link the identity of an individual to that of a prophet, an apostle, a martyr [...] accessing an intimate, personal rapport with an invisible spiritual comrade.”¹²⁶ Imposing a name was no longer just a simple quotidian gesture. Through baptism, the choice of godparents and of the new-born’s name, the latter became a full citizen of *Christianitas*, guided by a spiritual patron. In addition, the name became an integral part of the new-born’s identity and indicated a manner of perception on the family: a subgroup was created within the great group of relatives.¹²⁷

About the name of the Founder’s successor much has been said and written, as shown in the above note. Western sources, as many as have been preserved, called him Alexandru,¹²⁸ and his son, Vlaicu, called him so, too,¹²⁹ whenever he had the opportunity. This does not mean that the ruler did not have a very close connection with the Saint Nicholas the Great Wonderworker, especially since he was a patron saint of the royal or imperial house members from the Orthodox Orient,¹³⁰ and then Alexandru will have chosen this agname in a particular context. Constantinopolitan sources contemporary with him called him “Alexandru” [1359],¹³¹ and posthumously they called him “kir Nikolaos” [κύρ Νικόλαος]¹³² or “kir Nicolaos Alexandros” [κύρ Νικόλαος Ἀλεξανδροσ].¹³³

We believe that the explanation of the duplication of names for the first Wallachian rulers up until Dan I and then, occasionally, for others in the fifteenth or the sixteenth century¹³⁴ was made out of the express desire to mark an important event, either by adding to the proper names some dynastic names that were already in use, like Ivanco [the theophoric Ioannes > IO, God’s anointed one], Vladislav, even sacralised,¹³⁵ or by adding certain saints’ names as patronyms.

¹²⁶ Șerban Turcuș, “Biserica Romană și reglementarea impunerii numelui în Transilvania în a doua jumătate a secolului al XIII-lea,” in *Studia Universitatis Babeș-Bolyai, Theologia Catholica*, year 54, no. 4, 2009, p. 111.

¹²⁷ Constance Brittain Bouchard, “*Those of My Blood*”: *Constructing Noble Families in Medieval Francia*, Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001, p. 98.

¹²⁸ DRH, D, doc. 32, p. 60, doc. 38, p. 70, doc. 40, p. 73. See also *Scriptores rerum hungaricarum veteres ac genuini, partim primum, tomus secundus, cura et studio Ioannis Georgii Schwandnerii, Impensis Ioannis Pauli Kraus, Bibliopollae Vindobonensis*, MDCCXLVI, p. 643: “Sancita igitur hic concordia et Alexandro Transalpinæ Valachiae Vaiuoda in gratiam recepto, fidelitatisque sacramento obligato.” C-tin Rezachevici, *Cronologia critică a domnilor...*, p. 72, *Psalterium* with a note about the death of “Alexandru the Transalpine voivode.” The French chronicler Philippe de Mezieres spoke in 1389 about “la terre d’Alexandre de Basserat en Abilaque,” in Bogdan Petriceicu Hașdeu, *Etymologicum Magnum Romaniae...*, tome IV, p. 206.

¹²⁹ DRH, B, Țara Românească, volume I, doc. 3, p. 12.

¹³⁰ Voyeslav Yanich, C. Patrick Hankey, *Lives of the Serbian Saints*, New York, The Macmillan Company, 1921, pp. 58-59.

¹³¹ A patriarchal decision to transfer Iachint from Vicina to Argeș, in *Fontes...*, volume III, p. 197.

¹³² *Ibidem*, p. 297.

¹³³ *Ibidem*, p. 287.

¹³⁴ Such as Alexandru Aldea, Basarab Laiotă, Neagoe Basarab, Radu Paisie.

¹³⁵ For instance, Saint Ladislaus of Hungary or Saint Vladislav of Serbia [† 1264].

A special case is that of dual use of the name,¹³⁶ depending on the language in which the document was issued [Latin or Slavic] or the adoption of a stronger dynastic name.¹³⁷

Thus, “Alexandru son of Bazarab” added, if we accept the mention of 1618, the name Nikolaos/ Nicolaus [victorious over the people] before 1352 and used it at will. His baptism name is linked to one of the numerous saints Alexandru from the first Christian centuries, who were celebrated both in the Occidental and in the Oriental milieus.¹³⁸ We will see when we discuss Lady Clara how interesting the name of Basarab’s son is from the point of view of anthroponymic use.

On the neighbouring territory of Hungary, one of the first names of Alexandru was that of the Abbot of Bozok, from Vác County,¹³⁹ in 1163, while in Transylvania it was mentioned in 1214.¹⁴⁰ The fact that the future voivode was baptised Alexandru has led some historians to regard him as Catholic. It is certain that both he and his father toyed with the pontifical Curia for several years, but the fact that they were “schismatics” is attested by a connoisseur of the problems of Ungrovlahia, the monarch Charles Robert, who, in his decree of 1332, called Basarab “the son of Thocomerius - Thotomerius the schismatic” [see also above]. That both father and son were laid to rest in the church they founded in Câmpulung indicates the same certain fact: they flirted with the Latin confession, but remained “schismatics.” When his son from his first marriage made a donation to the Monastery of Kutlumuş from Mount Athos [1369], he said at one point: “let thus be remembered **the parents of my highness** and I, now and in the days to come, glory in life here and absolution from sins in the next life [...] and rest to the souls and bodies of those departed from among their kin.”¹⁴¹ This is the text that informs us that both his parents had the Greek confession and may be commemorated in the Litany during the Liturgy.

Onomastically, Nicolae Alexandru is the “protector of the people”, but also the “victor over the people.” Despite other assertions, we would tend to link the adoption of his second name to the anti-Tatar campaign in which he participated between 1345 and 1350,¹⁴² after having resumed, according to the information from the Hungarian chronicles and chancellery documents, his relations with Angevin Hungary [1343/1344] and occupied the originary territory of modern Bessarabia.¹⁴³ This would

¹³⁶ Vladislav/Layk-Ladislaus, Vlad-Ladislaus Dragulya.

¹³⁷ Stolnik Petru from Lăpuşna became Alexandru (protector of the people/warrior) after seizing power in Moldova [1552].

¹³⁸ Most likely St. Alexander I of Romei [† 115/116], St. Bishop and Martyr Alexander of Jerusalem [†250 d. Hr.], St. Patriarch Alexander of Alexandria [250-328 d. Hr.], St. Bishop Alexander I of Constantinople [† 336-340?] or perhaps St. Alexander from Bergamo who became a military martyr after his martyrdom in the fourth century [† 303].

See an extensive treatment: <http://www.santiebeati.it/dettaglio/34250>, accessed on 11.09.2012.

¹³⁹ Fejér, II, p. 116.

¹⁴⁰ DIR, C, Trans., veac XI-XIII, volume I, Registrul de la Oradea. Year 1214, doc. 67.

¹⁴¹ Fontes..., volume III, p. 281.

¹⁴² Constantin C. Giurescu, *Istoria Românilor. Din cele mai vechi timpuri până la moartea lui Alexandru cel Bun [1432]*, volume I, p. 379. For information from the chronicle of Raguzan Villari, see Bogdan Petriceicu Haşdeu, *Etymologicum Magnum Romaniae...*, tome IV, pp. 197-199.

¹⁴³ Constantin C. Giurescu, *Istoria Românilor. Din cele mai vechi timpuri până la moartea lui Alexandru cel Bun [1432]*, volume I, p. 379. Maria Holban’s observations expressed in *Din cronica relațiilor...*, *passim*, may still not change our point of view.

certainly also be an explanation for the choice of the patron saint to which the church from Curtea de Argeș is dedicated - the Great Holy Hierarch Nicholas the Wonderworker.¹⁴⁴

Why was he given the baptism name of Alexandru? We believe that a reasonable explanation resides in the marriage between Theodora and Ivan Alexander, the nephew of Michael III Shishman. We consider that a consequence of this matrimonial tie was the baptism of Basarab's son by the future Tsar of the Bulgarians,¹⁴⁵ his brother-in-law, which would mean that he was born around the years 1315/1321. Nicolae Iorga claimed in one of his studies that Louis I and Alexandru were almost the same age when they negotiated, in 1343, an agreement between them as former enemies.¹⁴⁶ Louis was born in 1326, so when his father Charles Robert was 38, which does not deny this possibility to Basarab I too,¹⁴⁷ he must have been close to the age of the Hungarian king [see our own considerations above]. If our assumptions are correct, then Alexandru must have been older than the Hungarian king, a nearly mature man [22/28 years old] and will have already contracted his first marriage or was perhaps a widower/ divorced man, or else he would have married away the daughters from his

¹⁴⁴ The devotion to St. Nicholas is known throughout Russia, being often called the "fourth member of the Trinity," precisely because of the Russian people's piety. The iconographic type "St. Nicholas of Mozhaïsk" became famous in this area, being disseminated after 1302, when the Saint defended the town against the Tatars, appearing with a sword in one hand and with an ark in the other. More details in Helen Bome, "The Icon of St. Nicholas of Mozhaïsk in the Petseri Monastery in Setu folklore," in *Folklore, Electronic Journal of Folklore*, edited by Mare Kõiva & Andres Kuperjanov, published by FB and Media Group of Estonian Literary Museum, volume 34, 2006, pp. 74-75. [<http://www.folklore.ee/folklore/>]. What is interesting is the assertion according to which the latest datings of the icon in Estonia place it in the **fourteenth century** and the model is of **Balkan, possibly Serbian, influence**, p. 75. This indicates, without a doubt, that the story of the rescue of Mozhaïsk through the divine intervention of the Saint was spread extremely rapidly after that moment in 1302. According to the author, p. 75, it was to this carved icon of the statuary type, "not made by human hands" [an analogous model is that of the St. Archangel Michael in Modon-Egee], originally placed on the city wall, then in a chapel, that all the Grand Dukes of Moscow went on pilgrimage, as did the Russian saints or, later, the tsars. Another late hagiography of St. Nicholas on the Russian territory mentions how the Saint frightened and drove away the Tatars who wanted to destroy a Russian fortress occupied by the Cossacks, on the Irkut River, in 1674. The Saint appeared with a Mongoloid face, riding a donkey and with a fiery halo around his head. After their victory, the Cossacks ordered an icon of the Saint, as it had appeared to them, and on that site they raised a wooden church dedicated to the Saint, in *Viața și minunile Sfântului Nicolae*, editor: L. S. Desartovici, Bucharest, Editura Sophia, 2006, pp. 60-61. It seems that the Mongol tribes, such as the *calmâci*, worshipped the one who had terrified them once, under the name of the "Old White" or the "Venerable White," and the ballads dedicated to him said the same thing [his statues and representations indicate certain Christian symbolic elements next to the Mongoloid face, see [<http://www.all-creatures.org/articles/rf-russian.html>]]. It is interesting how the chronicler Johannes of Kukullew also ascribed Andreas Lackfi's victory over Altamir to St. Ladislaus's intervention in around 1345, see Dimitrie Onciul, "Papa Formosus în tradiția noastră istorică," in *Scrieri istorice*, edited by Aurel Sacerdoțeanu, volume II, Bucharest, Editura Științifică, 1968, pp. 7-8.

¹⁴⁵ With an insight that was often his distinctive mark, Nicolae Iorga linked the name Alexandru of Wallachia to that of Ivan Alexander of Bulgaria, without continuing his statement with a logical assumption; the son of Basarab was named in honour of his brother-in-law, freshly related to the Basarab family, in *Istoria românilor pentru poporul românesc*, sixth edition, Vălenii de Munte, Editura Așezământului Tipografic "Datina Românească," 1926, p. 64; *Istoria Românilor*, volume III, *Ctitorii*, p. 185.

¹⁴⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 185.

¹⁴⁷ Nicolae Iorga probably made one of his ingenious suppositions, which he subsequently did not develop, either because of the absence of some sources or because of abandoning the line of research he had opened.

second marriage, Anca and Ana, who were very young, which would not have necessarily represented an exception in that period. Nicolae Iorga believed that Alexandru's first wife had been a Bosnian, based on the fact that his first born was baptised Vlaicu/ Layk, a specific name of that Balkan area.¹⁴⁸ In any case, the anthroponym Vladislav also belongs to Slavic area. What this lady was called is not unknown,¹⁴⁹ her name apparently having been Maria,¹⁵⁰ just like her Bosnian or Balkan origin tends to remain a constant in our historiography. One certainty is that this first wife of Alexandru's and Vladislav's mother came from an elite Orthodox environment. We do not know when she died, in any case before 1343, and she was probably buried in Câmpulung Muscel, where the old Diptych that mentioned her has been preserved.

Insofar as her mother is concerns, "Lady Marghita," her tomb probably lay either in the founder's church, or in one of Western-rite churches from Câmpulung Muscel: "Bărăția" [the oldest, with archaeological material dating from the thirteenth century, whence the tomb stone of Comes *Laurencius of Longo Campo* came] or "Cloașter" [possibly dating from the second half of the fourteenth century, destroyed in 1646].¹⁵¹

2. Lady Clara of Nicolae Alexandru [1351/1352-1364].

This lady, the third in their succession since the founder, became famous because of the play written by Alexandru Davila, the son of the famous founder of the modern school of medicine in Romania. Her name is known to us thanks to a document of the papal Curia from 1370, addressed to the illustrious widow of Nicolae Alexandru, in the context of the mission and conversion initiated by the Holy See.¹⁵² From here started the historiographical carousel, which seems to have set a few fixed points: the lady came from the Dobokai family, the house of Kőkényesradnót, the niece of Ban Mykud, the mother of the Balkan Tsarinas¹⁵³ Ana and Anca and of Radu I.¹⁵⁴ In

¹⁴⁸ Nicolae Iorga, *Istoria românilor pentru poporul românesc*, p. 65 [1926]. He maintained his opinion in *Istoria românilor și a civilizației lor*, Bucharest, Editura Fundației Ferdinand I-ul, 1930, on p. 70, but in volume 3 of *Istoria românilor*, pp. 226-227, he believed that Vladislav was the Bosnian name, and Layk was a shortened form of Ladislaus.

¹⁴⁹ Bogdan Petriceicu Hașdeu, *Etymologicum Magnum Romaniae...*, tome IV, p. 207: the Cantacuzène genealogy calls her Cneajna/Kneaghina [the knez's daughter]. See the explanation from the name of Lady Marghita.

¹⁵⁰ Dimitrie Onciul, *În cheștiunea bisericii domnești de la Curtea de Argeș*, in *Scrieri istorice*, volume II, p. 240. The historian explains the fact that Alexandru's second name, Nicolae, was written down as sole voivode before "Io Alexandru Voievod i gospodă ego Maria" by suggesting that the old copyist was not aware of this aspect.

¹⁵¹ Gheorghe I. Cantacuzino, *Săpături arheologice la monumente din Câmpulung*, a presentation from 2006 in the seventh symposium of the Association for Architecture Restoration Archaeology, seen online: http://www.simpara.ro/ara7/a7_01_10.htm, accessed on 12.09.2012.

¹⁵² Hurmuzaki, I/2, doc. 122, p. 158.

¹⁵³ Bogdan Petriceicu Hașdeu, *Etymologicum Magnum Romaniae...*, tome IV, p. 207. See his bibliography there, his explanations being mentioned by Ștefan Andreescu in the above quoted article *Alliances dynastiques des princes de Valachie (XIVe-XVIe siècles)*, note 1, p. 1, where the author considers that Lady Clara came from Dăbâca/Făgăraș, and not from the homonymous locality in Doboka County. Still, it is interesting that Hașdeu placed the village in Szekler Land, where, he claimed, Ban Mikéd owned many estates, in *Etymologicum Magnum Romaniae...*, tome IV, p. 213.

addition to the story with Dumitru Dăbăcescu,¹⁵⁵ which was much to the liking of our interwar historiography, and the efforts made by Voivode Vlaicu's "bigoted" stepmother "to Catholicise" Wallachia, it appears that nothing is left to be said. Still, beyond the text of the document that mentions her and the fact that the kin of the Wallachian princess consort came from two families of Spanish immigration¹⁵⁶ that had settled in the Hungarian kingdom, there are incongruences that ought to be resolved [for instance, the Făgăraș origin, see *infra* notes]. Moreover, in his attempts to clarify the matter of Clara, Hașdeu created an amalgam that falls to pieces in the face of historiographical criticism today, but has often been taken *tale-quale*: her origin in the Szekler Land, the genealogy of her family, the Dăbăcescus, or even the notion of a maternal brother of Ladislaus of Doboka's, Petrus, who sold a mill in Hoghiz to Ladislaus himself in 1374.¹⁵⁷

I shall follow the traces of Lady Clara from the hypothetical moment of her marriage to Voivode Alexandru son of Basarab, sometime around the 1343, but no later than 1344-1345, in the period when the "mighty" Transalpine "baron" was subject to the Angevin monarch. Given that Louis I's battles with the Tatars began in 1345, and Alexandru bowed to the king in 1343/1344¹⁵⁸ [see above], our historiography has contended that the deputations of Demetrius Futaki, Bishop of Oradea, to Wallachia, mentioned in the act of 18 February 1355¹⁵⁹ took place in around these years and it was also then that their marriage was concluded.¹⁶⁰ In clarifying these issues we are assisted

¹⁵⁴ C-tin Rezachevici, *Cronologia critică a domnilor...*, plate II. We do not understand the preference of the illustrious scholar for the form Clara of Dobca for Alexandru's consort. The voivode called his relative of "Dobka" in the donation document of 1372, *DRH, D*, doc. 60, p. 103, and even if it opened the family's way to Făgăraș by granting the estates to the sons of Barnabas, the donated "Dobgka" estate had nothing in common with Doboka from the homonymous Transylvanian county whence the noble Knight Ladislau came. The only explanation would be that Rezachevici considers her, like Hașdeu, to have come from the Szekler Land, or like Andreescu, from Făgăraș, which is erroneous.

¹⁵⁵ The first were Hașdeu's remarks, *Etymologicum Magnum Romaniae...*, tome IV, p. 215, according to which Demetrius, son of Mikud, settled, after the marriage of Clara, his niece, in Jaleș County and passed to Orthodoxy, living until 1387, when he donated estates to Tismana; this information was also taken over by Iorga, *Istoria Românilor*, volume III, *Ctitorii*, p. 186, but it was seriously questioned by Constantin Gane, *Trecute vieți de doamne...*, note 1, p. 17.

¹⁵⁶ George Popa-Lisseanu, *Izvoarele istoriei românilor*, volume XI, p. 140, but also Hașdeu, *Etymologicum Magnum Romaniae...*, tome IV, p. 215.

¹⁵⁷ A document mentioned as forged in *DRH, C, XIV*, doc. 2, p. 601.

¹⁵⁸ *Chronica Hungarorum* [1473]: "quidam princeps seu baro potentissimus Alexander, voyvoda transalpinus... audita pietatis ac etiam pietas eiusdem regis Lodouici fama: ad ipsum sponte personaliter veniens circa confinia ipsorum partium, ad pedes regie maiestatis humotenus et prostratus et ad obedientiam ac fidelitatem debitam reductus et integratus solemnina munera et clenodia presentando et suus dominus sub sancta corona recognoscendo," Dr. Andrei Veress, *Bibliografia româno-ungară*, volume I, Bucharest, Editura Cartea Românească, 1931, p. 1.

¹⁵⁹ *DRH, D*, doc. 38, pp. 69-72.

¹⁶⁰ Nicolae Iorga, *Istoria Românilor*, volume III, *Ctitorii*, p. 186, placed the marriage in 1345 and claimed that this was the goal of the episcopal deputations. Constantin Giurescu did not believe that Alexandru came to Transylvania to bow to the king in 1343, but that the peace and concord were perfected through Demetrius, in successive deputations, after the year 1341, in Constantin C. Giurescu, *Istoria Românilor. Din cele mai vechi timpuri până la moartea lui Alexandru cel Bun [1432]*, volume I, p. 387. Dimitrie Onciul, "Anul morții marelui Basarab voievod," in *Scrieri istorice*, edited by Aurel Sacerdoțeanu, volume II, Bucharest, Editura Științifică, 1968, pp. 326-327.

by King Louis's statements, whereby Demetrius Futaki was sent on these legations to the Wallachian ruler "after obtaining the episcopal ministry."¹⁶¹ Demetrius was appointed as bishop by Clement VI on 15 July 1345.¹⁶² Did the Hungarian chronicler slip in an untruth, as Giurescu believed,¹⁶³ did he come to Transylvania to start the peace negotiations prior to the year 1345, when Alexandru was only co-regent?

This scenario seems the most natural, and after Demetrius Futaki's installation in the episcopal see of Oradea, because he was an experienced ambassador, he was sent to Câmpulung or Argeş to conclude peace with Basarab I. We also believe that the papal letter of 17 October 1345¹⁶⁴ to the Hungarian king, issued after receiving information from sources that were certainly Minorite and that also mentioned Bishop Demetrius, as well as Alexandru Basarab, denotes the disappearance of the conflicting situation between the two states, and even their good relations, for the pontiff would otherwise have avoided making reference to a royal enemy.

Besides, the Hungarian chronicler was not so wrong about the date of that encounter, mistaking it by only about one year. If we notice the royal itineraries to the eastern parts of the Hungarian Kingdom, in October 1343 the king was in Oradea, on 28 May 1344 he was at Lipova and around 15 June 1344, in Braşov, to meet the Wallachian co-regent himself, as Susana Andea considers,¹⁶⁵ because the only time the king was close to the Hungarian-Wallachian border at this time was in Haţeg in 1349.¹⁶⁶

It was then, sometime between October 1343 and 15 June 1344, that the meeting between Alexandru and Louis I must have occurred, perhaps also with his future wife, Clara, given that the king travelled with a large suite. There is no other way of explaining the way in which then ruler contracted this marriage than by assuming that he had also been to Transylvania prior to the years 1343/1344.

Through the former Ban Mikud and Nicolaus, his son, the family members had carried out administrative services in the Banat of Severin¹⁶⁷ and in Doboka County,¹⁶⁸ but were greatly involved in the kingdom's policy, in the second half of the thirteenth century, when a branch came off the house of Kökényesradnót, which formed the Dobokai family¹⁶⁹ through Mikud/ Mykud. The rise of the descendants of Comes

¹⁶¹ DRH, D, doc. 38, pp. 69-72.

¹⁶² Pál Engel, *Archontológia*, volume I, p. 76, note 155.

¹⁶³ Constantin C. Giurescu, *Istoria Românilor. Din cele mai vechi timpuri până la moartea lui Alexandru cel Bun [1432]*, volume I, p. 388.

¹⁶⁴ DRH, D, doc. 32, p. 60.

¹⁶⁵ Susana Andea, "Itinerariile regilor în Transilvania voievodală şi în comitatele vestice şi nordice," in *Transilvania [secolele XIII-XVII]. Studii istorice*, Editura Academiei Române, 2005 [editor Susana Andea], p. 23.

¹⁶⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 24.

¹⁶⁷ Pál Engel, *Magyar középkori adattár. Magyarország világi archontológiája 1301-1457. Középkori magyar genealógia*, Budapest, 2001 [CD-ROM], Kökényesradnót entry nem, 1. tábla: Dobokai. Bogdan Petriceicu Haşdeu, *Etymologicum Magnum Romaniae...*, tome IV, p. 214: 1275-1279. The one who was definitely attested with this office in DIR, C, XIII/2, doc. 184, p. 175: 10 February 1275, on 3 April 1275 the Ban was Ugrinus [doc. 185], la 11 August Paul [doc. 188], in 1276 [undated] Mikud again [doc. 192, p. 179] and in 1279 [doc. 231 and 232].

¹⁶⁸ *Idem*, *Archontológia*, volume I, p. 246: 1317.

¹⁶⁹ Tudor Sălăgean, *Transilvania în a doua jumătate a secolului al XIII-lea. Afirmarea regimului congregaţional*, Cluj Napoca, Academia Română, Centrul de Studii Transilvane, 2007, p. 147.

Mykud [I], the depositor of an unfulfilled Crusader vote and Comes of Doboka [1269, 1274],¹⁷⁰ was achieved through the unconditional adherence of his two sons, Mykud [II] and Emeric, to the cause of the young King Stephen.¹⁷¹ As Ladislaus IV the Cuman [1272-1291] recalled in several decrees of 1279, the son of Comes Mykud [I], namely Mykud [II], also served King Bela IV in the battles against the Bohemians, for “he was wounded in his right hand and in his ribs” when he attacked Mynen fortress, wishing to be, with his banner, among the first to enter the city, while in the siege of the city of Karchaulag in Austria, his right leg was crushed by the defenders with a boulder, and his left foot was pierced with a lance, the king being present at the scene.¹⁷² In addition, the king was satisfied that the ban had not taken the side of his infidels, after the death of Stephen V. In another document, he showed just how under the harsh circumstances from the city of Codlea, the family of Mykud [I] had stood by the side of King Stephen V.¹⁷³ Tudor Sălăgean explains why the king claimed that Mykud [II] had not taken sides¹⁷⁴: in 1274-1275, Mykud, related by marriage to the Monoszló family and a familiar of the Csáks, was propelled to the office of Ban of Severin,¹⁷⁵ through the complicated political game of the nobiliary parties. Also, his father had been renowned as Comes of Doboka following the Csáks’ victory.¹⁷⁶ After 1300, the prestige of Ban Mykud was transmitted to his son, Master Nicolaus, who, as the opponent of Voivode Ladislaus Kán, accommodated and feasted the King Charles Robert in his propaganda visit to his village, Agriș, from the end of 1310, then to Sânmiclăuș [around 8 December] in Turda County.¹⁷⁷ He and his relatives were Comites of Doboka up until 1330, as a result of their constant support of the Angevins and their opposition to the powerful Ladislaus Kán.¹⁷⁸ The family’s estates from the Doboka, Turda and Alba Counties included, among others, Geneu [Fundătura], Schoboltelky, Schepantelki [prior to 1269, reconfirmed],¹⁷⁹ Balwanus and *villam Nemty* [1269],¹⁸⁰ Dăbâca village, the land from Lujerdiu, several deserted lands pertaining to the *castrum* from Dăbâca [after 1269, reconfirmed in 1279],¹⁸¹ the Chobolou estate [1312?],¹⁸² the estates Igruchteluk and Kerekyeghaz [prior to 1269, reconfirmed],¹⁸³ Coppan [before 1288],¹⁸⁴ as well as Copand, near Mureș, donated by Emeric to the chapter of Transylvania in 1285¹⁸⁵ or Scentmyklous, near Arieș, donated to the Bishop of Transylvania, Petrus Monoszló, in

¹⁷⁰ *Ibidem*, pp. 260, 398.

¹⁷¹ *Ibidem*, p. 124.

¹⁷² *DIR, C, XIII/2*, doc. 231, p. 211.

¹⁷³ *Ibidem*, doc. 232, p. 213.

¹⁷⁴ Tudor Sălăgean, *Transilvania în a doua jumătate a secolului al XIII-lea...*, note 25, p. 191: he had been on the winners’ side.

¹⁷⁵ *Ibidem*, pp. 171-172.

¹⁷⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 177.

¹⁷⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 328.

¹⁷⁸ *Idem*, *Un voievod al Transilvaniei: Ladislau Kán [1294-1315]*, p. 184.

¹⁷⁹ *DIR, C, XIII/2*, doc. 109, p. 119.

¹⁸⁰ *CD Trans.*, I, 1023-1300, Akadémiai Kiadó, Budapest, 1997, doc. 275, p. 218.

¹⁸¹ *DIR, C, XIII/2*, doc. 232, p. 213.

¹⁸² *CD Trans.*, II, 1301-1339, Akadémiai Kiadó, Budapest, 2004, doc. 202, p. 99.

¹⁸³ *DIR, C, XIII/2*, doc. 109, p. 119.

¹⁸⁴ *Ibidem*, doc. 335, pp. 294-296.

¹⁸⁵ *Ibidem*, doc. 308, pp. 270-271.

1288 [a donation of King Stephen V's, from 1269]¹⁸⁶ and Jobusteluke in Alba County, sold by Mykud [II] and his sons, Master Nicolaus, Demetrius and Petrus, in 1297.¹⁸⁷

We know that from the large branch of the Kőkényesradnót house [family, *genere*], Renoldus, the son of Comes Johannes, and his brother-in-law, Master Petrus, son of Mychael, had been granted ownership of the estates of Vrman and Kepesteluk from Solnoc County by the Hungarian kings, for their deeds of arms.¹⁸⁸

For our older historiography, Clara was the daughter of Johannes, whose brothers were Nicolaus, Demetrius and Petrus.¹⁸⁹ As shown above, Constantin Gane rightly doubted this. The error of our historiography stemmed from the interpretation of the letter patent for the relative of Vlaicu, Ladislau of Doboka, who was called the nephew [*nepos*] of Mykud,¹⁹⁰ when in fact he was his grand-nephew. And since Ladislaus was the son of Johannes [Janus], he logically, but unreally became the son of Mykud. Johannes was actually the son of Nicolaus, as shown in the act of 11 November 1312, issued by the chapter of Transylvania.¹⁹¹

His brothers were attested until around 1365, another brother, Leukus, appearing in 1340.¹⁹² Nicolaus, being mentioned as of age in 1297, and already having sons in 1312, who presented in a trial by themselves, some barely past their teens, must have been born in around 1270. In 1317, Nicolaus was involved in a trial for the estate of Izthyen, which was recognised as a royal donation made to him for his faithful service.¹⁹³ The estate had belonged to Dominicus yclept Zeuke, unfaithful to the king. Charles I ordered the passing of that estate into the hands of the Comes of Doboka [17 May 1317], until the clear setting of boundaries of the other estates by the chapter of Transylvania, when all the estates of that Dominicus were to pass into the possession of the comes. On 5 March 1320, the king ordered the chapter of Alba Iulia to send a witness for the establishment of some boundaries in the city of Bologa, and the king's witness was Master Nicolaus, son of Mykud.¹⁹⁴ On 3 October 1321, Nicolaus and his brother Petrus filed an injunction for the Jobusteluke estate, which they had sold at one time, but which they now claimed.¹⁹⁵ On 24 July 1322, Petru and his sons, together with his sons Nicolaus and his sons, were mentioned in conveyancing act for the estate of Banabic.¹⁹⁶ The fact is that Nicolaus must have been Clara's grandfather rather than her father. Then Ladislaus of Doboka, Vlaicu's relative, must have been Clara's brother, and he appears

¹⁸⁶ *Ibidem*, doc. 335, pp. 294-296.

¹⁸⁷ *Ibidem*, doc. 482, p. 429.

¹⁸⁸ *Ub.*, I, doc. 331, p. 304.

¹⁸⁹ Bogdan Petriceicu Haşdeu, *Etymologicum Magnum Romaniae...*, tome IV, p. 215.

¹⁹⁰ *DRH, D*, doc. 60, p. 105. There is a big question mark about that *nepos*, which was unusual for the diplomatics of the time. The drafter should have written instead *Ladislaus... filius Janus... filius Myked...*

¹⁹¹ *CD Trans.*, II, doc. 202, p. 99: Johannes, Nicolaus, Ladislaus and Michael, sons of Nicolaus, son of Ban Mykud.

¹⁹² Pál Engel, *Magyar középkori adattár. Magyarország világi archontológiája 1301-1457. Középkori magyar genealógia*, Budapest, 2001 [CD-ROM], Kőkényesradnót entry nem, I. tábla: Dobokai.

¹⁹³ *CD Trans.*, II, doc. 265, p. 119, doc. 269, p. 120, doc. 272, p. 121.

¹⁹⁴ *Ibidem*, doc. 356, p. 149. It was also in this quality that he was mentioned on 19 April, doc. 362, p. 120. The document is found in the National Hungarian Archives under number DL 1991.

¹⁹⁵ *Ibidem*, doc. 407, p. 162.

¹⁹⁶ *Ibidem*, doc. 437, p. 170.

in the documents between the years 1352¹⁹⁷/1359 and 1375.¹⁹⁸ Lady Clara must have been born after 1312, sometime in the 1310s-1320s, up until 1330. The first mention of a young woman named Clara in space of the seven counties was that of Clara, the daughter of Dominicus of Galda [Kald] in 1325,¹⁹⁹ the granddaughter of Benedictus, from Alba County. Later, in 1331, mention was made of Clara, the daughter of Ws of Fratha,²⁰⁰ fellowship Ws, who received the ¼ of her father's estates in Cojocna County.

If Johannes must have been Clara's father, then his first major action, after his first mention in 1312, was that in 1329, during the conflict between Thomas Szécsényi, Voivode of Transylvania, and the Bishop of Transylvania, Andreas Szécsi, when, on the demise of Michael of Jucu, the former Vice-Voivode, serving the bishop, this pretext launched the conflict. Michael of Jucu, who became the bishop's treasurer, filed, through his new master, a suit against his former master, who sent his familiars to teach him a lesson. From among the nearly 30 familiars who attacked *manu militari* the villages of Suatu, Sărmașu, Gădălin and Imbuz,²⁰¹ the third on the list, after the Comes of Doboka, Johannes, son of Martinus of Moruț [Morouch], who led the operation, and Jacobus of Grind [Gerendi/de Gerend], son of Nicolaus,²⁰² was Johannes, son of Nicolaus, son of Mykud. In order, he was also followed by members of the Wass or Apafi family, all of them familiars of the mighty Transylvanian voivode. Also, we may believe that his father, Master Nicolaus, died sometime between 1322 and 1329 or after that date, because he would appear only as a means of identifying his son: Johannes, son of Nicolaus. In another order of ideas, we may assume that since he was a familiar of the Voivode of Transylvania, the main instigator, together with Dionysius Szécsi, of the campaign against Basarab,²⁰³ he participated in the unfortunate expedition from the autumn of 1330, along with other familiars of the house of Thomas.

On 25 May 1340, he entered into the possession of some estates together with his brothers,²⁰⁴ and in 1348, he was a voivodal witness man,²⁰⁵ just like in 1350,²⁰⁶ indicating a transfer to the Lăckfi family, Stephanus Sr. fulfilling this office of voivode between 1344 and 1350.²⁰⁷ In August 1352, together with his brother Ladislaus, he pledged - because of some financial needs - the estate of Morău, Doboka County to the Bishop of Transylvania, Andreas Szécsi, for 27 marks, after the weight in Buda²⁰⁸ and not the local one, from Transylvania. In November the same year, the Vice-Voivode

¹⁹⁷ DRH, C, vol. XI, doc. 108, pp. 109-111.

¹⁹⁸ Pál Engel, *Magyar középkori adattár. Magyarország világi archontológiája 1301-1457. Középkori magyar genealógia*, Budapest, 2001 [CD-ROM], Kőkenyészradnót entry nem, I. tábla: Dobokai.

¹⁹⁹ DIR, C, XIV/2, doc. 352, pp. 167-169.

²⁰⁰ DIR, C, XIV/3, doc. 35, pp. 27-28.

²⁰¹ DIR, C, XIV/2, doc. 556, pp. 296-297.

²⁰² Nicolaus was a loyal of Ladislaus Kán's: Comes of Turda [1312], Castellan of Lita [1315]; he later became a familiar of Thomas Szécsényi: Comes of Solnocul Interior [1325], then of Turda [1326] cf. Pál Engel, *Archontológia*, II, p. 84.

²⁰³ George Popa-Lisseanu, *Izvoarele istoriei românilor*, volume XI, p. 233.

²⁰⁴ DIR, C, XIV/3, doc. 480, p. 537.

²⁰⁵ DIR, C, XIV/4, doc. 609, p. 421.

²⁰⁶ *Ibidem*, doc. 806, pp. 550-551.

²⁰⁷ Pál Engel, *Archontológia*, I, p. 12.

²⁰⁸ DRH, C, X, doc. 140, p. 146.

Transylvania, Stephanus, adjourned a trial for the estate of Micușa between the two brothers, present in person, and other nobles.²⁰⁹

On 16 April 1357, together with all the other family members, Johannes donated the estate of Morău, with all its rights, to some of their familiars who had distinguished themselves in battle by shedding their blood.²¹⁰ The estate must have been retrieved in the meanwhile from the Bishop of Transylvania, at some point between 1352 and 1357.

On 5 February 1358, he requested, together with his brother Ladislaus, a writ of injunction from the vice-voivode for the neighbours, to stop them from reaping the fruits of their estates.²¹¹ On 4 October 1361, Johannes and his relatives refused to show up in a royal court trial, lest they should break the custom, wishing to appear only before the voivode.²¹² On 11 November 1362, he requested the chapter of Transylvania to rewrite a document on the estates of Dârja and Chobolou in Doboka County,²¹³ and on 11 May 1364, he had not shown up to make a payment of 12 florins to some guests from Fărău and Medveș.²¹⁴ In February 1365, his son, Ladislaus, filed an injunction for an armed attack on his estate from Sânpetru,²¹⁵ which makes us believe that he will have passed away at around this date.

In accordance with Vlaicu's decree of 1372, we know that Ladislaus, who had distinguished himself in the battles against the Turks and the late uncle of the Wallachian rule, Ivan Alexandru, had two children: an unnamed daughter and, in the best anthroponymic tradition of naming,²¹⁶ a son Nicolaus,²¹⁷ thus named after his great-grandfather, or after his grandfather's brother, or after his father's cousin. Through the donation of his nephew, Ladislaus received the borough of Șercaia, and the villages of Veneția, Hoghiz and Dobka from Făgăraș.

On 2 February 1375, Master Ladislaus yclept the Brave was already dead, as stated by the convent of Cluj Mănăstur, which mentioned his widow, Doroteea, the daughter of the late David, a townsman from Cluj.²¹⁸ We suspect that either she was the second wife, or did not appear with the descendants before the convent. Since she was the daughter of David from Cluj, we believe that her father might have been that "David of Kuluswar" from 1336,²¹⁹ known from two documents as the "son of Bartholomeus and the brother of Stark" [April 1341],²²⁰ and, respectively, David "the brother of Stark,

²⁰⁹ *Ibidem*, doc. 154, pp. 167-168.

²¹⁰ *DRH, C*, vol. XI, doc. 108, pp. 109-111.

²¹¹ *Ibidem*, doc. 216, p. 223.

²¹² *DRH, C*, vol. XII, doc. 60, p. 44.

²¹³ *Ibidem*, doc. 133, pp. 109-110.

²¹⁴ *Ibidem*, doc. 255, pp. 242-243.

²¹⁵ *Ibidem*, doc. 386, p. 402.

²¹⁶ See Hasan Mihai, "Antroponimia și modalități de transmitere a antroponimelor în cadrul familiilor nobiliare transilvănene de la sfârșitul secolului al XIII-lea și din secolul al XIV-lea," in *Acta Musei Napocensis*, 48, seria Historica, 2/2011, Cluj Napoca, 2011, pp. 17-18.

²¹⁷ *DRH, D*, doc. 60, p. 103.

²¹⁸ *DRH, C*, vol. XIV, doc. 376, p. 523.

²¹⁹ *DIR, C, XIV/3*, doc. 307, p. 398.

²²⁰ *DIR, C, XIV/4*, doc. 25, pp. 21-22.

the uncle of Bartholomeus" [May 1345].²²¹ He was a descendant of the families that had engaged in a veritable *vendetta* in the 1320s-1330s in Cluj.

About Lady Clara, we have two documents that allow us to complete her genealogical tree, but also to get a glimpse of her personality. These were published in the Hurmuzaki collection, Volume I, Part II, under the numbers 122 and 123 for the year 1370. One was previously published by Fejér in Volume IX/ 7 of his *Codex*, under number 191 on page 249. From these we learn that Lady Clara had two daughters married to the Balkan tsars, one of whom, Ana, had renounced schismatic Orthodoxy for the light of the Latin faith, according to Pope Urban VI. The latter asked the noble Lady Clara to insist on also converting Anca,²²² the daughter of the last Serbian Tsar, Stephen Uroš IV. Vladislav Vlaicu was her stepson, however. The two daughters, Ana and Anca, who wore two names derived from the initial of their father's name, Alexandru, as well as Radu I were the children resulting from the union between the second ruler of Ungrovlahia and the noble Lady Clara,²²³ daughter of Johannes, son of Nicolaus, son of Ban Mykud from the house of Kőkenyesradnót. These three must all have been born during the fifth decade of the fourteenth century, between 1343 and 1348. If the intuition of the historian Constantin Rezachevici was correct, then Radu came from the second marriage, he must have married very early and, like his father, he must have very soon become a widower after his first marriage, which would not be impossible taking into account the low life expectancy during that period.²²⁴ Ana was the first who got married, to Ivan Strașimir, before 1360²²⁵ and they had several children.²²⁶ Ana's conversion must have taken place between 1365 and 1369, probably towards 1369, so that would be consonant with the papal congratulations on the efforts of Alexandru's widow. Ivan Strașimir and his family disappeared somewhere in Anatolia after 1396, when the Ottoman Turks conquered the state.²²⁷ Anca, the second daughter, married Stephen Uroš V, Dušan's successor, also around 1360, and Vlaicu constantly helped his brother-in-law, who was under the incipient pressure of the Turks, until his disappearance in 1371.²²⁸ Unfortunately, we do not have news about the fate of the "schismatic" daughter of Voivode Alexandru and Lady Clara after the death of her husband, the last crowned Tsar of the "Empire of the Serbs and the Romanis." We only know that they did not have offspring, the tsar being about 30 years old at the time of his disappearance, and Anca being much younger.

²²¹ *Ibidem*, doc. 308, p. 239.

²²² *Hurmuzaki*, I/2, doc. 122, p. 158.

²²³ C-tin Rezachevici, *Cronologia critică a domnilor...*, plate II.

²²⁴ In the Turkish-Byzantine history, Ducas shows how in 1413/1414 Manuel II Palaiologos married his son, John VIII, to a Russian princess, rebaptised Ana, aged 11, who died after a plague epidemic in 1418, in Ducas, *Istoria Turco-bizantină [1341-1462]*, edited by Vasile Grecu, Bucharest, Editura Academiei RSR, 1958, pp. 132-134.

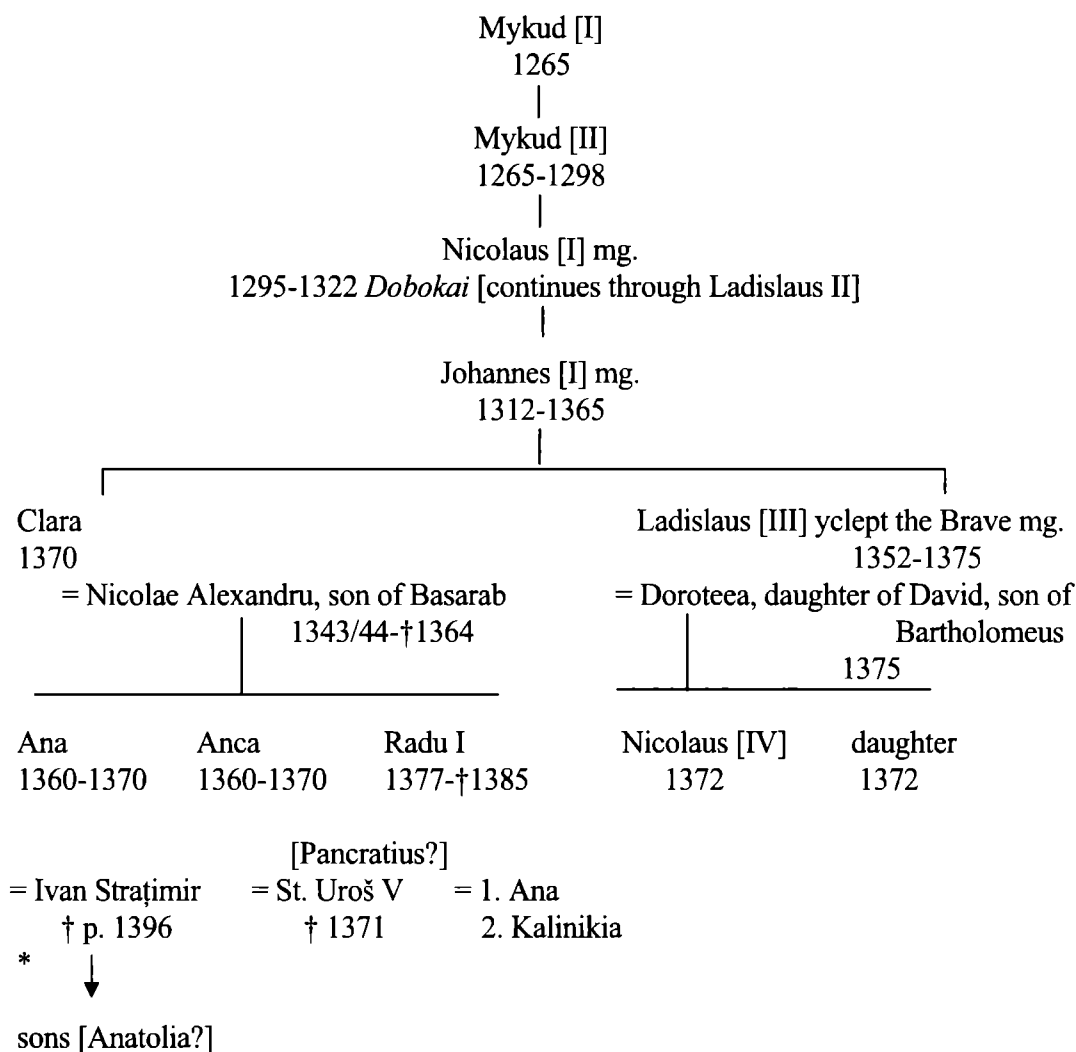
²²⁵ *Idem*, *Istoria popoarelor vecine și neamul românesc...*, p. 338. See also the following note.

²²⁶ Nicolae Iorga, *Domnița Anca și patronagiul ei literar (1360)*, *Analele Academiei Române. Memoriile Secțiunii Istorice*, seria III, tom IV, memoriul 5, Bucharest, Cultura Națională, 1926, p. 374.

²²⁷ C-tin Rezachevici, *Istoria popoarelor vecine și neamul românesc...*, p. 343.

²²⁸ *Ibidem*, pp. 373-374.

About Lady Clara, we know that she lived as a widow at her stepson's court from Argeş in 1370, that she was certainly alive at the moment of the royal donation to her brother Ladislaus [perhaps she was the one who suggested the donation], "our beloved blood relative," as Vlaicu said. Whether she was still alive in 1376/1377, at the time of Vlaicu's death, is an unanswered question for now, and we can surmise that her grave lies in one of the necropoles from Câmpulung.



1. The genealogical table of the Dobokai family and its descent along the line of Johannes [I].²²⁹

²²⁹ Developed and completed along the genealogical line suggested by Pál Engel, *Magyar középkori adattár. Magyarország világi archontológiája 1301–1457. Középkori magyar genealógia*, Budapest, 2001 [CD-ROM], Kökényesradnót entry nem, l. tábla: Dobokai.

3. Lady “Mara” of Mircea “the Elder” [1386-1418].

About Lady Mara of Mircea “the Elder,” everything appears to have been said by the monographers of Mircea’s reign and life. Still, we shall attempt to fasten a few loose items that are not very well fitted into the apparatus that has been produced. Perhaps we may clarify or simply reconsider them. Mircea’s reign has benefited from three monographic researches and numerous articles that have shed light where possible, as new sources have been discovered. What really intrigued us was a passage from the work of Constantin Gane, whose source we have not been able to identify: “and Mircea the Elder - Mara, a first cousin of his, so a Basarab as well. To make this wedding, Voivode Mircea first asked permission from Archbishop of Ohrid, who gave it to him, and then from the Patriarch of Constantinople, who answered (1394) that he would not approve of a consortium with a woman who was so close a relative of his, but would not disapprove of a marriage recognised by the Archbishop of Ohrid.”²³⁰ Panaitescu’s research would suggest that the lady was from Zala County and the historian associates her with the Cilly family,²³¹ as does Constantin Rezachevici.²³² The four documents associated with his estates²³³ are actually only two. Those referring to 1380 and 1398 are related to Tomaj de Sus [today, Badacsony Tomaj, the District of Tapolczától],²³⁴ which Panaitescu did not notice, while it was only the document of 3 July 1400 that mentioned the Tolmaj of Mircea’s consort. Tomaj de Sus was owned, from 1380 on, by the Bánfi family, which also owned the city of Lyndau [Lyndau Inferiori/Alsólendva, today in Slovakia],²³⁵ and in 1398, Paulus, Ladislaus and Bartholomeus, the sons of Jacobus of Noogh Thomay [Badacsony Tomaj] called for the establishment of borders for the estate “*Wduarnok Thomay*.”²³⁶ In 1380, the late Lucas, son of Nicolaus, had *iure hereditarii* over the estate of Laadthumay [part of Tomaj de Sus], which had passed into the possession of his sisters, Margaretha and Agnes. They transferred their rights “irrevocably” to other noblemen for other parts of estates in Zala County.²³⁷ The third Tomaj/ Tolmaj is Lesencze-Tomaj, near Tapolczá.²³⁸ Thus the only documents of 1400 and 1418 indicate that the lady owned estates in Zala County. The one that interests us is that of 1400, Tolmaj, also in the Balaton area [today a steppe near the town of Keszthely],²³⁹ an inheritance estate, in our opinion, which she certainly visited in 1400²⁴⁰

²³⁰ C-tin Gane, *Trecute vieți de doamne...*, p. 16.

²³¹ Petre P. Panaitescu, *Mircea cel Bătrân*, pp. 50-53.

²³² C-tin Rezachevici, *Cronologia critică a domnilor...*, genealogical plate II.

²³³ Petre P. Panaitescu, *Mircea cel Bătrân*, pp. 48, 50.

²³⁴ Dezsó Csánki, *Magyarország történelmi földrajza*, volume III, Kiadja A Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, Budapest, 1897, p. 117.

²³⁵ Pál Engel, *Archontológia*, I, p. 266 și Dezsó Csánki, *Magyarország történelmi földrajza*, volume III, p. 117.

²³⁶ Nagy Imre, Veghély Dezsó, Nagy Gyula, *Zala vármegye története, kiadja Zala vármegye közönsége oklevéltár*, II, Budapest, 1890, doc. 112, p. 292. D. Csánki shows that it is identical with Tomaj de Jos, *op. cit.*, p. 117.

²³⁷ Nagy Imre, Veghély Dezsó, Nagy Gyula, *Zala vármegye története*, II, p. 166.

²³⁸ D. Csánki, *op. cit.*, p. 117.

²³⁹ *Ibidem*.

²⁴⁰ Nagy Imre, Veghély Dezsó, Nagy Gyula, *Zala vármegye története, kiadja Zala vármegye közönsége oklevéltár*, II, doc. 117, pp. 298-300.

and in 1418.²⁴¹ On 3 July 1400, King Sigismund wrote her, among other things, that she should cease levying customs from the inhabitants of Ketzell and respect their rights, as they had them from the ancient kings. According to the royal writ, the one entrusted with seeing that these rights were respected was Nicolaus of Kanisza, the great treasurer [judge of the towns] who, among other *honors*, was also Comes of Zala. Entrusted with the observance of the royal mandate were also the royal castellans of Rezi, who had actually also had problems with the people of Ketzell,²⁴² just like castellans of Tadyka.

In 1403, in relation to the Tomaj estate, a certain Leukus, son of Petrus of Thomay,²⁴³ was mentioned as the one who bought from Joseph and his minor son, Benedictus, his part of the estate *Kebelkuthgulach* [Gulács today, on the banks of the lake, the District of Tapolcztól].²⁴⁴ In 1421, the estate of Mircea's consort was included among the villages of the Rezi castellany, which were donated to Bishop Johannes of Veszprem and his brother Rudolphus until the return of 10,000 florins, which had been borrowed by King Sigismund from the two.²⁴⁵ According to Csánki, in 1427, Tolmaj was definitively among the pertinences of the castellany.²⁴⁶ That in 1421, Mircea's consort was no longer the owner means, however, that contrary to what the P. P. Panaitescu or Csánki have claimed, she died soon after the beginning of May 1420 [the murder of Michael I]²⁴⁷ and before 20 April 1421 [the assignation of the castellany to the bishop]. The death without direct descendants of the owners meant the passing of such estates into the ownership of the king. As Michael and his direct relatives perished in battle against the Ottomans, they, as direct heirs, had no way of taking possession of their mother's estates. Naturally, one question may be added: Is it not then that Mircea's consort perished too? Since the time span between the two events was very short.

Referring to the family of origin of Lady "Mara," we do not necessarily believe that it should be related to the Cilli family, for in the region there were also nobles from the Szécsi family, the houses of Balog, Hahóti and Bánfi, just like it is possible is that the lady came from the family of Jacobus of *Noogh Thomay*.

There must have been direct descendants of the royal couple, one of them was surely Michael I, but there were perhaps other sons too,²⁴⁸ in addition to natural ones, mentioned by Chalcocondylos.

The fact that Mircea's consort was called "magnifica domina" in the document of 1400 is of course related to the titlature of her spouse, mentioned immediately after her as "magnificus vir." We believe that otherwise she would not have received this aristocratic gratification from the king.

²⁴¹ *DRH, B, I*, doc. 42, pp. 87-88: "And I, Mihail, who wrote in Târgoviște, at the time when Your Highness's mother, Her Majesty, came from the Hungarians, the month of proto-June 22, the years 6926 and indiction 11." P. P. Panaitescu pointed out the copyist's joy and his breaking the writing protocol. Who knows what was so important to solve then, and what matter Her Majesty, who had returned from Hungary, had to take care of?

²⁴² Nagy Imre, Veghély Dezsó, Nagy Gyula, *Zala vármegye története, kiadja Zala varmegye közönsége oklevéltár*, II, doc. 114, p. 293.

²⁴³ *Ibidem*, doc. 125, p. 313.

²⁴⁴ D. Csánki, *op. cit.*: Gulács entry.

²⁴⁵ Nagy Imre, Veghély Dezsó, Nagy Gyula, *Zala vármegye története*, doc. 190, p. 427.

²⁴⁶ D. Csánki, *op. cit.*, p. 117.

²⁴⁷ C-tin Rezachevici, *Cronologia critică a domnilor...*, p. 85.

²⁴⁸ *Ibidem*.

Regarding the lady's name, in our view, given that we know only the last two letters of the lady's name "... RA"²⁴⁹ [the painting of 1761], which was according to what Odobescu saw as "Voivode Mircea and His Lady Mara," we should probably take it with a grain of salt. If the lady was Catholic and we have no reason to doubt this, then, in her case, we should see her mentioning in the Diptych from Brădet Monastery in Argeș, related also to her position as a cofounder [see the discussion from Marghita with the three possibilities] together with husband. And maybe from Klara in the initial Diptych, the copyist who re-transcribed in around 1632-1654, when the rules of commemorating the dead may have entered a more applied phase, may have thought that the lady should be **Mara**, a name that will have sounded more Orthodox to his ears. Or the upper line of the K may no longer have been legible and an M from the **hl** group may have been seen, which could be the beginning of the name Clara [Klara]. This is just a hypothesis, as are those referring to Mara or Anna, advanced historiographically for at least 70 years now.

As regards her resting place, it is not known: if she died in around 1427, as Csánki and Panaitescu believed, she may have been buried at St. Mary's in Târgoviște, a Roman-rite church that she may have founded in around 1417.²⁵⁰ If our hypothesis is correct and the lady died during the sultanic campaign of 1420 or afterwards, then we may never find out the location.

4. The consorts of Vlad Țepeș [1448, 1456-1462, 1476].

Like his grandfather, Mircea, Vlad benefited from monographs that were intended to be exhaustive,²⁵¹ but two recent studies²⁵² have pointed to the possible existence of two wives from the Hunyadi family: the one from 1462, who is said to have been the cousin of Mathias Corvinus,²⁵³ and Justina Szilágyi Horogszegi, who certainly was Mathias's cousin.²⁵⁴

If everything possible at this time has been written about the first wife, about Justina there are several things to note, since the sources about her are more numerous. Pál Engel considered her to be the daughter of Ladislaus Szilágyi,²⁵⁵ starting from

²⁴⁹ Nicolae Șerbănescu, Nicolae Stoicescu, *Mircea cel Mare [1386-1418]. 600 de ani de la urcarea pe tronul Țării Românești*, p. 22 et sqq.

²⁵⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 26 for the foundation.

²⁵¹ Nicolae Stoicescu, *Vlad Țepeș*, Editura Academiei RSR, Bucharest, 1976; Ștefan Andreescu, *Vlad Țepeș*, Bucharest, 1976, reedited in 1992 by Editura Enciclopedică; Kurt W. Treptow, *Vlad III Dracula: The Life and Times of the Historical Dracula*, Portland, Oregon, Center of Romanian Studies, 2000.

²⁵² Alexandru Simon: "Refacerea trecutului dorit: ipostaze medievale, moderne și contemporane ale unui monarh," in *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie "George Barițiu" din Cluj Napoca*, seria *Historica*, no. 50, 2011, p. 103, the end of note 10, and "Soțiile ungare ale lui Vlad III Țepeș: Rolul, impactul și receptarea unor alianțe și rivalități medievale," in *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie "A.D. Xenopol" din Iași*, no. 48, 2011, pp. 5-12.

²⁵³ See in Al. Simon, *Soțiile ungare ale lui Vlad III Țepeș*, notes 2 and 3 with documentary and bibliographical references to the first wife, who was probably one of John Hunyadi's natural daughters and was related to the Szapolya family.

²⁵⁴ Pál Engel, *Magyar középkori adattár. Magyarország világi archontológiája 1301-1457. Középkori magyar genealógia*, Budapest, 2001 [CD-ROM], Szilágyi entry (horogszegi).

²⁵⁵ *Ibidem*.

Dezsó Csánki, who nevertheless claimed that she might also have been the daughter of Osvaldus, and the granddaughter of Franciscus.²⁵⁶ András Kubinyi considered her rather to have been Osvaldus's daughter.²⁵⁷ In a document of 28 May 1479, issued by King Mathias to the Convent of Cluj Mănăştur, he called her Justina, daughter of Osvaldus.²⁵⁸ On 9 June 1496, she was referred to as the daughter of Ladislaus.²⁵⁹ Probably the first assertion, being older, is not the real one. She must have been born after 1450, up until 1455, and her family originated from confluence between Timiş and Cenad Counties.²⁶⁰ We believe that her father, Ladislaus, died when Justina was one year at the most,²⁶¹ and this would explain the divalent fathers. Osvaldus must have adopted his niece into his family. The first of the family who managed to pull this noble house out of anonymity of its native county was Ladislaus, who became the familiar of the powerful Johannes Mároti, and from this position occupied, in turn, the position of Vice-Comes of Valko [1404], Vice-Comes of Bács [1405] and Castellan of Sreberník [1405-1408],²⁶² all in the south of the kingdom. Ladislaus had several brothers who did not outlive him. From his marriage to Katherina Bellenyi, several children were born, six in number, three girls and three boys. Elisabeth, the first daughter, married John Hunyadi,²⁶³ Hungary's future regent, and Osvaldus, the first born, married Agata Posáfi, became the familiar of John Hunyadi, and had a daughter, Margaret.²⁶⁴ In 1446, he became Comes of Timiş County. The second son, Michael, also became the familiar of the future governor and became Comes of Bistrița and governor during the minorage of his nephew, Mathias.²⁶⁵ Ladislaus, the third son, did not occupy any public office, but we may suspect that, like his brothers, he was a familiar of the Hunyadis. We do not know who he was married to, but he certainly had a daughter, Justina, whom he raised in the turbulent years after the death of John Hunyadi. We do not know where she spent her childhood and adolescence, probably on the family estates from Timiş or Cenad, and the first time she married, probably at the suggestion of his family, was in around 1474, with Ladislaus (Vencel) Pongrác, son of Pancratius Liptói, Comes of Liptó,²⁶⁶ from the house of Bogomér.

²⁵⁶ D. Csánki, *op. cit.*, volume V, pp. 467-468.

²⁵⁷ András Kubinyi, *Hunyadi Mátyás, a személyiség és a király*, in AETAS 22. évf. 2007. 3. szám, p. 84, accessed online at: <http://epa.oszk.hu/00800/00861/00038/pdf/083-100.pdf>, 19.09.2012.

²⁵⁸ DL 27537 of 28 05 1479.

²⁵⁹ DL 74240 and 74174, 74260, 74263, 74264.

²⁶⁰ Pál Engel, *Archontológia*, II, p. 231.

²⁶¹ Cf. Pál Engel, *Magyar középkori adattár. Magyarország világi archontológiája 1301-1457. Középkori magyar genealógia*, Budapest, 2001 [CD-ROM], Szilágyi entry (horogszegi), Ladislaus no longer appears in the documents after 1454.

²⁶² *Idem*, *Archontológia*, II, p. 232.

²⁶³ Adrian Andrei Rusu has brought back into discussion the two theses referring to the origin and rapid ascent of John Hunyadi: the natural son of Sigismund of Luxembourg or the Basarab descent, in *Ioan de Hunedoara și românii din vremea lui. Studii*, Editura Cluj Napoca, PUC, 1999, pp. 28-30. In fact, the author inclines to consider Thuróczy's assertions as real [the Wallachian origin], but from more modest Romanian nobiliary families.

²⁶⁴ *Idem*, *Magyar középkori adattár. Magyarország világi archontológiája 1301-1457. Középkori magyar genealógia*, Budapest, 2001 [CD-ROM], Szilágyi entry (horogszegi).

²⁶⁵ *Ibidem*.

²⁶⁶ Pál Engel, *Magyar középkori adattár. Magyarország világi archontológiája 1301-1457. Középkori magyar genealógia*, Budapest, 2001 [CD-ROM], Szilágyi entry (horogszegi).

We do not know if this was a political marriage, we cannot associate the interests of the royal house of the Hunyadis with the house of Bogomér based on the information we have at the moment, but the fact is that marriage did not last very long. Ladislaus, attested for the first time with his relatives in 1448,²⁶⁷ died in the year 1474, and in later documents, Justina was called - although she had four marriages - the widow of Ladislaus Pongrác of Sancto Nicolao or of Solna,²⁶⁸ with one exception: when she mentioned as selling her house in Pécs. Perhaps in 1475 she met the "Royal Captain"²⁶⁹ Ladislaus Dragwlya/ Dragula, who, we believe, was already widowed by his first wife, who had died in unknown circumstances around the year 1472/1473.²⁷⁰ Kuriczyn's report story, written after 1481-1484, brought important data gleaned from the Hungarian royal court, which sustain this notion: the Russian Ambassador stated that before putting Țepeș on the throne for the third time [1476], Mathias gave his sister as a wife, with whom he had two sons, they lived together for 10 years and then the ruler died in the pagan [Latin] law. The information provided by Kuricyn is essentially real, but the ambassador may have combined/ misunderstood some data.²⁷¹ Let us take

²⁶⁷ DL 15120.

²⁶⁸ Teleki, I, doc. 96, p. 142.

²⁶⁹ "Dragula, capitaneus meum," in Iván Nagy and Albert B. Nyáry, *Magyar diplomáciai emlékek Mátyás király korából* [1458–1490] volume IV, A M. Tud. Akadémia Könyvtár-és Hivatala, Budapest, 1878, doc. 23, p. 325, also *Monumenta Vaticana. Historia Regni Hungariae Illustrantia*, series I, tomus VI. f. ed. Budapestini, 1891, doc. 98, p. 123.

²⁷⁰ The editor first Russian version of the stories about Dracula, identified by Ioan Bogdan, after the Russian historian Vostokov, with the Secretary-Ambassador of Knez Ivan III of Moscow at Mathias's court, a certain Kuricyn [p. 107, Vostokov's thesis, p. 120 Bogdan's subscription to the hypothesis] or from what he or his close collaborators from Mathias's court had heard in 1481-1484, says towards the end of stories, which sound somewhat like embassy reports in this part [Chapters 14-17 certainly do]: "And the king gave him not only the rule of Wallachia, but his good sister as a wife, who gave birth to two sons, living with her for about ten years and dying in the pagan law," in Ioan Bogdan, *Vlad Țepeș și narațiunile germane și rusești asupra lui. Studiu critic*, Bucharest, Editura Librăriei Socecu & Comp., 1896, p. 133. Four decades ago, Ștefan Andreescu ruled in favour of a Romanian editor from Transylvania, rallying himself to the opinions of P. P. Panaitescu and A. Balotă, developing further these hypotheses Feodor Kuritzyn's being the editor, in *Premières formes de la littérature historique roumaine en Transylvanie. Autour de la version slave des récits sur le voïevode Dracula*, RESEE, 13, tome 13, no. 4, pp. 521-523. We declare in favour of the older, Russian thesis because the argument Mr. Andreescu adduces, according to which the editor must have been an Orthodox Transylvanian priest who was aware of the south-Carpathian political realities and did not like Vlad's conversion to Catholicism, seems a bit forced. A Russian cleric [see the Isidor moment on the return to Kiev after 1439] is more likely to have had such a strong theological anti-Latin conception than a clergyman from the fledgling Orthodox intellectual environment in Transylvanian, which probably developed on hesychast structures, concealed from the courtly milieu from Buda.

²⁷¹ Consideration of these issues are found in Nicolae Stoicescu, *Vlad Țepeș*, note 14, p. 152. The statement that the Wallachians would not have received a ruler of the Roman confession should be treated with reserve, being judicious. As long as the ruler respected the Eastern cult, we do not believe that the nobiliary parties and the church would have vehemently opposed him. Let us not forget that the King-Emperor himself, Sigismund of Luxembourg made donations to the monasteries of Tismana and Vodița, and during the years when Wallachia was perceived as "royal marginal possession," he expressly asserted the freedom of worship of the Wallachians who followed the Greek precepts, doc. 128, 129 and 169 of DRH, D, the years 1419, 1429. Igumen Agathon received the letter patent written in Slavonic at Pojon. The conflict between Iacob Heraclid Despot, a Lutheran, and the Moldavian nobility over a century later

them one by one. The first information refers to Justina [marriage simultaneous with/ following the installation on the throne], but the rest refers to the wife with an unknown name,²⁷² who preceded her and with whom the Wallachian voivode had certainly had one of his two sons. Due to the confusion between two items of information that

must be seen from the perspective of the existence of an Orthodox Counter-Reformation phenomenon initiated by Stephen Rareș. For these later aspects, see Maria Crăciun, *Protestantism și Ortodoxie în Moldova secolului al XVI-lea*, Cluj Napoca, Presa Universitară Clujeană, 1996, *passim*.

²⁷² According to Al. Simon, supported by two documents from *Ub.*, VI, he had estates within the limits of the "royal land" in *Soțiile ungare ale lui Vlad III Țepeș: Rolul, impactul și receptarea unor alianțe și rivalități medievale*, note 2.. Franciscus of Kezy was the Castellan of Hunedoara, as he signed at the address from the end of the document [*Ub.*, VI, doc. 3389, p. 191] and clearly showed that Jacobus Soor from Sibiu owed 663 gold florins. Franciscus showed the people of Sibiu that when the king had come to those parts [1462], he had requested - with a hand-written note from Governor John Hunyadi, who registered now the debit of the now deceased Soor - the restitution of the sum, and that latter had bound himself to return it before the judges and jurors of the town. After several cunning delays, before the judges of Sibiu, Franciscus had not recovered the money and Soor had died. Now he required that Jacobus's property should be impounded until he or his familiars came to recover the debt. Should Jacobus's friends not want to give in, then Franciscus could require a new royal warrant that he would enforce in favour of Drakula's wife. Alexander Simon notes that King Mathias's moving of the debt to John Hunyadi onto Vlad's wife strengthens the idea of her relations with the governor, p. 6.

From our perspective, we believe that the commissioning of the Hunyadis' old familiar with these financial problems might indicate the presence of Vlad's wife in Hunedoara in the summer of 1464. Franciscus of Kezy is the same as the Comes of Hunedoara and Castellan of Hunedoara, Franciscus of Páznád from 1446-1452/54, Pál Engel, *Archontológia*, I, p. 248. András W. Kovács has shown, starting from Csánki's arguments, that the clerk Franciscus of Páznád Deacon and his colleague Mathias Rápolti were actually vice-comites and castellans appointed by the owner of Hunedoara city [then John Hunyadi], in *Administrația comitatului Hunedoara în Evul Mediu, Sargetia, Acta Musei Devensis*, Deva, Editura Muzeului Civilizației Dacice, volume 35-36/2007-2008, p. 206. Kovács András did not notice that it was also Franciscus [now called of Kezy] who was the Castellan of Hunedoara in 1464. Páznád, his place of origin, was in Timiș County [Csánki, V, Kovács, *Administrația...*, p. 224], and he was the familiar of Stephanus Rozgonyi Sr. [1439] and then of Desiderius Losonci [1439-1441], and finally of John Hunyadi [1441-1454], remaining in the service of the house of the Hunyadis [Kovács, *Administrația...*, p. 224-225]. The addition we may make is that after a caesura in 1454, Franciscus was probably the castellan of Hunedoara, certainly until 1464. From 1465, the castellan was Johannes Geréb of Vingard [*Ub.*, VI, doc. 3441]. Kezy was a family estate before 1443. According to Csánki, Kezy [Csánki, *op. cit.*, volume I, Arad County, Keszi/Kezi entry] is Keszincz/Chesint today, in the commune of Zăbrani, Arad County, and is located 13 km away from Lipova. According to DL 29 475 of 16 October 1443, the vice-voivodes of Transylvania, Pancratius Dengelegi and Nicolaus of Wyzakna wrote to the chapter in Alba Iulia that the elected [egregius] Franciscus litteratus de Páznád had come before them in person, with the noble lady called Anka, his wife, and Ioannes and Georgius, blood [carnal] brothers, as well as Blasius *litteratus de Keszy*, their adoptive brother [*adoptivi fratri suorum*], and requested entry into possession of the estate Babolna [Bobâlna] in Hunedoara County. The document of the type *introductoria et statutoria* was issued in Turda on the Wednesday before the feast of St. Gallus the Confessor in 1443. From the copy of the document, we also find out what happened next: on the Saturday before the feast of 11 thousand virgins, Dionysius of Rakosd and the man of the chapter, the rector of the chapter school, Ambrosius, after waiting for the three legal days, made the entry into possession without dispute. What is certain is that Franciscus could enter into the service of the governor, either from or the county of Timiș, or from the county of Arad, both being coordinated by John Hunyadi since 1441, Pál Engel, *Archontológia*, I, p. 98, p. 205. Returning to the document on the debt of the Saxon Jacobus, it is not by chance that the document was written from Lyppua/ Lipova on 6 July 1464. The castellan probably arranged various family businesses in the counties where he had his estates of origin.

differed in terms of time [the last reign, the marriage to the first wife], this hybrid resulted. We should retain the second information, the existence of the two sons from the marriage and the duration of the marriage, about a decade [1462-1472], as well as the death of Țepeș in the pagan [Latin] law. Also, the mentioning of this lady as Mathias's sister, instead of another type of kinship, strengthens the assumption of an illegitimate daughter from the Szapolya family of John Hunyadi [see note above].

The meeting between Justina and Țepeș must have occurred in Buda, when, according to Kuriczyn's information, King Mathias had asked him if he still wanted to reign, subject to his becoming a Catholic.²⁷³ According to Constantin Rezachevici, after an analysis of wrongly dated documents, during this period Radu *the Handsome*, Vlad's brother, had also taken refuge in Transylvania, dying in the summer or the autumn of 1475²⁷⁴ [probably right after Laiotă's surrender to the Turks in January]. Radu may have stayed in the Făgăraș area, where in 1474 the Șercaia and Mica villages were confirmed to him.²⁷⁵

Vlad aka Ladislaus Dragula/ Dragwlya was released in early 1475 and no later than the spring of 1475 when he was given a residence in Pest.²⁷⁶ Kuriczyn mentioned this house when he recounted how Țepeș executed the commander of a group of soldiers pursuing a thief who had entered the house of a great prince without asking his permission.²⁷⁷ This passage [15], correlated with the next chapter [16], which tells about Vlad's conversion after the death of the Wallachian Voivode [Radu], is an indicator for Țepeș's release most likely in the spring of 1475, his being retained in Buda for a short period and his being provided with a home in Pest. It is there that the ruler's legitimate and/ or natural children must also have been brought, who had [hypothetically] lived with their mother until 1472, and afterwards at the royal court in Buda perhaps.

Constantin Rezachevici said that Vlad had been invested with the Wallachian rule by King Mathias before 25 June 1475, based on the document of the royal messengers from Bistrița.²⁷⁸ If we consider that Stephen wrote the document for his suzerain on 20 June 1475, and his representatives met the royal messengers before June 24, because on 25, they drew up their own report to the king, we may estimate, with greater accuracy, that the Hungarian King granted the reign to Vlad at the beginning of spring at the earliest and at the beginning of May at the latest. We shall explain this hypothesis below.

By virtue of this information, we also need to take into account the fact that the former ruler, probably in exile in the Făgăraș-Brașov area, Radu, Vlad's brother, must have passed away then at the latest. This is how we must probably understand

²⁷³ Ioan Bogdan, *Vlad Țepeș și narațiunile germane și rusești asupra lui. Studiu critic*, p. 133.

²⁷⁴ C-tin Rezachevici, *Cronologia critică a domnilor...*, p. 114.

²⁷⁵ Ștefan Meteș, *Moșiile domnilor și ale boierilor din Țerile Române în Ardeal și Ungaria*, Arad, Editura Librăriei Diecezane, 1925, p. 16.

²⁷⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 116.

²⁷⁷ Ioan Bogdan, *Vlad Țepeș și narațiunile germane și rusești asupra lui. Studiu critic*, p. 132.

²⁷⁸ C-tin Rezachevici, *Cronologia critică a domnilor...*, p. 116. Ioan Bogdan, *Documentele lui Ștefan cel Mare*, volume II, Atelierele Grafice Socec & Co., Societate Anonimă, Bucharest, 1913, pp. 327-328: "in facto inmissionis vajvode Draculia, quas post earum lectionem communicavi cum bojaronibus, qui post acceptas has novitates dicunt laudando quod Majestas Vestras creaverit eum in vaivodam."

Kuriczyn's statements, which mixed up the events once again, but, of course, because of the distance at which they were reported to him compared to the events themselves [7-8 years]. Then the investment of Vlad becomes logical, because Radu had also sworn allegiance to the Sacred Crown in as early as 1469. Against him, however, at that moment, was the antipathy of another "Royal Captain," Stephen of Moldova, who wanted a "verified" anti-Ottoman warrior on the throne of Wallachia, who would be unwilling to negotiate with the Ottoman Empire²⁷⁹: "because the Wallachians are like the Turks to us. And you must believe that they are so, as we say they are..." [20 June 1475].²⁸⁰

Let us just say that what was not noticed in the document published in the Hurmuzaki collection, Volume XV, Part 1, under number 146, was a small dating problem. In fact, it derives from its publication by Ioan Bogdan²⁸¹ in his volume. The historian placed a note after the document number 265 and wrote: "wrongly dated 2 June in the register from the archives of Sibiu." In fact, what did the document say at that date: "Ex Argyas²⁸², feria sexta proxima Inventionis dextre beati Stephani protomartyris ano Domini MmoCCCCmoLXXV." This confused the historian. Bogdan was certain about the Inventio Stephani protomartyris, which really coincides with 3 August, and in 1475 it was on a Thursday, while the date of the celebration *feria sexta proxima post* had to be on Friday, 4 August. This is how the editors of the Hurmuzaki text took it over. But in Roman calendar, the feast mentioned by the voivode's copyist is celebrated on 30 May [*Inventio dextre Stephani regis*].²⁸³ The error belonged to the ruler's copyist, who most likely confused the royal function of Hungary's Christianiser [king] with that of St. Stephen Deacon as the "First Martyr," whence we must suspect that he was Orthodox who was not educated in the Latin confession from the Hungarian/Transylvanian environment. When the ruler dictated the date to him, the Ascension of the Right St. Stephen, his Orthodox copyist thought of the only great Saint Stephen he knew, the First Martyr, and thence, we believe, came the confusion. The ruler was not wrong, nor were the archivists from Sibiu, who were clearly guided by that "dextre" and placed the actual date of June 2 in arranging the archive. The ones who were wrong were Ioan Bogdan, who probably overlooked the fact that this feast existed and all those who took over Bogdan's date without checking it.²⁸⁴ In light of this reinterpretation of the date when the document was issued, that is, 2 June, correctly

²⁷⁹ *Ibidem*.

²⁸⁰ Ioan Bogdan, *Documentele lui Ștefan cel Mare*, volume II, Atelierele Grafice Socex & Co., Societate Anonimă, Bucharest, 1913, p. 327.

²⁸¹ Ioan Bogdan, *Documente privitoare la relațiile Țării Românești cu Brașovul și cu Țara Ungurească în secolele XV și XVI*, volume I, 1413-1508, Bucharest, Institutul de Arte Grafice Carol Göbl, 1905, doc. 265, p. 323.

²⁸² The identification with Arghiș in Cojocna County has already been proved, see Nicolae Stoicescu, *Vlad Țepeș*, p. 154 and note 20 on the same page. More recently, cf. *Ub.*, VII, doc. 4062, p. 56, the location proposed by the German editors is Moardăș, Sibiu County. This location is found in Ștefan Andreescu, *Vlad Țepeș*, part II, note 180, but the date is obviously 4 August! 1475.

²⁸³ *DIR, Introducere*, volume I, p. 538/152 and calendar table 5.

²⁸⁴ Including Nicolae Stoicescu, *Vlad Țepeș*, p. 154, who, inexplicably, places the date of 8 August 1475, calculating six days (!), not the sixth day of the week, from the date of 2 August, when *Stephanus papa* appears in the Roman calendar. Bogdan and the others saw that Thursday 3 August was *inventio Stephani*, and the rest was simple, Friday was indeed the sixth day of the first week of August.

inserted by the Sibiu archivists, and not 4 August [Bogdan, *Relațiile...*, doc. 265, Hurmuzaki, XV/1, Ub., VII, doc. 4062, p. 56] or 8 August [N. Stoicescu, Vlad Țepeș, p. 154], which was also a Friday, we can say that Vlad was already present in Moardăș, Sibiu County [much more logical than Cojocna or Alba County, proposed by Constantin Rezachevici]²⁸⁵ on the second day of June 1475. Vlad sent Chief Magistrate Cristian, his trusted man, to the people of Sibiu, in order to arrange a house for him among the locals and to convey them his messages/ commands. Invested with military authority [see the report from Ferrara], he sent word to the people of Sibiu to listen to him carefully, and to his man too, as if he, the ruler, were among them.

So what Florius Reverella, the Ambassador of the Duke of Ferrara, Herculio I, to the Hungarian court, informed his master, the Duke, on 18 July 1475, namely that Stephen, Voivode of Moldavia, had reconciled with King Mathias, and that Dragula, who “had been the prisoner of this king,” had been reinvested as voivode and sent with money, soldiers and letters to Transylvania, where the royal commissioners were preparing his return and 50,000 soldiers so that he could reject the Turkish attacks on Moldova and Wallachia²⁸⁶ was already old news. In fact, the news about Vlad was older and, in order of importance, it was placed third in terms of progress, after the tidings about the proposed crusade with Italian money, about the movements of the Turks [the latest news] and the suzerain-vassal covenant with Ștefan [signed by the voivode in Iași on 12 July].²⁸⁷

In these circumstances, what Dominicus, the apostolic protonotary, announced about the fall of Caffa,²⁸⁸ but also about the fact that Vlad was in Transylvania²⁸⁹ should be placed around the date of 20-25 June 1475, probably because he was in connection with Mathias’s envoys, Provost Dominicus and the nobleman Gasparus of Hathwan. From the moment Vlad requested the house until 21 September, there is no knowing what actions Țepeș undertook in Transylvania, but it is clear that he stayed in the Sibiu area, while the people of Brașov developed ever better relations with Basarab Laiotă, after the later informed them that he had been to the Porte way before 26 June and had secured his reign from the sultan.²⁹⁰ The fact that Basarab informed them that he had also been to the Porte in their interest mean that he also let the sultan know about his desire to normalise trade relations with the south-east of the Hungarian kingdom. It seems that Mehmed II agreed with a state of truce, since he hastened to liquidate the last enclaves of foreign trade in the Black Sea. The normalisation of Laiotă’s relations with the people of Brașov may be seen from the documents of 11 July 1475.²⁹¹

²⁸⁵ C-tin Rezachevici, *Cronologia critică a domnilor...*, p. 116.

²⁸⁶ Dr. Andrei Veress, *Fontes rerum Transylvanicarum*, tomus IV, volume I [1468-1540], Budapest, 1914, Cluj, 1914, doc. 13, pp. 14-15.

²⁸⁷ Ștefan S. Gorovei, *Princeps omni laude maior...*, p. 128. Related, in fact, to the exchange of deputations, see *loc. cit.* for an extensive treatment.

²⁸⁸ *Ibidem*: the fall of Caffa took place on 6 June 1475 and was a hard blow even for the ruler of Moldova, p. 127.

²⁸⁹ Hurmuzaki, II/1, doc. 15, pp. 12-13.

²⁹⁰ Ioan Bogdan, *Documente privitoare la relațiile Țării Românești cu Brașovul...*, doc. 89, pp. 115-116.

²⁹¹ Ub., VII, 4059, 4060, 4061, pp. 55-56.

On 21 September 1475, Mathias wrote to the people of Sibiu, requesting them to give Vlad a financial aid of 200 florins from revenue of the tricesima and the turnover from Baia de Arieș.²⁹² On 3 October 1475, Țepeș confirmed that he had received from Judge Thomas Altenberger the sum of 200 florins offered by the people of Sibiu, Brașov and other cities. At that moment, the invested ruler was at Bălcaciu, on the Târnava, a territory belonging to the mayor of Sibiu.²⁹³ We may suspect that between 2 June to 21 September, there was an exchange of letters between the royal captain and the king, the only document preserved to this day being the king's request for funding, a pale echo of this suzerain-vassal relation. After this date of 3 October, he left Transylvania, probably due to the normalisation of the relations between Laiotă and Mathias. Perhaps Vlad reached Buda at the middle of the month, where the king was probably preparing the expedition south of the Danube. Vlad certainly bought that house in Pécs now, which his wife would bestow upon her servant, Dionisius, and that was also known as "Drakwlya-haza."²⁹⁴ András Kubinyi believed that the marriage took place after the king recognised his rule in Wallachia,²⁹⁵ so sometime after the spring of 1475. Justina apparently was not on extraordinarily good terms with her cousin,²⁹⁶ but had to accept the marriage, which probably reinforced the relations between the ex-brothers-in-law. From our point of view, probably an engagement was initially concluded [Țepeș was already in Transylvania in early June 1475], and Țepeș may have wanted a house for him and his future wife in Sibiu until his takeover of power south of the Carpathians. Since the project was suspended due to the normalisation of diplomatic relations between Mathias and Laiotă, and Țepeș retreated from Sibiu to the periphery of the Saxon area, the marriage between the two can be placed between mid-October 1475 and 3-5 December of the same year, when King was in Petrowaradin, in Serbia,²⁹⁷ preparing the campaign that brought horror shivers to the Turks on the occupation Sabac by the royal captain Drakula, in the spring of 1476.²⁹⁸ He probably resided in Pécs or Pest between March 1476 and July 1476. Towards the end of the year, it is likely that a child was born to him, in Kubinyi's opinion,²⁹⁹ which we consider to be correct. After July 1476, with his return to Transylvania, his great adventure to recover the throne of Wallachia began, materialising with his involvement in the liquidation of the Turkish squads, which were in utter disarray in Moldova, in August 1476.³⁰⁰ It is from this period that we find out the name of one his familiars, sent by the ruler together with his

²⁹² *Ibidem*, doc. 4067, p. 60; *Hurmuzaki*, XV/1, doc. 147, p. 86.

²⁹³ Nicolae Stoicescu, *Vlad Țepeș*, p. 155, *Hurmuzaki*, XV/1, doc. 148, p. 86.

²⁹⁴ András Kubinyi, *Hunyadi Mátyás, a személyiség és a király*, in AETAS 22. évf. 2007. 3. szám, p. 84, accessed online at: <http://epa.oszk.hu/00800/00861/00038/pdf/083-100.pdf>, 20.09.2012.

²⁹⁵ *Ibidem*.

²⁹⁶ *Ibidem*.

²⁹⁷ Nicolae Stoicescu, *Vlad Țepeș*, p. 155, *Ub.*, VII, doc. 4079, p. 68, Lajos Thallóczy és Antal Áldásy, *Magyarország Mellékartományainak Oklevéltára*, Második Kötet, 1198-1526, Kiadja A Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, Budapest, 1907, doc. 367, p. 265.

²⁹⁸ *Ibidem*, pp. 155-156, but also extensively in the account of Gabriel of Verona, the Bishop of Agria: Lajos Thallóczy és Antal Áldásy, *Magyarország Mellékartományainak Oklevéltára*, doc. 369, pp. 265-267.

²⁹⁹ András Kubinyi, *Hunyadi Mátyás, a személyiség és a király*, p. 84.

³⁰⁰ Ștefan S. Gorovei, *Princeps omni laude maior...*, p. 159, note 345. Together with Vlad was the despot Vuk Branković, Demetrius Iakšićs and, probably, some of Țepeș's familiars.

own servant to Braşov, namely Sebastianus,³⁰¹ who should probably be seen as one of the familiars brought by Justina.

We know that in January 1476, Voivode Johannes Pongrác Dengelegi ordered the people of Braşov to send his supporters with their families to Vlad because peace had been made between Basarab and Mathias. It is logical to suspect that some of the boyars joined their ruler in the fight from Serbia, and the women with their children and servants will have waited the end of the campaign, perhaps in Pécs, together with new princess consort. We say this because the people of Sibiu did not want to put an end to the hostilities against Laiotă, harassing his people in Făgăraş³⁰² [25 February 1476], after it had originally appeared to be the case.³⁰³ Similarly, the people of Braşov, as Basarab's spies informed him, held a partisan of Țepeş's, one named Chorya [Horia?], as well as others, whom Laiotă wanted extradited on 15 April 1476.³⁰⁴ On 9 May, Laiotă repeated the request for two great boyars who had fled to Braşov: Woyko Thatul and Opr[ea] the chancellor, with their kin. Moreover, the ruler sent to the judge and jury of Braşov his father-in-law, the "egregius" [distinguished] Zidradin, who had to inform them about certain things.³⁰⁵ On 25 June, the people of Sibiu warned the people of Braşov that Basarab did not really harbour good thoughts towards them,³⁰⁶ and on July 21, Vice-Voivode Stephanus Erdely of Somkerek, Justina's future father-in-law, requested from them the military contingent from Turda.³⁰⁷

On 7 October Vlad Țepeş issued from Braşov a trade privilege for the people of Bârsa and Braşov,³⁰⁸ and was probably in his last days before the start of the military campaign. Of course, just like during the campaign to Serbia, his consort and the families of the wanderers attached to the house of Vlad waited for the outcome of the campaign that was started after that date, by the pretender, together with Stephanus Bátori with 25,000 soldiers and Stephen of Moldova with 15,000.³⁰⁹ Between mid-November and 26 November 1476, after heavy fighting, Țepeş was crowned and recognised as ruler by the boyars.³¹⁰ On 3 or 17 November, he informed the people of Braşov, through his man, Christian, whom we have met before, that they should enjoy his victory, and demanded two carpenters with their aids [3 for each master] to make him a new home in Târgovişte,³¹¹ which had probably been devastated. We believe that

³⁰¹ Hurmuzaki, XV/1, doc. 164, p. 94.

³⁰² *Ibidem*, doc. 151, p. 87.

³⁰³ *Ibidem*, doc. 150, p. 87.

³⁰⁴ *Ibidem*, doc. 153, p. 89.

³⁰⁵ *Ibidem*, doc. 154, p. 89. Voico Tatul was a member of the voivode's council, then he was exiled to Transylvania, reappearing in the council between 1480 and 1481. Nicolae Stoicescu, *Dicţionar al marilor dregători din Țara Românească și Moldova, sec. XIV-XVII*, Bucharest, Editura Enciclopedică Română, 1971, p. 28.

³⁰⁶ Hurmuzaki, XV/1, doc. 161, p. 92.

³⁰⁷ *Ibidem*, doc. 162, p. 92.

³⁰⁸ C-tin Rezachevici, *Cronologia critică a domnilor...*, p. 116.

³⁰⁹ Ștefan S. Gorovei, *Princeps omni laude maior...*, p. 162.

³¹⁰ For the chronology of the period, we have opted for the version suggested by Ștefan Gorovei, *Princeps omni laude maior...*, pp. 163-165, which is largely consistent with that advanced by C-tin Rezachevici, *Cronologia critică a domnilor...*, pp. 116-117. See in Ștefan Gorovei the option for 3 November.

³¹¹ Hurmuzaki, XV/1, doc. 168, p. 95.

his request was related to Vlad's desire to give his wife a comfortable home, closer to Hungary/ Transylvania rather than to Bucharest. It is not known whether Justina went south of the Carpathians and attended the enthronement ceremonies. We would tend to say yes, she must have attended them. Cautious, Țepeș requested from his relative, Ștefan, a guard of 200 soldiers, not trusting the boyar parties in the country, and demanded the people of Brașov to let the soldiers from the kingdom to come and join a formula of familiarity to his house: "and my highness will have mercy on him, and I will feed like I do my servants, but I cannot give them any wages."³¹² At that time, the financial resources of the family could not have been very large. Vlad's violent death in early January 1477, his beheading and the burying of his body in an as yet unidentified place for sure, left Justina a widow again, taking care of an adopted son and, probably, of her own.

On 13 January 1478, being mentioned as the widow of Ladislaus of Solna, she was summoned to court in litigation against the Erdely Somkereki family, whereby the latter hoped to retrieve from Justina Gernyezegh Castle and the villages thereof, donated by Mathias to his cousin.³¹³ The king probably made this donation for the financial reasons mentioned above. Part of the castle belonged to the Suki family, and because of the infidelity of Michael Suki, the king had seized it from him after 1467 and had initially given it to Nicolaus Csupor.³¹⁴ From here it was passed Justina, the king showing, on 14 August 1478, that he wanted to keep her as the owner.³¹⁵ This must have been the reason that prompted Paul Suki, the nephew of Mihail, who was executed, to marry Justina after 14 August 1478 and before 26 January 1479, when they were already mentioned as spouses.³¹⁶ On 28 May 1479, Justina was still married to him,³¹⁷ and Paul died that year, launching ownership disputes between Justina and the relatives from the Suki family.³¹⁸ Perhaps, however, after Vlad's death, Justina left the house in Pécs to the servant Dionisius, who brought her major services, although we do not know in what respect, except in the period after 1479. The fact is that this Dionisius was accused of murder and executed, and the house of his former master passed from the king's possession into other hands.³¹⁹ In around 1481 [after 18 June],³²⁰ Justina married Johannes Erdely Somkereki,³²¹ probably because of the Somkereki family's

³¹² Ștefan S. Gorovei, *Princeps omni laude maior...*, p. 167.

³¹³ *Teleki*, II, doc. 93, pp. 132-135.

³¹⁴ According to the document published by Dr. Andrei Veress, *Fontes rerum Transylvanicarum*, tomus IV, volume I, doc. 4, pp. 3-5: "Swk et Zowath [...] cum earundem pertinentiis in comitatu de Kolos, possessiones vissa, Magiar Kallyan, Olah Kallyan, Magiar Sarmas, Olah Sarmas, Azzonfalva, Olah Bare [...] Zowath et Kethelen in de Colos, necnon possessionem Omboz vocatas in de Doboka comitatibus existentibus" were passed into Nicolaus Csupor's possession, together with other estates of Michael's, such as Gernyezegh Castle.

³¹⁵ *Teleki*, II, doc. 95, pp. 137-138.

³¹⁶ *Ibidem*, doc. 96, pp. 139-142.

³¹⁷ DL 27537.

³¹⁸ *Teleki*, II, doc. 101, pp. 147-150.

³¹⁹ The Latin text at DF 260165. The epic history of the document and observations on its content, in Al. Simon, *Sofiile ungare...*, p. 9 and note 3.

³²⁰ DL 74174.

³²¹ The first genealogy of the family in Gyula Décsényi, *A somkereki Erdelyi Család 1415. évi czimeres levele és nemzedékvendje*, in *Turul*, Budapest, 1892, pp. 105-112. The last known, but incomplete, in Pál

desire not to lose the territorial patrimony passed by the king into his cousin's possession. Between 19 January 1483 and 19 October 1486, Justina's last father-in-law died: the former Vice-Voivode Stephanus.³²² Justina passed away at an age of over 43/44, after 13 June 1497.³²³ She constantly appeared in the documents, dying, therefore, in around this year.³²⁴ Justina didn't have children from the other two marriages contracted after Vlad's death. We do not know what happened to Vlad Drakwlya after his mother's death. Could he have died before 1505? On 16 January 1505, Cristophorus Hunyadi, son of Johannes and grandson of Mathias, filed a lawsuit against Johannes Erdely Somkereki and his nephew, Martinus,³²⁵ probably related to Justina's inheritance, left in the possession of Johannes Erdely. Prior to 31 October 1505, the latter got married a second time, to Petronella Czeke,³²⁶ but died a few days before 14 April 1507.³²⁷ We do not know at present where the tomb of Vlad's last wife is, just like we do not know the whereabouts of her husband's [Vlad's head probably reached the Bosphorus, after its victorious display in Constantinople].

From our perspective, we consider that of the three sons Kuriczyn mentioned: the "recently dead" was the son of Vlad's first wife, who had been the familiar of the Bishop of Oradea [?] [Bordon],³²⁸ the one who lived with "the king's son" [Johannes Corvinus] must have been the future contender Vlad from 1495, mentioned by Paul Binder,³²⁹ the son of Justina,³³⁰ and Mihail³³¹ the natural son, the future Mihnea the Evil One, the oldest of them, born from one of Vlad's transient affairs, before his first marriage.³³²

Engel, *Magyar középkori adattár. Magyarország világi archontológiája 1301–1457. Középkori magyar genealógia*, Budapest, 2001 [CD-ROM], Becsegergelyi.

³²² Teleki, II, doc. 105, pp. 157–158, doc. 109, pp. 165–166.

³²³ *Ibidem*, doc. 143, pp. 218–221.

³²⁴ DL 74174, DL 74236, 74237, 74238, 74240, 74254, 74263, 74264, 74315.

³²⁵ Teleki, II, doc. 175, p. 274.

³²⁶ *Ibidem*, doc. 179, p. 278.

³²⁷ *Ibidem*, doc. 187, pp. 294–295: "quamvis superioribus diebus prefatus condam Johannes Erdely dominus et maritus tuus ab hac luce nutu divino decesserit."

³²⁸ Cf. C-tin Rezachevici, *Cronologia critică a domnilor...*, p. 134 *apud* *Cronicile slavo-române*, pp. 206, 213, he died in around 1486, according to the dating suggested by Panaitescu, who nonetheless contested the Vostokov-Bogdan hypothesis, which we consider closer to reality, meaning around 1484/85.

³²⁹ Paul Binder, "Une famille noble roumaine de Transylvanie: les Drakula de Sintești," in *Revue Roumaine d'Histoire*, 27, no. 4, Bucharest, 1988, p. 301.

³³⁰ We may notice the fact that Binder placed Sintești in the Banat, more precisely in Timiș County, whence his mother, Justina, came, if we accept this fact as real. In favour of this argument stands the fact that the king's nephew, by his cousin, grew up together with the king's natural son, Johannes Corvinus.

³³¹ Ioan Bogdan, *Vlad Țepeș și narațiunile germane și rusești asupra lui. Studiu critic*, pp. 54–55. Bogdan stated, by way of an assumption, that Mihnea probably lived in the very house that his father had asked from the people of Sibiu in 1476.

³³² Cf. C-tin Rezachevici, *Cronologia critică a domnilor...*, p. 133, this mother of Mihail/Mihnea married later Dracea the armsman, who became his stepfather. In 1474–75, Mihnea probably went to Hungary together with his father, then sought refuge, with a series of boyars, in the Ottoman Empire until 1484/85, when he returned to Buda, where Kuriczyn met him.

ANNEX

The familiars of the house of Drakulia between 1475 and 1476.

Christian Porkolab, noster boyar specialis 2 June 1475 [Hurmuzaki, XV/ 1, doc. 146, pp. 84-85]

probably the same as *Kerstgion porcolab* 2 November 1476 [Hurmuzaki, XV/ 1, doc. 168, p. 95, dated 17 Nov.]

Sebastianus cum suo famulo August 1476 [Hurmuzaki, XV/ 1, doc. 164, p. 94]

*Ladislaus familio de vaivoda Dracula*³³³ 7 August 1476 [Fontes Rerum Tr., IV/ 1, doc. 19, p. 21]

*The servant zupan Rătundul*³³⁴ 8 November <1476> [Tocilescu, 534 documents, p. 97]

Zupan Stoica armsman November [?] 1476 [Tocilescu, 534 documents, pp. 99, 100]

*Dionisius*³³⁵ 1475 - prior to 1489 [DL 260135].

³³³ After 26 July, he had left Moldova, coming with news about the Turks' movements. The report says that he had travelled for only 10 days from there. He was probably the middle man between Vlad and Ștefan.

³³⁴ Gr. G. Tocilescu, 534 *historical Slavo-Romanian documents from Wallachia and Moldova referring to the relations with Transylvania [1346-1603] from the archives of the towns of Brașov and Bistrița, in the original Slavic text, accompanied by the Romanian translation*, Vienna, 1905-1906, Bucharest, 1931, doc. 101, p. 97. He brought the people of Brașov the news that Laiotă had been deposed.

³³⁵ DL 260135, 10.09. 1489: "quam quidem domum sive fundum generosa domina Iustina, relicta condam Dragwlya waywode, cuidam Dionisio famulo suo ob serviciorum suorum merita, in perpetuum contulisse perhibetur" according to the text published by Al. Simon, *Sojiile ungare...*, p. 9 and note 3.

THE WESTERN AND THE ROMANIAN HISTORIOGRAPHY OF THE MEDIEVAL COSTUME FROM THE FOURTEENTH-FIFTEENTH CENTURIES. AN OVERVIEW

Abstract: The aim of this article is to demonstrate the fact that is hardly possible for our historiography to talk about a history of the costume in the terms of western historiography, which developed from the beginning of the 19th century a clear path of analysis. After a short period of romantic evolution in the interpretation of the medieval costume, the positivist historiography managed to impose a line of study which today can count an impressive amount of particular studies on the matter of costume, design and fashion in the medieval period.

Keywords: Historiography, costume, fashion, Middle Ages, analysis.

The interest in clothing is as old as human history. The human need to get dressed goes back to the dawn of time. According to the Book of *Genesis*, by tasting the fruit of knowledge, the first people God created became aware that they were naked and sought garments to cover themselves before the Creator: “And the eyes of them both were opened, and they knew that they were naked; and they sewed fig leaves together, and made themselves aprons. [...] Unto Adam also and to his wife did the Lord God make coats of skins, and clothed them” (*Genesis*, 3: 7, 21). This is how the Old Testament explains the emergence of clothing: as a divine creation, which ousted the first vegetable fibre clothes and made leather clothes for the humans and sent them out into the world, driving them out of Eden. This is actually the evolution of the *homo sapiens sapiens* from the stage of a gatherer to that of a hunter. There were already two categories of materials for the making of clothes: plant fibres and animal hides.

The “Neolithic Revolution” (Gordon Child) also meant the emergence of the more complex structures of material culture, and this was reflected in the development of objects of practical¹ and personal use. The materials used for clothing differed according to the geographical area: whereas in Southeast Asia the “fine fabrics,” such as cotton (India) or silk (China), prevailed, the coarser fibres, such as linen (flax and hemp) and wool, were characteristic of the European-Mediterranean area.²

The transition from the Eneolithic to the Bronze Period marked the emergence of two new economic branches: the crafts and trade. This led to the proliferation of garments, complete with increasingly spectacular clothing accessories. If up until the Bronze Age, man had used coloured stone, bone, shells or wood as raw materials for accessories, with the advent of metallurgy, bronze, gold, silver or copper objects began to be made.

¹ Immanuel Geiss, *Istoria lumii din preistorie până în anul 2000*, Bucharest, Editura All, 2008, p. 35.

² *Ibidem*, p. 36.

We may thus capture the parallel evolution of the concept of fashion alongside that of clothing, as well as the differentiation between various items of jewellery as clothing accessories.

The development of ancient civilisations led to the dissemination of the taste for refined clothing, comfortable living, jewellery making and the crafting of interior objects.³ In fact, in various passages, Herodotus mentions the items of clothing worn by the Greeks, the Persians or the Egyptians on various occasions.⁴

The Romans' concern for luxury and fashion developed after the transformation of Greece into a Roman province (146 BC), and during the imperial period, Petronius was rightly called *arbiter elegantiae*. In *Naturalis Historiae*, Pliny the Elder referred, in the book devoted to botany, to the perishability of perfumes compared to jewellery and garments.

During the reign of Constantine Porphyrogenetos, the work *De Ceremoniis* was written; to it, a supplement was later added, in the form of an anonymous fourteenth-century treatise, which describes in detail the splendid garb of the Byzantine court officials, their various head coverings, footwear and accessories.⁵

In the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, the emphasis laid on fashion and costume increased significantly, and the materials, colours, types of accessories and ornaments, as well as the patterns diversified.

From a historiographical perspective, this was the moment when the future Romanian space, with its different types of costume, began to be mentioned in the various accounts of the period: an example would be Bishop Verancius, who noticed that the Wallachians' garments were different from those of the Moldavians, because the former had borrowed different Turkish pieces, relinquishing their old traditional costumes.⁶ In 1574, the French traveller Pierre Lescapier noted the fact that the Hungarians and the Lechites who passed through the Ottoman Empire had told him that only if they wore the Oriental costume, could they practise their worship freely.⁷

The Romanian space continued to be under diverse vestimentary influences that left their mark on the various Western or Eastern models and types of clothing, with multifarious additions and influences, of the most interesting kind.

The emergence of the modern Romanian state after 1859 and its political-economic and cultural development led to the birth of educational and research institutions and to the formation of the Romanian school of history. Its evolution along positivist lines up until 1918, and then its diversification and refinement up until 1945, allowed the historians to address manifold aspects of history, as it unfolded on the national territory during various historical stages.

Romanian historiography has sporadically expressed an interest in aspects of vestimentary evolution, focusing more on the extra-Carpathian space,⁸ whereas

³ Adelina Piatkowski, "Studiu introductiv" to Herodot, *Istoriei*, Bucharest, Editura Științifică, 1961, p. XXXI.

⁴ Herodot, *op. cit.*, Book III, Chap. CXXXIX, p. 288.

⁵ A. A. Vasiliev, *Istoria Imperiului Bizantin*, Bucharest, Editura Polirom, 2010, p. 650.

⁶ Alexandru Alexianu, *Modă și veșminte din trecut*, Bucharest, Editura Meridiane, 1971, vol. I, p. 9.

⁷ *Ibidem*.

⁸ More recently for Moldova, see, for example: Ștefan S. Gorovei, Maria Magdalena Székely, *Maria Asanina Paleologhina. O prințesă bizantină pe tronul Moldovei*, Putna, 2006, 290 p. [text] + 128 p.

historiographical information on the Transylvanian territory continues to be underrated as a mere aspect/ component of the studies devoted to the fine arts.⁹

The Western historiography of costume. The origins of studies on costume go back to the late Middle Ages and the early Renaissance Period, when the first works of this kind were printed in Western Europe: Lazare de Baïf (1496-1547), *De re vestitaria libellus*, with a second edition printed by R. Stephanus in Paris (5 May 1536), and Cesare Vecellio, *De gli habiti antichi e moderni di diuerse parti del mondo, libri due, fatti di Cesare Vecellio*, printed by the printer Damian Zenaro in Venice (1590) and then reprinted under the title *Costumes anciens et modernes* (2 vol. in octavo, 1859-1860) by the famous French bookseller Firmin from Paris.

The first serious preoccupations were recorded in the Italian space, where Camille Bonnard and Paolo Mercuri published a work entitled *Costumes ecclésiastiques, civils et militaires des 13e, 14e, 15e siècles*, which the authors printed in Rome between the years 1827-1828. This work was reedited in Paris by the publishers Treuttel (1829-1830) and Goupil (1845), indicating the interest manifested by the public in the history of costume. Subsequently, the same authors wrote *Costumes historiques des 12e, 13e, 14e, 15e siècles tirés des monuments les plus authentiques de peinture et sculpture*, an edition revised by Charles Blanc, the former director of the School of Fine Arts, in Paris, in the presses of Lévi Publishers from 1860 to 1861. The edition was revised later by E. Lechaevallier-Chevignard and G. Duplessis as *Costumes historiques de 15e, 16e, 17e siècles*, with the same Parisian publisher, between 1867 and 1873. In addition to the text compiled by Bonnard, the book also contained a series of plates drawn by the Italian painter and engraver Paolo Mercuri. The trend initiated by the two was continued by the Belgian Jacques-Joseph van Beveren, who published *Costume du Moyen Âge d'après les manuscrits, les peintures et les monuments contemporains* in Brussels in 1847, and by Paul Lacroix (1806-1884), with the works: *Costumes historiques de la France d'après les monuments les plus authentiques, statues, bas-reliefs, tombeaux, sceaux, monnaies, peintures à tableaux, vitraux, miniatures, dessins et stamper. Histoire de la vie privée de français depuis l'origine de la monarchie jusqu'à nos jours*, published by Lacour et Cie Press in Paris in 1852, and *Moeurs, usages et costumes au Moyen Âge et à l'époque du la Renaissance*, Paris, Firmin-Didot, 1872. As can be seen, these were general works, the sources used in drafting them were visual (iconographic) and they were designed to outline a history of costume in general from antiquity until the nineteenth century.

On the other hand, the German historical school showed an interest in the subject through Carl Becker (1852)¹⁰ and Jacob Heinrich von Hefner-Alteneck (1811-1903), an art historian and custodian of the National Museum of Bavaria from 1868

[illustr.] with an analysis of the *dvera* (embroidered tombcover). For Muntenia, see Luminița Dumitrescu, *Der Mittelalterliche schmuck des unteren Donaugebietes im 11-15 Jahrhundert*, Bucharest, 2001, 185 p. [text] with a systematic analysis of the jewellery and clothing accessories, as well as of the fashion from the Lower Danube [pp. 147-155].

⁹ See, for instance, Valentin Trifescu, *Bisericile cneziale din Ribița și Crișcior*, Cluj Napoca, Editura Eikon, 2010, 133 p. or Diana Iegar, *Fresce medievale din județul Satu Mare și Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg, Satu Mare*, Editura Muzeului Sătmărean, 2010, 52 p.

¹⁰ *Kunstwerke und Geräthschaften des Mittelalters unde der Reanissance*, 1852.

on,¹¹ who compiled two works on the history of costume: *Trachten des christlichen Mittelalters* (Frankfurt, 1840-1854) and the study in 10 volumes *Trachten, Kunstwerke und Geräthschaften vom frühen Mittelalters bis Ende des achtzehnten Jahrhunderts mit gleichzeitigen originalen* (1879-1889).

The same thing was accomplished by Auguste Racinet in 1888, with a work entitled *Le costume historique*,¹² published by Firmin-Didot & Co. Booksellers in Paris, which had also published Paul Lacroix's work in 1872. The work comprised 473 plates accompanied by descriptive texts. The first edition of the work had over 1300 pages, in which Racinet gave extensive explanations on the fashion style he approached. His rhetoric was typical of the historians-academics from the late nineteenth century, using many circumlocutions and descriptive digressions. His sources included the writings of Latin historians, travelogues, and so on, which enabled him to describe civilisations and cultures that were subjected to an active process of colonisation at that time and were seen as part of the vast ethno-cultural melting pot of humanity. Practically, Racinet (1825-1893) was a combination between Bonnard and Mercuri, since he was both a historian and a painter, his merits being recognised when he was elevated to the rank of Knight of the Legion of Honour, on 5 August 1878.¹³

However, the replies of his rivals, such as Weiss and Hottenroth, did not take long to appear, and the works of Lacroix and Jacquemin were reprinted, as a counterbalance.¹⁴

With Racinet, the path had been opened, and both his adherents and his critics followed suit.

Maurice Maindron and Maurice Leloir were Racinet's harshest critics. They accused the Frenchmen that he had accomplished the work of a painter-engraver.¹⁵ For these reasons, in 1903 the two decided to compile a dictionary of costume since the Middle Ages. Its printing, with synopses, was completed only in 1951, after the demise of Leloir, who had been the illustrator, among others, of the Dumas and the Molière editions.¹⁶

In parallel, with Félix de Vigne, importance appeared to be given, beyond image (iconography), to studies based solely on documentary sources of the sixteenth century: *Recherche historique sur les costumes civils et militaires des gildes et des corporations des métiers, leurs drapeaux, leurs armes, leurs blasons*, printed in 1847 by Gyselynek Publishers in Ghent.

The compilation of a dictionary of medieval costume allowed the implementation of a working basis, of a systematisation of the studies devoted to costume and it opened new avenues in scientific research. In 1927, Eunice Rathbonne Goddard published the work *Women's Costume in French Texts of the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries* at the prestigious Parisian publisher PUF; this was the first approach

¹¹ Auguste Racinet, *The Costume History. From Ancient Times to the 19th Century*, second edition, Hong Kong-Köln-London-Los Angeles-Madrid-Paris-Tokyo, Taschen, 2010, p. 10.

¹² Auguste Racinet, *Le costume historique*, Paris, Libr. Firmin-Didot, 1888.

¹³ Auguste Racinet, *The Costume History*..., p. 8.

¹⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 11.

¹⁵ *Ibidem*.

¹⁶ *Ibidem*.

specially dedicated to female costume and focused on a well-defined period of time. Four years later, in the U.S., Francis M. Kelly and Randolph Schwabe published a research entitled *A Short History of Costume and Armour* at Charles Scribner's Son, New York, which made a clear distinction between civil and military garments.

In 1939, Mary Galway Houston launched the work *Medieval Costume in England and France: The 13th, 14th and 15th Centuries* on the European historiographical market, having it published by A. and C. Black in London (the second edition: Dover Publications, New York, 1996). Initially, in the first edition, the book represented the third volume of a series entitled: *A Technical History of Costume*.¹⁷

The work was divided into 16 chapters, analysing the evolution, by century, of civil, ecclesiastical and military costumes. The author discussed the costume construction in the thirteenth century, then analysed the royal costumes of the thirteenth century, ecclesiastical costume (from the Eucharistic vestments to the habits of the various monastic orders), and examined, finally, military costume with its specific accessories. This type of analysis was also undertaken for the following centuries that the author focused on. At the end, Mary Houston introduced a glossary of specific terms and a bibliography representing the historiographical moment from the end of the interwar period, which spanned a page and a half, including, for example, only one article specialised on certain aspects of clothing.

As evidence of the integration of the vast vestimentary theme into historical study stands the organising of the first international congress on the history of costume in Venice in 1952, the studies presented there being published later in a volume of proceedings: *Actes du premier congrès international du histoire de costume*, Milan, 1955. Most of the presentations focused on the issue of military costumes from Switzerland, the German space and Spain (Don Manuel Rocamora, Martin Ellehaug, Hugo Schneider).¹⁸

Between 1964 and 1966, Rosita Levi-Pisetzky published the work *Storia del costume in Italia*, marking another moment in the historiographical regionalisation of the topic. For 1968, we can mention the work of Giselle D'Aissailly, *Ages of Elegance: Five Thousand Years of Fashion and Frivolity*, published in Paris, at the famous Hachettes Booksellers. This was a general work, which brought to the forefront the idea of juxtaposing fashion, luxury and frivolity. Subsequently, Françoise Piponnier wrote *Costume et vie sociale. La cour d'Anjou (14e-15e siècles)*, printed in Paris, by Mouton & Co. Publishing, in 1970. These works are milestones indicating the growing professionalisation of fashion studies, and the ever clearer transition towards regional identification and towards establishing a connection between costume and the life of the elites and of the royal courts.

1979 saw the publication of Michèle Beaulieu's *Le costume, miroir des mentalités de la France médiévale (1350-1500). Mélanges offerts à Jean Dauvillier* in Toulouse. This melange was published by the press of the University of Social Sciences, where there also functioned a department of legal history.

¹⁷ The bibliographical note of the second edition of Mary Houston's work from Dover Publications.

¹⁸ Christine Aribaud, *Les taillades dans le vêtement de la Renaissance: l'art des nobles déchirures, in Paraître et se vêtir en XVIe siècle*, Université de Saint Etienne, 2006, pp. 146, 148.

Stella Mary Newton published a research entitled *Fashion in the Age of Black Prince: A Study of the Years 1340-1365* at Boydell Press in 1980: here the author examines, in short time segments, the changes occurring in the world of costume, based on various sources: chronistics and the contemporary literature from the relevant period, illuminated manuscripts, sermons exposing the clerical perspective on the luxury of the time, anti-luxury legislation and domestic records. The author actually walked in the footsteps of Françoise Piponnier, through her work dedicated to clothing at the Angevin court, and inaugurated a line of research with influences coming from anthropology and semiotics.

In 1983, François Boucher edited in French a history of costume in the West from antiquity to the present day, with an introductory chapter signed by Yvonne Deslandres.¹⁹ Four years later, this work was translated into English under the title *20000 Years of Fashion: The History of Costume and Personal Adornment*, an extended version printed under the auspices of the New York publisher Harry N. Abrams Inc.

A collection of essays, under the coordination of the editors N. B. Harte and Kenneth G. Ponting, was published by Ashgate Pub & Co. in London in 1984, under the title *Cloth and Clothing in Medieval Europe: Essays in Memory of Professor E. M. Carus-Wilson*. The studies grouped under this title examine the textile industry, the textile and clothing trade, fashion and types of clothing up until 1500. This miscellanea was meant as a tribute to researcher Eleanora Mary Carus-Wilson (1897-1977), the author of works dedicated to medieval English economy and to clothing as well (for instance: the series of essays entitled *Medieval Merchant Ventures*, published by the Taylor & Francis Group in 1967). In fact, Kenneth Ponting had also approached the problems of the wool industry beginning in 1961.²⁰

Danièle Alexandre Bidon addressed a particular aspect of clothing, focusing on the clothes worn by children in the study "Le vêtement de la prime enfance à la fin du Moyen Âge. Usages, façons, doctrines in Linge de corps et linge de maison." As shown in the journal where the study was published in 1986 (*Ethnologie française*, volume 16, no. 3), this was a review of various types of shirts for the new-borns, starting from the interpretation of fifteenth-century miniatures found in the custody of the National Library in Paris.

After the model of Françoise Piponnier, Agnes Page wrote a work entitled *Vêtir le prince: tissus et couleurs à la cour du Savoie (1427-1477)*, which was published by the press of the University of Lausanne in 1993. The paper analysed clothing as a symbol in medieval society, regarded as an emblem from the perspective of both the marginals and the elite. From this point of view, she adhered to the historiographical trend set by Piponnier-Newton-Pastoureau-Mellinkoff, which focused on insights coming from anthropology and symbology.²¹

¹⁹ Fr. Boucher, *Histoire de costume en Occident, de l'Antiquité à nos jours*, Paris, Flammarion, 1983.

²⁰ Kenneth G. Ponting, *The Wool Trade, Past and Present*, Manchester, Columbine Press, 1961.

²¹ Frédérique Lachaud, "Dress and Social Status in England before Sumptuary Laws," in *Heraldry, Pageantry and Social Display in Medieval England*, edited by Peter Coss, Maurice Keen, Woodbridge, Boydell Press, 2002, p. 105.

It was also Françoise Piponnier, together with Perrine Mane, who edited another work in which they synthesised information on medieval clothing: *Se vêtir au Moyen Âge*, Paris, Société Nouvelle Adam Biro, 1995, in translated into English in two editions bearing the title *Dress in the Middle Ages* (2000, 2002).

In Italy, Maria Giuseppina Muzzarelli's book entitled *Gli inganni delle apparenze: disciplina di vesti e ornamenti alla fine del medioevo*, Scriptorium, Turin, 1996 was part of the same trend of approaching the problem of clothing in anthropological-semiotic terms.

Valérié R. Hotchkiss's work *Clothes Make the Man: Female Cross-Dressing in Medieval Europe* (Garland Publishing, New York, London, 1996) belongs to the category of gender studies. Hotchkiss examines the impact exerted by the "women in breeches" on the masculine Middle Ages and how they reinvented and asserted themselves through travesty in masculine society.

An important chapter in research on medieval clothing is the work written by the historian Odile Blanc, a graduate from the University of Lyon (1983), Doctor in Medieval History, a professor and literary critic, who has published continuously since 1983 a series of studies and articles, as well as books on clothing. We shall mention a few: *Le luxe, le vêtement et la mode à la fin du Moyen Âge*,²² *Le stratégies de la parure dans le divertissement chevaleresque (15 siècle)*,²³ *Historiographie du vêtement: un billance*,²⁴ and *Parades et parures. L'invention du corps de mode à la fin du Moyen Âge*, Paris, Gallimard, 1997.

The researcher's work straddles the border between the two lines of historical analysis, combining elements of symbology, the analysis of the social status and insights from gender studies. The miniatures adorning the manuscript imposed a fashion at the princely courts for which luxury and ornamentation were essential. Ornamentation was the ultimate proof of comprehensive knowledge of the medieval code of ethics and social mores. It was an expression of the fashion explosion around 1400 and the new conception of the human body and the role of garments, which were no longer seen as mere pieces concealing nudity, but as means of self-expression in relation to oneself and to the others.

Complementing the sources of iconographic and documentary research, archaeology comes to complete the picture of clothing through the work of Geoff Egan and Frances Pritchard entitled *Medieval Finds from Excavations in London, volume 3: Dress Accessories, c. 1150-c.1450*, Boydell Press, Woodbridge, 2002. This work is not simply a repository of archaeological information, but manages to outline the typology of fashion accessories, ranging from those destined to hairstyle to the most practical, like coin pouches or shoe buckles.

Since 2005, Boydell & Brewer Publishing House has published a series of miscellanea, comprising, in the six volumes printed so far, the latest research in the field, from studies on textiles to articles on diverse fashion accessories.²⁵

²² *Bulletin du centre d'histoire économique et sociale de la région lyonnaise*, 4, 1983, Paris, pp. 23-44.

²³ *Parure, pudeur, etiquette, Communications*, no. 46, Paris, Seuil, 1987, pp. 49-65.

²⁴ *Cahiers de léopard d'or*, 1, Paris, 1989, pp. 7-33.

²⁵ *Medieval Clothing and Textiles*, vol. 1-6, Woodbridge, Boydell & Brewer, [2005-2010].

Among the latest historiographical products, mention should be made of the publication, in 2007, of the proceedings of the first international conference on textiles from the Bronze Age to the late Middle Ages, which took place in Sweden and Denmark in 2003.²⁶ Thematically, the miscellanea comprises four main sections: methodology, production, technology and society,²⁷ covering approximately 4500-5000 years and over 50 different contributions.

Sarah-Grace Heller's *Fashion in Medieval France*, which was published in 2007, analyses twelfth- and thirteenth-century literary texts, suggesting that there existed a "system" of medieval fashion prior to 1300 in the urban environment of the area she examines. The book came out at Brewer Publishing, in Cambridge, which also undertook the printing of works focusing on fashion themes.

One final work we ought to mention in this section is researcher Maria Hayward's book on court costume during the reign of King Henry Tudor VIII (1509-1547).²⁸ This is a work based on the analysis of the royal wardrobe inventory, of the royal registries, and of several manuscripts and documents,²⁹ some of them unpublished. The work also has slight citation or argumentation inaccuracies, but this does not detract from its applied analysis merits.

As regards the Hungarian, neighbouring historiography, its interest in clothing and accessories has tended to be considered a mere historiographical whim, since the priorities of a historiography afflicted by censorship and ruptures used to be altogether different. Our current investigations allow us to observe that it was not until the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century that a more applied approach to the topic began, conducted from the same standpoint from which the theme had also been launched in Western historiography (see Camille Bonnard and Paolo Mercuri). From the data we have gathered so far, we can mention several works that fall into the "romantic" period of research in the field. Thus, 1900 saw the publication by Franklin Press in Budapest of the historian Nagy Géza's work, *A magyar viseletek története*. It contained 200 pages of costume analysis, starting from the Scythian and Sarmatian costumes to those from the end of the nineteenth century. The text was accompanied by 39 colour and 71 black-and-white drawings, miniatures and about 1500 illustrations (plates). The work benefited from a CD-ROM version in 2002 and was reprinted in 2007.

Nagy Géza collaborated with the painter Nemes Mihály, who in 1903 compiled a separate album presenting the evolution of the Hungarian nobiliary costume, with watercolour portraits and costumes of the Hungarian aristocracy. Entitled *A magyar viseletek története*, the album comprised 27 colour plates, whose focus was primarily thematic. This album was reprinted in 2005.

In 1908, Janos Szenderei published a 90-page monograph entitled *Adatok a magyar viselet történetéhez*, reprinted by Kessinger Publishing in May 2010. The author approached synthetically the evolution of Hungarian costume throughout its history until the end of the nineteenth century.

²⁶ Carole Gillis, Marie Louise B. Nosch [editori], *Ancient Textiles: Production, Craft and Society*, Oxford, Oxbow, 2007.

²⁷ Mary Harlow in *Medieval Clothing and Textiles*, vol. 4, 2008, p. 209.

²⁸ Maria Hayward, *Dress at the Court of King Henry VIII*, Leeds, Maney, 2007.

²⁹ Melanie Schuessler in *Medieval Clothing and Textiles*, vol. 4, 2008, pp. 210-211.

Prior to 1923, Rozsa Nagy wrote a book dedicated to the Hungarian costume from the eighteenth century to the nineteenth century. Although it envisaged a stage of research on the modern era, we shall highlight it here as a moment in the development of the historiographical trend.

In 1980, Katalin Foldi-Dozsa published a synthetic work in English entitled *How the Hungarian National Costume Evolved in the Imperial Style: Fashions of the Hapsburg Era* at the press of the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York. This study followed the line inaugurated by Rozsa Nagy, indicating, at that time, the objectives of the costume historians in Hungary aimed to fulfil.

The Romanian historiography. Moving on to the historiography of the Romanian space, we should point out that it is not as rich or detailed as the historiography of Western Europe. The primary concern of Romanian historiography, like that of its neighbouring historiographies, has been addressing the major historiographical problems (chronological segments, state formation, dynastic issues, social structures, and political developments). The Romanian school of historiography strongly asserted itself in the nineteenth century, especially after the establishment of the Romanian Academy (1866) and the Department of Archaeology and History (1867), as well as of the research institutes. After 1918 and the annexation of the other historical provinces to the Old Kingdom, the Romanian historiographical trend aligned itself with the schools of European research up until 1945.

The first serious attempts to address the fashion issue were made by the Moldavian Gheorghe Asachi (circa 1812), who gathered a series of drawings, engravings, lithographs of scenes, portraits and costumes from periods prior to the nineteenth century in the Principalities. Many of these can be found at the University Library in Cluj and at the Cabinet of Prints of the Academy.³⁰

Asachi's concerns indicate that in trying to draw and lithograph various personalities of national history, the scholar exhibited a critical spirit, going directly to the source (for instance, the portrait of Michael the Brave from the church he founded in Bucharest).³¹

Like in France, in the Romanian Countries the idea that prevailed, in the beginning, was that of drawing, reproducing, creating plates, as was the case of the painter C. Lecca, between 1829 and 1834, or of the foreign painters commissioned by Academia Mihăileană from Iași in 1834.³²

The first systematic reconstitution of the Romanian costume by periods was made by Bogdan Petricescu-Hașdeu, who, in the winter of 1864, gave a series of lectures to Theodor Aman's painter-students from the School of Fine Arts in Bucharest. In the same spirit, the painter Gheorghe Tatarescu contributed, together with four ministerial commissioners (Alexander Odobescu, Major Papazoglu, Cezar Bolliac and Alexandru Pelimon), to compiling a national album (1860), which included portraits and

³⁰ Al. Alexianu, *op. cit.*, p. 19.

³¹ *Ibidem*, p. 20.

³² *Ibidem*, p. 21.

costumes of Romanian princes, ladies, boyars and boyars' wives, copied in pencil after the frescoes of the monasteries in the country.³³

Alexandru Odobescu is considered the father of Romanian art history and archaeology, and he was also a pioneer in the field of clothing (1861).³⁴ In his works, he described the robes from the votive paintings in the episcopal church of Argeș, launching several methodological imperatives concerning the role of mural portraits as documents that must be related to the research conducted on written sources.³⁵ At various exhibitions in Paris or in the country, he stressed the artistic role of popular costume and assigned it to its well-deserved place in Romanian art. In fact, we may conclude that this first stage, prior to 1900, was one of probing, searching, correlating the folk costume with that of the elites, and attempting to systematically analyse the documentary and historiographical sources our historians had at their disposal.

Nicolae Iorga was the one who devoted himself seriously, after 1914, to investigating the problem of clothing. It is not by chance, perhaps, that one of his books printed in 1921 in Craiova was entitled *Istoria românilor în chipuri și icoane* [*The Romanians' History in Portraits and Icons*]. His diverse interests, including even the domestic crafts, enabled him to collect information about the popular costume or the boyars' garments. In the 1920s-1930s, he compiled two rich albums comprising portraits of voivodes and their wives, arranged chronologically. They represent fundamental documents for the study of court costume:³⁶ these were *Domnii Români după portrete și fresce contemporane* [*The Romanian Rulers according to Their Contemporary Portraits and Frescoes*] (1930),³⁷ and *Portretele Doamnelor Române* [*Portraits of the Romanian Ladies*] (1937).³⁸

The work of I. D. Ștefănescu (1928-1943) launched the series of studies dedicated to the costume from Transylvania, besides those devoted to the costume from the extra-Carpathian countries, namely those of the knezes present in the church frescos from the thirteenth-fifteenth centuries.³⁹

As regards the crafts that Nicolae Iorga had addressed for the first time, 1954 saw the publication of Ștefan Pascu's *Meșteșugurile din Transilvania până în secolul al XVI* [*The Crafts in Transylvania up until the Sixteenth Century*], printed under the auspices of the Romanian Academy's Publishing House. This study managed to "fill a void that is vividly felt in Romanian historiography (...) the older historiography showed great indifference to this problem."⁴⁰ Although based on the previous contributions of

³³ *Ibidem*, p. 23.

³⁴ Corina Nicolescu, *Istoria costumului de curte în Țările Române. Secolele XIV-XVIII*, Bucharest, Editura Științifică, 1970, p. 10.

³⁵ *Ibidem*.

³⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 12.

³⁷ Nicolae Iorga, *Domnii Români după portrete și fresce contemporane*, Sibiu, Editura și Tiparul Krafft & Drotleff S. A., 1930.

³⁸ *Idem*, *Portretele Doamnelor Române*, Bucharest, 1937.

³⁹ I. D. Ștefănescu, *La peinture religieuse en Valachie et Transylvanie depuis les origines jusqu'au XIXe siècle: album* (Librairie Orientaliste Paul Geuthner, 1930).

⁴⁰ Șt. Pascu, *Meșteșugurile din Transilvania până în secolul al XVI*, Bucharest, Editura Academiei RPR, 1954, p. 5.

Hungarian historiography, the author believed that his study was a happy addition, organised into five chapters, Chapters 3, 4 and 5 being useful for identifying the crafts related to clothing and accessories. Extremely useful is the glossary of terms, which is a step forward in the development of such research directions. Of no lesser importance are the identifications of craftsmen such as the furriers, leatherers-tanners, millers, etc.⁴¹ The bibliography attached at the end was, in fact, a historiographical survey of Saxon and Hungarian historical writing hitherto, with particular reference to the crafts and to craftsmen.

Between 1956 and 1969, the researcher Corina Niculescu wrote a series of articles that prepared her 1970 synthesis devoted to the history of court costume. In the work published by Editura Științifică, Bucharest, entitled *Istoria costumului de curte în Țările Române. Secolele XIV-XVIII* [*The History of Court Costume in the Romanian Countries. The Fourteenth-Eighteenth Centuries*], Corina Niculescu created a comprehensive picture of the problem. With the information provided by the collections of old Romanian art from the museums and resorting to systematic archaeological research, the author made a significant contribution in the field of Romanian culture and civilisation. The work consists of two distinct parts, one devoted to the materials used in the period for making garments (local and imported fabrics, cloth, silk, fur) and to the crafts related to clothing. The second part focuses on the evolution of both masculine and feminine court costumes, from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries until the eighteenth century. There is also a catalogue of imported fabrics (from Italy or the Orient) preserved in the museum collections in the country, of the royal costumes, preserved either whole and or in fragments, as well as of a series of portraits of princes, boyars and ladies, kept in the frescoes of places of worship founded by the princes of Moldova and in Wallachia.

In the text, there are interspersed colour and black-and-white plates, which are designed to facilitate the reader's access to an accurate panorama of medieval clothing. Although the work is entirely dedicated to the extra-Carpathian space, the author makes significant references to the territory of Transylvania, especially in terms of the textile crafts but also as regards the knezial costumes of the thirteenth-fourteenth centuries. This can be considered a starting point for research focusing on the evolution of Transylvanian clothing that includes the fourteenth and the fifteenth centuries.

A year later, in 1971, the researcher Alexandru Alexianu's *Modă și Veșminte din trecut. Cinci secole de istorie costumară românească* [*Fashions and Dresses of the Past. Five Centuries in the History of Romanian Costumes*] was published by Editura Meridiane, representing a different approach to the genre, including in terms of the temporal scale.

Well-documented, the work suffered, however, from an aesthetic-literary overemphasis, which brought it closer to the epic genre, even though it did not entirely fit in it. It can also not be regarded as a work exclusively devoted to art history, because it is a boundary study, after all.

The work is a blend of history, art history and literary chronicle, with epic overtones that give it a special flavour. Practically, this is the work not only of a

⁴¹ *Ibidem*, pp. 22-23.

historian or art critic, but of a simple reader, who wants to know more information about the history of the costume in the Romanian space. The study is divided into two volumes, chronologically covering a little over five centuries in the history of clothing, presenting the various influences that have been exerted on the Romanian territory. The first volume stops at around the time of the Phanariot Rule, indicating the existence of a sharp dividing line between the influence of the Turkish fashion and the total import of the Turkish costume and fashion.

The second volume vividly and colourfully presents the Phanariot stage, with all its specifically Oriental excesses and nuances, but also with the frequent small fissures engendered by the Austrian or the Russian military occupations, which brought about short-term fashion changes, depending on the conqueror of the time.

In 1976, at the same publisher Meridiane, the researcher Adina Nanu made a review of global clothing in her *Artă, stil, costum* [*Art, Style, Costume*], which includes two chapters on medieval costume in Europe. A similar approach is adopted by Cristina Maria Angelescu, in her study *Veșmânt și podoabă* [*Garment and Adornment*], published by Albatros in Bucharest in 1979, and by Constantin Oros with his *Pagini din istoria costumului* [*Pages in the History of Costume*], Dacia Publishing House, Cluj Napoca, 1998.

The same thematic register was adopted, in 1980, by M. M. Popescu, who published a synthesis on medieval ornaments⁴² that was the result of his previous studies.⁴³ The work analyses the crafts related to the manufacturing of precious metals and the techniques used in making gold and silver jewellery.

A recent study is the researcher Luminița Dumitriu's doctoral thesis entitled *Der Mittelalterliche schmuck des unteren Donauebietes im 11.–15. Jahrhundert*, published in Bucharest in 2001. The author constructs a typology of the medieval ornaments discovered in the Lower Danube area, dating from the eleventh-fifteenth centuries. The ornaments are rigorously classified into ornaments for the head, neck and chest, hands and arms, belt items, and, last but not least, clothing accessories such as appliqués and buttons.

In 2003, there appeared an article by Victoria Paraschiv-Batariuc, *Elemente vestimentare figurate pe cahle din Moldova medievală* [*Fashion Elements Featuring on the Tiles of Medieval Moldavia*],⁴⁴ and in 2006 there came out a collective work, addressing, however, chronological segments prior to those under examination here: *Piese de podoabă și vestimentație la grupurile etnice din Transilvania (sec. VII-XII)* [*Items of Jewellery and Clothing with the Ethnic Groups in Transylvania (The Seventh-Twelfth Centuries)*].⁴⁵

Complementing the research studies on medieval clothing and accessories, and also touching on such issues, are the more general works devoted to medieval art history

⁴² M. M. Popescu, *Podoabele medievale în Țările Române*, Bucharest, Editura Minerva, 1980.

⁴³ For instance, "Idem, Iconografia podoabelor medievale," in *Revista Muzeelor și Monumentelor. Monumente de Istoria Artei*, Bucharest, 1975, no. 2.

⁴⁴ *Acta Moldaviae Meridionalis*. Anuarul Muzeului "Ștefan cel Mare". Inspectoratul Județean de Cultură Vaslui, Vaslui, 2001-2003, 22-24, no. 1, pp. 62-68.

⁴⁵ Zeno Karl Pinter, Aurel Dragotă, Ioan Marian Șiplic, *Piese de podoabă și vestimentație la grupurile etnice din Transilvania [sec. VII-XII]*, Alba Iulia, Editura Altip, 2006.

written by the pioneers of art history, like Virgil Vătăşianu: *Istoria artei feudale în Țările Române* [*The History of Feudal Art in the Romanian Countries*], Volumes I and II, printed by the publishing house of Academia Republicii Populare Române, Bucharest, 1959, and Vasile Drăguţ: *Pictura murală din Transilvania, secolul XII–XIV* [*Transylvanian Mural Painting, The Twelfth-Fourteenth Centuries*], published in Bucharest in 1970, and *Arta gotică în România* [*Gothic Art in Romania*], published by Meridiane, Bucharest, 1979. The Transylvanian historian Marius Porumb has focused on *Pictura românească din Transilvania, secolele XIV–XVII* [*Romanian Painting in Transylvania, The Fourteenth-Seventeenth Centuries*], publishing the first volume at Dacia in Cluj-Napoca in 1981. Unfortunately, insofar as the analysis of clothing is concerned, attempts have failed so far to launch a new stage of interpretation or to identify new sources/ types of sources from which research on fashion and clothing could be initiated. In addition to this, weak communication with the neighbouring historiographies is unlikely to help much in this type of approach, not to mention the lack of specialised researchers in the field.

This is the stage the historiographical research of clothing has reached at a very broad level. It is obvious that Western historiography, even as regards general studies, is at an advanced level of research, while Romanian historiography is making attempts to rally itself to the gender studies conducted in the western academia. Unfortunately, local (Romanian) impediments are much greater and the sources for such approaches are much fewer, which means that the gap can be more or less easily understood and accepted - up to a point.

STOVE TILES DISCOVERED AT RÂȘNOV (BRAȘOV COUNTY)

Abstract: The present paper discusses the varied and numerous stove tile fragments (ca. 80 items) discovered during several archaeological investigations inside the fortified settlement of Râșnov. The items, dated from the end of the fifteenth century until the seventeen hundreds indicate the continuous habitation of houses inside the fortified precinct during this period. Since they probably carried the most available images, their possible functions are also discussed: through their choice of tile representations, the inhabitants of Râșnov might have displayed their wealth, allegiance, religious beliefs, or cultural taste. Analysing the analogies of this group of tiles one discovers that some were very popular in Transylvania at the time, while others are, to the present state of research, unparalleled.

Keywords: *stove tiles, iconography, Râșnov, heating systems, fortification*

Stove tiles are among the materials that have often been found during the archaeological campaigns in Râșnov. Dozens of fragments, few of which may, unfortunately, be pieced together, appeared in several locations (the tower gate of the second fortified precinct, the barbican, the perimeter of certain housing structures), most often in secondary positions, in the layers of debris from the perimeter of the fortification.¹ Other fragments have been brought to light from unknown spots during the various modern refurbishments in the town. Except for the so-called dwelling no. 21, where the stone foundation of a tile stove was discovered, other houses seem to have been endowed with such heating systems only on the top floor. It is known, however, that the system was preferred at Râșnov because of the large number of fragments discovered and of the presence of chimney holes on the upper side of the walls from the northern side. We may not rule out the possibility that some of these chimneys may have belonged to fireplaces whose components have not been preserved.² In terms of style, the tiles date back either to the late fifteenth century and the beginning of the next or, more commonly, to the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. It is to the latter period that the stove whose foundation has been preserved in dwelling no. 21 may be dated, on the basis of a Polish coin issued by John II Casimir (1648-1668).

We shall not discuss here the numerous fragments tile that are too small or lack any conclusive decoration, but simply point out their large number (ca. 80) and the existence of secondary firing marks on the reverse, attesting the use of stoves and, therefore, the permanent habitation of the interior spaces from Râșnov. Most fragments belong to unglazed panel tiles decorated in relief, but there are also glazed and micacised fragments, and even an item with tracery.

¹ Other fragments were also discovered or found again during the excavations of 2010, but they will be the object of future studies.

² There are several examples illustrating the parallel use of stove tiles and fireplaces even within one and the same architectural complex. This is the case of certain cities from present-day Croatia: Zorislav Horvat, "Grijanje u stednjovjekovnim burgovima kontinentalne Hrvatske. Kamini, dimnjaci i kaljeve peći," in *Prostor*, 3-4, 1994, pp. 215-240.

In the case of the better preserved tiles, certain decorative motifs can be reconstructed: the so-called city-on-a-leaf, a heraldic eagle, a rosette surrounded by geometric motifs, a rider (hussar), a Renaissance medallion with the portrait of a soldier, the image of a holy king (probably Ladislas), complicated geometrical patterns, architectural tracteries and unidentified characters. This comprehensive presentation of the fragments found so far and the identification of their analogies in Transylvania aims to provide a case study on the types of images imprinted on stove tiles and their possible functions in a clearly defined context.

A fairy-tale city. Tiles with “city-on-a-leaf”

Three different variants of an architectural complex with towers against a vegetal background have been found on the tiles from Râșnov; this representation was a popular ornament on stove tiles from Transylvania during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. In Râșnov all fragments were uncovered in the same area, i.e. sections 41, 42 and 44, corresponding to the square of the fortified market town. These are all fragments of panel tiles, decorated in relief, most of them unglazed and sprinkled with mica, but there is also one item covered in polychrome glaze.

The first variant represents four towers supported by a geometrically decorated semicircle, framed by a diamond-shaped border with vegetal decorations in the corners.³ The diamond is framed by a square border in a torsade design and the corners of the stove tile are, in their turn, decorated with groups of three flowers. Traces of an inscription may be detected at the centre of the piece, only the letters B and M (and part of another letter or number) being preserved. Graphically reconstructed, the dimensions of the stove tile are 21.7 x 21.7 cm (Fig. 1). This version of representation with four towers is unique among the numerous Transylvanian tiles decorated with this motif, all the others, as we shall see, illustrating three, five or seven towers.

A total of six fragments that are not glazed but sprinkled with mica have been found, corresponding to the same type of stove tile. In addition to those used in the graphic reconstruction, three other fragments have already been published. They correspond either to the side corners of the diamond that frames the city or to the marginal floral decoration (Fig. 2).

We believe that an as-yet unpublished fragment completes the image (Fig. 3), corresponding to the stalk which supports the leaf on which the towers are placed. In this case, the version of the motif is slightly different, given that the decoration of the “leaf” is composed of alternate rows of dots and small hearts either in normal position or reversed. What also appears to be different is the shape of the geometric ornaments from the base of the towers, a series of triangles and a semicircle that seem to suggest a portal. The flower that emerges from the stem is identical with those that decorate the previous version, having five simple petals and a round pistil.

The second version is similar in terms of the floral motifs from the corners of the stove tile and the framing of the central motif within a diamond, but it differs through

³ Daniela Marcu Istrate, *Cahle din Transilvania și Banat de la începuturi până la 1700*. Cluj-Napoca, 2004, pp. 100-101, 256, 469, plate 130, fig. 24.

the presence of five towers instead of four (from which only the roof tops adorned with globes have been preserved) and the nature of the decorative flowers and leaves.⁴ Two letters are also partly preserved on the upper side of the tile, on both sides of the central tower roof, most likely representing the initials of the craftsman: a V and an H, U, W or K (Fig. 4). This second version also differs from the first on account of its dimensions, being larger than the previous stove tile. Given that it has been preserved in fragmentary form, we know only its width, which measures 23 cm. It is also unglazed and sprinkled with mica. The corresponding fragments have been found in section S44, in the southwest corner of the borough square.

The third version is represented by a relatively small fragment (6.3 x 6.2 cm); based on this, all we can say is that the overall motif consisted of five (or seven) towers, being certainly different from the previous one through the fact that it does not render the roof tiles or shingles.⁵ The piece was polychrome glazed, the white colour of the towers and the green of the background being preserved (Fig. 5).

This motif was very popular in the decorative patterns of the seventeenth-eighteenth century stove tiles in Transylvania and appears to have been specific to the area. The motif had existed in Bohemia, Moravia, Silesia and Hungary two centuries before, but was limited to the representation of towers and fortified city gates, some of them heraldic, others not, with no surrounding vegetal elements.⁶ Representations from the royal palaces in Buda and Visegrád, dated to the early fifteenth century, decorated several stove tiles with tracery or representations in flat relief (Fig. 6).⁷ These square-shaped stove tiles, coated in green glazing or left unglazed, sized 24 x 24 cm, provided the high-ranking viewers with the image of a gate tower with two turrets on corbels, flanked by two other towers. The crenellation of a wall and two other turrets may be distinguished in the bottom part. The image is relevant because of the decorative concentration of towers, which seems to have been the main reason for the subsequent popularity of this representation, and because of the globes on top of these towers, which are also found on many of the versions from Transylvania, including the previously discussed one from Râșnov.

If we accept the hypothesis that the architectural heraldic representations played the role of a model or inspiration source, then the rounded bottom part matching the shape of a heraldic shield might have determined the semi-circular shape, which later became the “support-leaf.” We shall offer, as an example, a single stove tile of this type, dating from around 1400, discovered in the fortification from Melice⁸ (in the present-day Czech Republic, Fig. 7). Similar heraldic towers and gates are found in

⁴ Marcu Istrate, *Cahle din Transilvania...*, pp. 100-101, 256, 469, plate 130, fig. 25.

⁵ Marcu Istrate, *Cahle din Transilvania...*, pp. 100-101, 256, 469, plate 130, fig. 26.

⁶ Adrian Andrei Rusu, *Castelarea carpatică*. Cluj-Napoca, 2005, p. 38; Marcu Istrate, *Cahle din Transilvania...*, pp. 100-101.

⁷ Buda: Imre Holl, “Középkori kályhacsempék Magyarországon I,” in *Budapest Régiségei*, 18, 1958, p. 234, fig. 40, p. 241, fig. 53; Visegrád: Ed. Buzás Gergely, *Altum Castrum*, Publications of the King Matthias Museum in Visegrád 5, Visegrád, 2005, p. 27; Ed. Buzás Gergely, *A visegrádi fellegrvár*, Visegrád Régészeti Monográfiái 6, Visegrád, 2006, pp. 133, 134, 156, fig. 40.

⁸ Eds. Dana Menoušková, Zdeněk Měřínský, *Krásá, která hřeje. Výběrový katalog*. Brno, 2008, p. 108, cat. 333.

compositions with a supporting angel, as is, for instance, the one from the stove tile discovered at Tileagd,⁹ dating from the late fifteenth century and the beginning of the following, considered to have analogies in Buda. Let us notice again the curved bottom part of the representation (Fig. 8).

About 30 different stove tiles decorated with the motif of the city-on-a-leaf have been discovered in Transylvania. Their variety is great, their typological series being difficult to establish. The city is represented with 3, 5, or 7 towers, which are sometimes represented as columns or simple deformed bands. The “leaf” on which the architectural elements are supported can be a decorated semicircle supported by a stem with flowers, a simple geometric element that sometimes resembles a chalice, a “T-shape”, a decorated line or an independent vase with flowers. The central motif is framed by diamonds, braces, or just by the more or less perfect rectangle of the stove tile, while in the corners and along the edges there are numerous plant motifs. Many of the stove tiles also include inscriptions, most likely the initials of the craftsmen (AI, HD, PM, GK, GKI, GM, GW, HG or HI, IM, TD, XD?, WH, HW,...) and the years (1707, 1676, 1767). These dates represent *post quem* dating terms, since the motif could also be mechanically copied or imitated (including the inscription) after its initial production. Most samples from Transylvania are unglazed, often sprinkled with mica, sometimes with paint, but there are also fragments that have green glazing.

The motif seems to have crossed from Transylvania into the surrounding territories, Moldavia and Wallachia, and the analysis of its dissemination would deserve a separate investigation. The transmission of the motif and its variants may reveal interesting information about craftsmen, workshops, their outlet markets and the commercial relations from the middle of the seventeenth century until the middle of the following century. Their architectural elements could be examined in detail and compared with other (architectural and iconographic) samples of towers from that period, in a study of military architecture or, at least, of the way in which it was perceived at an ideal level.¹⁰

Let us notice, by way of exemplification, one of the most popular variants that has been found in all the three provinces mentioned above. It has five towers on a base supported by a stem, framed by a diamond, with the inscription GK (but there can be other letters too). Such stove tiles have been discovered in an unspecified location in Transylvania (in Table 1 no. 11), probably in Braşov (Table 1 no. 17), Valea Crişului (Table 1 no. 27), Deva (Table 1 no. 28), Alba Iulia (Table 1 no. 29), Iaşi (Table 1 no. 30) and Târgovişte (Table 1 no. 34, 35). It has been assumed that their production centre was Braşov, since there have been discovered stove tiles with these initials and the crest of this city,¹¹ suggesting that this is an example of the vast outlet market of the products manufactured here in all the three Romanian provinces.

To return to the stove tiles from Râşnov decorated with this motif, the first variant is unique through the representation of the four towers, while the second version

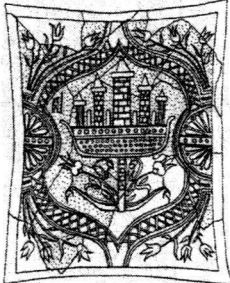
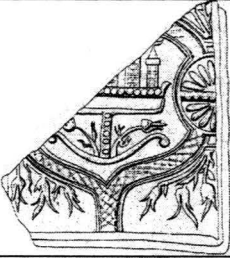
⁹ Emödi Tamás, *Leletmentésekből származó 15-17. századi kályhacsempék Váradról és környékéről*, in *Dolgozatok az Erdély Múzeum érem – és régiségtárából*. Cluj-Napoca, 2007, p. 127, fig. 15.1.

¹⁰ Rusu, *Castelarea carpatică*, pp. 36-39.

¹¹ Maria Venera Rădulescu, *Cahlele medievale din Țara Românească, secolele XIV-XVII*, doctoral dissertation defended at Bucharest University, 2002, vol. II, p. 85.

has analogies with the stove tiles bearing the inscription GK discussed above (the same type of flowers decorate the corners, the same motif is placed above the central tower, the same globes are placed on top of the roofs). Based on these similarities, it may be assumed that we could identify the inscription HW on the stove tile from Râșnov, distorted or just inadvertently drawn, together with the initials GK in the part that has not been preserved), while the third variant, represented through a small fragment, resembles just one piece discovered in an unspecified location in Transylvania (Table 1 no. 10).

For a first overview, I have gathered the available information in Table 1.

No.	Discovery place	Dating	Decoration	Dimensions	Glaze/ mica/ paint	Inscriptions	Image
TRANSYLVANIA							
1	Sebeș ? (the collection of the museum from Sebeș) ¹²	Seventeenth century ?	5 towers, braces, side palmettes	22.8 x 18.7 cm	unglazed	AI	
2	Dârlos (Sibiu County) ¹³	Seventeenth century?	5 towers, braces, side palmettes	fragment, 1.22 cm	unglazed, mica	-	
3	? ¹⁴ (the collection of the National History Museum of Transylvania, MNIT)	Seventeenth century	5 towers, vase with flowers, braces, side palmettes	25 x 19.5 cm	light green glaze	-	

¹² Marcu Istrate, *Cahle din Transilvania...*, pp. 100, 266, 472, fig. 133A3.

¹³ *Ibidem*, pp. 100, 211, 384, fig. 46B1.

¹⁴ Marcu Istrate, *Cahle din Transilvania...*, pp. 100, 200, 374, fig. 68. Photograph taken by the author in the collection of MNIT. In preparing the stove tile collection of the MNIT, the existence of several such stove tiles - unpublished so far - has been detected.

4	? ¹⁵ (MNIT collection)	Seventeenth century	7 very schematic towers, diamond	27 x 23 cm	unglazed	-	
5	? ¹⁶ (MNIT collection, inv. no. II168)	Sixteenth-seventeenth century	5 towers, oval medallion	27.3 x 25 cm	unglazed, mica	-	
6	? ¹⁷ (MNIT collection, inv. no. II169, II186.)	Early eighteenth century	3 towers, braces	25.4 x 27.4 cm	green glaze and unglazed fragment, mica	1707	
7	? ¹⁸ (MNIT collection, Adolf Resch)	Early eighteenth century	3 towers, medallion, braces	25 x 27 cm	green glaze	HD 1707	
8	? ¹⁹ (MNIT collection)	Seventeenth century	3 towers, diamond	25.4 x 23.8 cm	unglazed, mica	PM	
9	? ²⁰ (MNIT collection)	Seventeenth century	3 towers	25 x 23.3 cm	unglazed, mica, paint	GM	
10	? ²¹ (MNIT collection)	Seventeenth century	5 towers, diamond	24.6 x 23.7 cm	unglazed russet paint	-	

¹⁵ *Ibidem* pp. 100, 200, 374, fig. 67. Photograph by the author, taken in the MNIT collection.

¹⁶ *Ibidem*, pp. 100, 195, cat. 42.

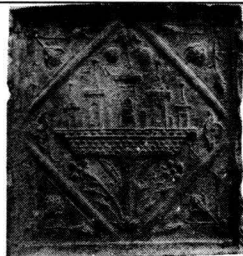
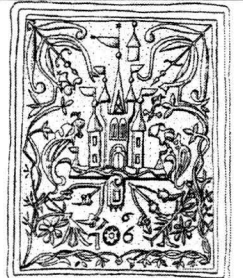
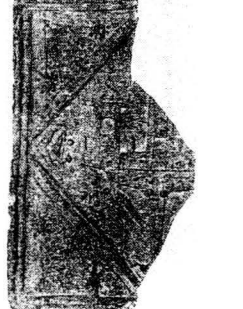
¹⁷ *Ibidem*, pp. 100, 200, cat. 69.

¹⁸ *Ibidem*, pp. 100, 196.

¹⁹ *Ibidem*, pp. 100, 196, 368, plate 30, fig. 45. Photograph by the author, taken in the MNIT collection.

²⁰ *Ibidem*, pp. 100, 196, 368, cat. 46. Photograph by the author, taken in the MNIT collection.

²¹ Marcu Istrate, *Cahle din Transilvania...*, pp. 101, 195, cat. 43, 368, plate 30, fig. 43.

11	? ²² (MNIT collection)	Seventeenth century	5 towers, diamond	21.3 x 20.8 cm		HW GK	
12	? ²³ (MNIT collection)	1676 or later	3 towers, rich vegetal setting, dragons (?)	27 x 22.6 cm	green glaze	1676	
13	Sfântu Gheorghe ²⁴ ? (MNIT collection)	1707 or later	3 towers, braces, side palmettes	25 x 27 cm	unglazed, mica	1707	
14	Sfântu Gheorghe ²⁵ ? (MNIT collection)	Seventeenth-eighteenth century	3 towers, braces side palmettes	25.7 x 26.5 cm	unglazed, mica	-	
15	Sfântu Gheorghe ²⁶ ? (MNIT collection)	Seventeenth century	3 towers, diamond		unglazed, mica	-	

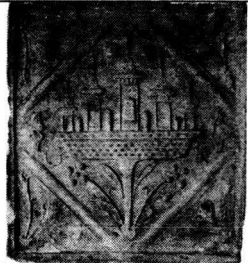
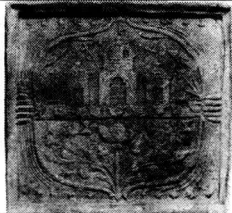
²² *Ibidem*, pp. 101, 196, cat. 44. Photograph by the author, taken in the MNIT collection.

²³ *Ibidem*, pp. 101, 196, 368, plate 30, fig. 47.

²⁴ *Ibidem*, pp. 100, 268, 537, plate 198, fig. 12. Photograph by the author, taken in the MNIT collection.

²⁵ *Ibidem*, pp. 100, 268, 537, plate 198, fig. 13. Photograph by the author, taken in the MNIT collection.

²⁶ Marcu Istrate, *Cahle din Transilvania...*, pp. 100, 267, 534, plate 195, fig. 8.

16	Sibiu ²⁷ attic of a house from Piața Huet no. 12	Seventeenth century	5 towers, braces, side palmettes	20 x 20 cm	unglazed, mica	-	
17	Brașov ²⁸ ?	Second half of the seventeenth century	5 towers, spheres, diamond	23 x 21.5 cm	unglazed	HW and GKI	
18	? ²⁹	Second half of the seventeenth century	3 towers, braces, vase with flowers	27 x 22.5 cm	unglazed, mica		
19	? ³⁰	1707 or later	3 towers, braces, side palmettes	24.2 x 26 cm	unglazed	HG or HI, 1707	
20	Sibiu ³¹ ?	Second half of the seventeenth century	5 towers, braces, side palmettes	23 x 23 cm	unglazed, mica		

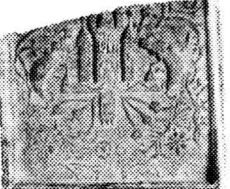
²⁷ Ed. Karla Roșca, *Mărturii ale civilizației transilvănene. Colecția de cahle a Muzeului "ASTRA."* Sibiu, 2006, pp. 95, 221, cat. 37.

²⁸ *Mărturii...*, pp. 96, 221-222, cat. 38; Marcu Istrate, *Cahle din Transilvania...*, pp. 100, 271, cat. 29; Horst Klusch, *Zauber alter Kacheln aus Rumänien*. Sibiu, 1999, pp. 99, abb. 46.

²⁹ *Mărturii...*, p. 96, p. 222, cat. 39.

³⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 97, p. 222, cat. 41; Marcu Istrate, *Cahle din Transilvania...*, p. 100, 271, cat. 31; Klusch, *Zauber alter Kacheln* ..., p. 51, fig. 78, p. 97, abb. 42.

³¹ *Mărturii...*, p. 97, p. 222, cat. 42.

21	Sibiu ³²	1767 or later	5 towers, braces, side palmettes	23 x 23 cm	unglazed, mica, paint		
22	Marienburg (Feldioara? Hetiur?) ³³	Second half of the seventeenth century	3 towers, diamond	25 x 24 cm	unglazed	IM	
23	Drăușeni ³⁴	1676 or later	3 towers, rich vegetal setting, dragons?	19 x 22.5 cm	unglazed, mica	1676	
24	Cisnădioara ³⁵	Seventeenth-eighteenth century	3 towers	20 x 21 cm	unglazed	TD or XD?	
25	Făgăraș ³⁶	End of the seventeenth century	3 towers		unglazed, mica		
26	Brâncovești ³⁷	Seventeenth century	5 towers, diamond			HW GK	
27	Valea Crișului ³⁸	Seventeenth century	5 towers, diamond framed by torsade	21.5 x 20.3 cm	unglazed	WH GK	

³² Marcu Istrate, *Cahle din Transilvania...*, pp. 100, 271, cat. 30; Klusch, *Zauber alter Kacheln...*, p. 51, fig. 79.

³³ *Mărturii...*, p. 97, pp. 222-223, cat. 43.

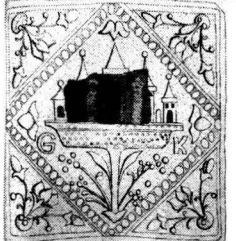
³⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 96, p. 222, cat. 40.

³⁵ Marcu Istrate, *Cahle din Transilvania...*, pp. 100, 187; Klusch, *Zauber alter Kacheln...*, p. 98, abb. 43.

³⁶ Marcu Istrate, *Cahle din Transilvania...*, p. 100, 223, cat. 112.

³⁷ *Ibidem*, pp. 101, 184.

³⁸ Marcu Istrate, *Cahle din Transilvania...*, pp. 101, 297, 539, plate 200B, fig. 1.

28	Deva ³⁹	Seventeenth century	5 towers, dot-framed diamond	21 x 20 cm	unglazed	GK	
29	Alba Iulia ⁴⁰	Seventeenth century	5 towers, dot-framed diamond?	8.2 x 4.8 cm	polychrome glaze	GK	
MOLDAVIA							
30	Iasi ⁴¹	Seventeenth century	5 towers, diamond	22 x 23 cm	polychrome glaze	GK	
31	Iasi ⁴²	Seventeenth century	5 towers, diamond, stars	19.3 x 13.4 cm	unglazed		
32	Dobrovăț Monastery ⁴³						
WALLACHIA							
33	Târgoviște ⁴⁴		7 towers, braces	23 x 23 cm	green glaze		

³⁹ *Ibidem*, pp. 101, 213, 387, plate 49, fig. 14.

⁴⁰ Ed. Daniela Marcu Istrate, *Catedrala romano-catolică și palatul episcopal din Alba Iulia. Arheologie și istorie*, Alba Iulia, 2009, p. 70, cat. 380, p. 307, fig. 380.

⁴¹ Klusch, *Zauber alten Kacheln...*, p. 98, abb. 44; Paraschiva Victoria Batariuc, *Cahle din Moldova medievală. Secolele XIV-XVII*. Suceava, 1999, p. 117, the piece being discovered in the princely courtyard.

⁴² Voica Maria Pușcașu, Nicolae Pușcașu, "Mărturii de civilizație și urbanizare medievală descoperite în vatra istorică a Iașilor," in *Revista Muzeelor și Monumentelor, Monumente Istorice și de Artă*, 2, 1983, p. 52, fig. 37, similar samples being discovered in many places from the town.

⁴³ Pușcașu, Pușcașu, *Mărturii de civilizație...*, p. 52.

⁴⁴ Plus two other fragments. Rădulescu, *Cahle medievale din Țara Românească*, vol. I., p. 161, plate VII, vol. II, pp. 86-88, cat. 281-286, fig. 133.1-2, 134.1.

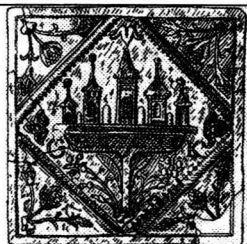
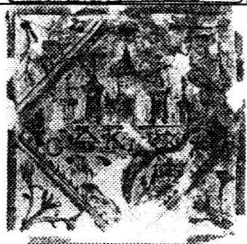
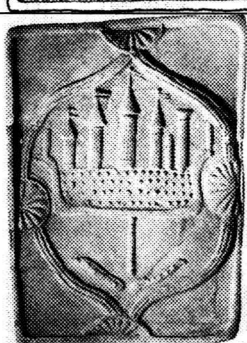
34	Târgoviște		5 towers, diamond	23 x 23 cm	polychrome glaze	GK	
35	Târgoviște	1656 or later	5 towers, diamond	23 x 23 cm	polychrome glaze	GK, KB?	
36	Târgoviște		7 towers, braces, side palmettes	26 x 23.5 cm	green glaze		
37	Curtea de Ageș⁴⁵	Seventeenth century	7 towers, braces, side palmettes	27 x 24 cm	unglazed, mica		
38	? ⁴⁶		4 towers and a column, braces, palmettes		unglazed	-	

Table. 1. Stove tiles with the “city-on-a-leaf” motif from Transylvania,
Moldova and Wallachia.

⁴⁵ Rădulescu, *Cahlele medievale din Țara Românească*, vol. II, p. 88, cat. 287, fig. 134.2

⁴⁶ Kept in Bucharest. Klusch, *Zauber alten Kacheln...*, p. 99, abb. 45.

The Holy Kings of Hungary. The fragment of stove tile with a Holy King

On another stove tile fragment found in Râșnov, one may see a character placed underneath a decorative band imitating Gothic architectural motifs. The character, preserved from the waist up, has his hair down to his shoulders and a split beard, wearing a crown and a collared robe, holding a battle axe or a sceptre in his left hand (Fig. 9).⁴⁷

These clues, as well as the halo which surrounds his head, lead to the identification of the character with one of the canonised kings of Hungary, Ladislas or Stephen (Emeric, Stephen's son, the third in the group, was merely a prince at the time of his death, being represented without a crown on stove tiles). Ladislas I reigned between 1077 and 1095, expanding the borders of the kingdom and defending it from enemies. He initiated the canonisation of his predecessors, the Holy King Stephen I, who Christianised the kingdom, and his son, Emeric (Imre), who died before acceding to the throne. In his turn, Ladislas was canonised in 1192, at the initiative of Béla III. In the late Middle Ages, Stephen, Emeric and Ladislas became the emblematic patrons and national saints of Hungary, being frequently represented in all artistic fields.⁴⁸ Ladislas was the most popular of the three insofar as his representation on stove tiles is concerned, probably because of his qualities as a holy warrior, being often depicted as a knight in armour.⁴⁹ At that time, he became a powerful national symbol, being *athleta patriae par excellence*.⁵⁰ His specific iconographic attribute was his battle axe (often transformed into a halberd in the visual sources) and he was represented with either royal or knightly insignia, which were sometimes combined. Ladislas appeared both in an iconic manner and in the narrative context of the legend referring to his numerous feats. Of these, the most successful episode in the written and visual traditions was his fight against the Cuman whom he defeated, freeing thus a kidnapped virgin.⁵¹

The impressive cult of the three Holy Kings of Hungary, visible in their liturgical worship, in the chronicles, artistic representations and in the churches dedicated to their cult,⁵² was promoted especially by the dynasty of Anjou. As national emblems, the three saints were represented on coins, together with the Blessed Virgin, who was the patron saint of the kingdom.⁵³ The Angevin kings patronised numerous

⁴⁷ Marcu Istrate, *Cahle din Transilvania...*, pp. 263, 467, fig. 3; Ana Maria Gruia, "Saint Ladislas on Stove Tiles," in *Annual of Medieval Studies at CEU*, 11, 2005, pp. 97-120 and *Studia Patzinaka* 2, 2006, pp. 40-63 (www.patzinakia.com), p. 102, fig. 3.8; Ana Maria Gruia, "Royal Sainthood Revisited. New Dimensions of the Cult of St. Ladislas (14th-15th Centuries)," in *Colloquia*, 1-2, 2005, pp. 23-40 and *Studia Patzinaka* 2, 2006, pp. 7-25.

⁴⁸ Gábor Klaniczay, *Holy Rulers and Blessed Princesses. Dynastic Cults in Medieval Central Europe*, Cambridge, 2002.

⁴⁹ Gruia, "Saint Ladislas..."; Idem, "Royal Sainthood Revisited." The final revised version of the subject in Idem, *Religious Representations on Medieval Stoves Tiles from Hungary*, doctoral thesis defended at CEU Budapest, 2009 (under print with CEU Press). For Ladislaus as *athleta patriae*, see Ed. László Mezey, *Athleta patriae. Tanulmányok Szent László történetéhez*. Budapest, 1980.

⁵⁰ *Athleta patriae...*

⁵¹ Gábor Klaniczay, Edit Madas, "La Hongrie," in Ed. Guy Philippart, *Corpus Christianorum, Hagiographies*, Vol. 2, Turnhout, 1996, pp. 136-137.

⁵² Klaniczay, *Holy Rulers...*, pp. 295-367.

⁵³ Béla Zsolt Szakács, "Saints of the Knights – Knights of the Saints: Patterns of Patronage at the Court of Sigismund," in eds. Michel Pauly, Francois Reinert, *Sigismund von Luxemburg, Ein Kaiser in Europa*, Mainz am Rhein, 2006, p. 319.

works of religious art as means of propaganda, trying to legitimise thus their own rule by bringing homage to their Arpadian ancestors. The model was imitated by the members of the royal court and then by the representatives of the lower nobility in the entire kingdom.⁵⁴ The text of the legends narrating the life and deeds of the three Holy Kings was promoted by including them in the Hungarian chronicles, in the legends, breviaries and missals,⁵⁵ while their visual representations flourished, initially by respecting these texts but subsequently becoming enriched with other elements and spreading rapidly in various artistic media and appearing on stove tiles in the middle of the fifteenth century. In the entire Kingdom of Hungary, 27 such stove tiles or fragments have been discovered, the most popular being Saint Ladislav, who is represented in 20 such cases. There are also 5 Moldavian and 3 Polish stove tiles depicting the saintly king.⁵⁶ Most of the times Ladislav appears on his own, but there is a unique series of stove tiles which includes, as we shall see, the one from Râșnov, where Ladislav, Stephen and Emeric are represented together. The motif was identified for the first time by A. A. Rusu on a type of stove tile reconstructed from fragments found at Vințu de Jos (Fig. 10).⁵⁷ Uncovered from secondary positions among the ruins of Gheorghe Martinuzzi's castle, the fragments have been dated to the late fifteenth century and the beginning of the next, coming from at least five stove tiles, some with green glazing, others unglazed.⁵⁸

The tile from Vințu de Jos depicts three haloed saints, separated by columns, standing under traceried Gothic canopies. The character on the left, wearing a crown, a split beard and an axe, may be identified as Ladislav; the one in the middle, with a crown (?), a sceptre and a robe may be Saint Stephen; and the one on the right, in courtly attire, next to a vase with flowers, may be Saint Emeric. His lack of a crown shows correctly that he was not crowned at the time of his death, and the flowers in the vase probably refer to the lilies next to which the prince is often represented, as a reference to his purity.

Two small unglazed stove tiles fragments, found in Lita, near Cluj, dating from the late fifteenth century, probably belong to the same iconographic type (Fig. 11).⁵⁹ Despite their small size, one may identify the details of the two faces belonging to bearded, haloed kings. Because of the split beard, the fragment from the right may be identified as Saint Ladislav, while the other, seen slightly sideways, could be Saint Stephen. In the other artistic examples from the period, when the emphasis was laid on his royal status, Ladislav

⁵⁴ Szakács, *Saints of the Knights*...

⁵⁵ László Veszprémy, "Royal Saints in Hungarian Chronicles, Legends and Liturgy," in ed. Lars Boje Mortensen, *The Making of Christian Myths in the Periphery of Latin Christendom (c. 1000-1300)*, Copenhagen, 2006.

⁵⁶ Gruia, *Religious Representations*...

⁵⁷ Adrian Andrei Rusu, *Investigări ale culturii materiale medievale din Transilvania*. Cluj-Napoca, 2008, pp. 217, 243, fig. 4.

⁵⁸ Adrian Andrei Rusu, *Gotic și Renaștere la Vințu de Jos. Documente de cultură materială din Transilvania secolelor XIII-XVII*. Cluj-Napoca, Satu Mare, 1998, p. 140, fig. 116; Marcu Istrate, *Cahle din Transilvania*..., p. 286, 495, fig. 59, fig. 61, 282, 488, fig. 6; Gruia, "Saint Ladislav...", p. 102, fig. 3.9; Gruia, *Royal Sainthood Revisited; Matthias Corvinus 1443-1458-2008. Catalog de expoziție*. Cluj-Napoca, 2008, p. 40, fig. 5.

⁵⁹ Marcu Istrate, *Cahle din Transilvania*..., 240; *Matthias Corvinus*, p. 40, fig. 6. The photographs, taken in the MNIT collection, belong to me.

was depicted with a split beard. In the late Middle Ages, the physiognomic type most often attributed to Ladislav was that of a stout man with a long, forked beard, influenced by the usual mode of representing Christ in the fourteenth century.⁶⁰

The small fragment of an unglazed tile from Râșnov could be identified as both Ladislav (judging by the manner of representing his hair and beard) and Stephen (according to the collared costume and the position of the iconographic attribute, held in his left hand). Unfortunately, because of the worn out relief, it is rather difficult to identify whether this attribute is a sceptre or a halberd. Carefully comparing the three examples discussed above, we may notice that the details indicate differences suggesting that the stove tiles from Vinț, Lita, and Râșnov were made in different moulds. Such differences may be seen in the architectural details, the crowns and the presence or absence of decorations inside the haloes. Despite these differences, the similarities enable us to maintain that they feature a common motif, peculiar and unique to stove tiles from Transylvania, which in this case was disseminated over a distance of approx. 250 km inside the province (the maximum distance between the three places of discovery).

The three Holy Kings of Hungary frequently appeared together in mural paintings (such as those from Racoș, Tileagd and Crișcior), retables (the sixteenth-century panel from Spišská Kapitula), engravings (the Missal of Zagreb, dated 1511), etc. From the mid-fifteenth century on, this triad became a unified iconographic scheme.⁶¹ Three gilded bronze statues which depicted them were created by brothers Martin and George from Cluj and placed in front (or perhaps on the façade) of the cathedral from Oradea in 1370, where they remained until 1660-1661, when they were melted by the Turks.⁶²

Regarding the stove tiles, it may be noticed that there are cases where such objects decorated with one of the three saints have been discovered together, sharing the same style and probably having been used together in the composition of one and the same stove. Stove tiles featuring Saint Ladislav and Saint Emeric, sharing the same technical characteristics and the same artistic style, have been recovered from the ruins of castles in Fil'akovo and Eger⁶³. Based on the similarity between the images of Saint Ladislav and Saint Stephen, fragments representing the latter may have been present in the same lots, but they were probably confused during the restoration. We shall simply highlight the possibility that sets of stove tiles decorated with the image of the three kings were produced and used together in Hungary throughout the late Middle Ages.

Stove tiles with riders

Several fragments of stove tiles from Râșnov are decorated with horse legs and hooves.⁶⁴ Their small size and unskilful representations do not allow for the formulation

⁶⁰ Ernő Marosi, "Der Heilige Ladislaus als ungarischer Nationalheiliger. Bemerkungen zu seiner Ikonographie im 14-15. Jhr.," in *Acta Historiae Artium Hungariae*, 33, 1987, pp. 239-240.

⁶¹ Klaniczay, *Holy Rulers...*, p. 339.

⁶² Marosi, *Der Heilige Ladislaus...*; Irina Bădescu, "Arte e politica. Osservazioni intorno a due statue equestri medievali: S. Giorgio, Praga, 1373; S. Ladislao, Oradea/Grosswardein, 1390," in *Studia Patzinaka*, 6, 2008, pp. 103-128; Jolán Balogh, *Varadinum. Várad vára*. Budapest, 1982; Virgil Vătășianu, *Istoria artei feudale în Țările Române*. Cluj-Napoca, 2001, p. 319.

⁶³ See the complete references and reproductions in Gruia, *Religious Representations...*

⁶⁴ Marcu Istrate, *Cahle din Transilvania...*, pp. 264, 469, plate 130, fig. 27.

of any hypothesis regarding the possible overall motifs. In the first fragment, the horse seems to tread over a mushroom (Fig. 12). The second fragment, found in the area of dwelling no. 25, is coated in green and yellow glaze, and has been dated to the sixteenth century (Fig. 12).

Other fragments allow us to infer the image of a mounted hussar (Fig. 13).⁶⁵ Two have been found in the area of dwellings no. 50 and 54, while the third, decorated with the animal's head, was collected from an unknown spot in the city during modern utility works. The stove tile is unglazed but its surface is decorated with mica and may be dated to the second half of the sixteenth century or the next. The fragmentary image is also very schematic, rendering the mane of the right-stepping horse, the reins, harness, decorated straps, the saddle and the rider's foot through mere lines.

The motif of the hussar was very popular in Transylvania and its surrounding territories; over 50 stove tiles and fragments were recovered from the former, featuring many differences and dating from the second half of the sixteenth century and the seventeenth century.⁶⁶ The hussars formed lightly equipped cavalry troops used in the Hungarian army since the fifteenth century, but generalised over the following centuries. One can mention here the example of an item, one of the most complete of its kind in Transylvania, preserved in the collection of the History Museum in Aiud and containing inscriptions - the letters V, F and M, probably the craftsman's initials, and the year (AD 15 (/6-?) 47) (Fig. 14).⁶⁷ It is possible that the lines above the head and before the rear leg of the horse featured on the stove tile from Râșnov belong to similar inscriptions.

A taste for antiquity. A stove tile with a Renaissance portrait in a medallion

Among the outstanding pieces found at Râșnov, there is a tile modelled in a high-relief field, decorated with an antiquating bust in the central medallion (Fig. 15). The fragment, which comprises almost half of the relatively large original piece (26 x 26 cm), is unglazed but is coated in slip. Inside the medallion one may see a portion of the sideways portrait of a beardless figure, probably a soldier, judging by the cheek guards that were probably attached to a helmet. The flat part of the stove tile is decorated with vegetal elements, which include a leaf on two symmetrical stalks in the corners and symmetrical, alternating tendrils on the sides. A similar fragment, also from a stove tile with a central medallion in high relief (about which we may not surmise whether and how it was decorated) but without a canted frame has been found outside the barbican, towards the north-east. The fragment is also coated in slip and features the same vegetal pattern in the corner, while the neighbouring elements, a globe on top of a stalk and the tip of a flower seem to indicate that the sides of the stove tiles were decorated in a similar manner with the other larger fragment.

Antiquating portraits are another popular motif encountered on stove tiles and in the minor arts⁶⁸ in general from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The character is

⁶⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 264, 469, plate 130, fig. 28. The author dedicates an entire subchapter to this decorative motif, presenting a difficult and rather impractical classification (pp. 130-137).

⁶⁶ See the discussion of this motif and a typology by arms, armour and attire in Marcu Istrate, *Cahle din Transilvania...*, pp. 130-137.

⁶⁷ *Ibidem*, pp. 176, 341, plate 3, fig. 9.

⁶⁸ Examples from Transilvania may be found, for instance, on pewter mugs: Kovács Mária, "Ónedények a

represented wearing a brimmed morion of the open type (called “cabasset,” after the protruding tip that makes it look like a pear) and what is visible from the armour is the rosette on the right shoulder. Seven stove tiles of this type have been discovered in other locations from Transylvania. An unglazed piece of unknown origin preserved in the collection of the Museum from **Aiud**⁶⁹ has a similar composition, with the portrait to the left, a military helmet and a vegetal pattern with stalks on the sides and in the corners (Fig. 16). The differences include the addition of an inscription containing the initials MF, the dotted decoration on the circumference of the circular medallion, the more schematically rendered plants, and the smaller size, 22 x 22 cm. The piece dates from the sixteenth-seventeenth century. The second analogy, also from an unspecified location, is in the collection of the National History Museum of Transylvanian in **Cluj-Napoca**.⁷⁰ It measures 22 x 22.7 cm, has traces of yellow glazing and has been dated to the sixteenth century (Fig. 16). The character’s side face is shown to the right and includes the bust with details of helmet and armour. Similar plant motifs are found on the edges, but to the centre of the sides, the stalks start from one heart each. An almost identical piece - discovered at Braşov⁷¹ - is found in the collection of the Brukenthal Museum from **Sibiu**. It is unglazed, measures 21.7 x 21.5 cm, and dates from the sixteenth century (Fig. 16). The portrait is to the right and additional details can be found at the level of the vegetal decoration. Another sixteenth-century stove tile with the same decorative motif was found in **Sânsimion** (Harghita County).⁷² At **Lăzarea**,⁷³ in the castle of the Lázár family, there existed a pair of seventeenth-century unglazed stove tiles with medallion portraits of soldiers (Fig. 16). They are of smaller size, measuring 16 x 20.5 cm. The two stove tiles in question might have been used together, given the common technical qualities (dimensions, the absence of glazing, the identical vegetal decoration in the corners) and the side face to the right and, respectively, to the left. As it is known, several molds could be used in the production of one and the same tile, in this case the frame and the high-relief medallion. A small fragment of a stove tile with medallion portrait, dating from the seventeenth century and decorated with green glazing, comes from the curia of the Andrassy family in **Sâncrăieni**,⁷⁴ while another unglazed stove tile comes from the Appafy curia from **Tomeşti**.⁷⁵

történelmi Orbai Református Egyházmegyében,” in *Dolgozatok az Erdély Múzeum érem – és régiségtárából*. Cluj-Napoca, 2007, p. 189, plate 1, fig. 2. For a discussion of such portraits taken from ancient coins and reproduced on city portals in Genoa, see Alberta Bedocchi Melucci, “I ritrati ‘all’antica’ nei portali genovesi del XV e XVI secolo,” in *Rivista di Archeologia*, XII, 1988, pp. 63-79.

⁶⁹ Marcu Istrate, *Cahle din Transilvania...*, pp. 176, 341, plate 3, fig. 4; Daniela Marcu, Paul Scrobotă, “Cahle medievale din Transilvania în colecția Muzeului din Aiud,” in *Patrimonium Apulense*, 3, 2003, pp. 144-145, 156, plate 3, fig. 2.

⁷⁰ *Ibidem*, pp. 92, 193, 363, plate 25A, fig. 1. The photograph, taken in the MNIT collection, belongs to me.

⁷¹ *Ibidem*, 92, 270; *Mărturii ...*, p. 80, cat. 14, 215-6; Klusch, *Zauber alter Kacheln ...*, p. 50, 95, abb. 38 who dates it to the seventeenth century.

⁷² Marcu Istrate, *Cahle din Transilvania...*, 92, 266; Paul Janos, Dionisie Kovacs, “Perieghetză arheologică în bazinul Ciucului,” in *Studii și Materiale II*, 1967.

⁷³ Mónika Kémenes, *Kályhacsempék Csik-, Gyergyó- és Kászsorszékből 14.-18. század*. Kolozsvár, 2005, pp. 68-70, 151, plate 44, fig. 1 and 2.

⁷⁴ *Ibidem*, pp. 68-70, 112, plate 44, fig. 4.

⁷⁵ *Ibidem*, pp. 68-70, 121, plate 44, fig. 5.

Compared to these analogies, the piece from Râșnov differs primarily through the plant motifs surrounding the medallion, the portrait having unfortunately been only partially preserved.

A series of stove tiles decorated with the same motif⁷⁶ have also been discovered in Wallachia: in the Princely Court from **Târgoviște**⁷⁷ (a helmeted and bearded figure to the right, a beardless figure to the left, green-glazed stove tiles or, most often, polychrome-glazed stove tiles dated conjuncturally to the late sixteenth century, but probably from the seventeenth century), at **Cerbureni** (two stove tiles, one item only with the circular medallion, with a character to the left, very similar to the one from Târgoviște, polychrome), and at **Mihai Vodă Monastery - Bucharest** (two corners with the same plant motif).

Stove tiles of this type do not seem to have circulated in Moldavia at all.⁷⁸

Stove tiles with portraits were very popular during the sixteenth century throughout those parts of Europe which exhibited a preference for the closed heating system. The new style of representation was part of the iconographic changes introduced by the new Renaissance trend in the decorative arts, which revived the ancient genres. These portraits - which were framed in medallions or, more often, in contemporary architectural frames - represented Christ and the evangelists, political and religious personalities of the Renaissance and the Reformation, or townspeople in period costumes. A stove composed exclusively of such motifs, produced in the German workshops of Nuremberg for Coburg in the years 1530-1540 and a stove from Nuremberg dated to 1520-1530 have been preserved.⁷⁹ Few examples of antiquating representations are known, however: some personalities of the Roman Empire, on the same German stoves, an image of a laureate character (Caesar?) on a stove tile from Bošovice (Bohemia),⁸⁰ or emperors, empresses and heroines from the Roman period on several other stove tiles from Bohemia.⁸¹ Polychrome stove tiles from present-day Austria, made in 1560-1570 by the stove master Hans Resch or his workshop, active in Kitzbühel and Salzburg between 1563 and 1598, represented Emperor Aurelius, identified through an inscription.⁸²

Fragments of circular flat stove tiles have also been found at Râșnov (Fig. 17). Two fragments are unglazed and undecorated stove tiles,⁸³ while the other two preserve only the beginning of indecipherable decorations. The first of the decorated fragments

⁷⁶ Rădulescu, *Cahle medievale din Țara Românească...*, vol. I, pp. 91-92, 140.

⁷⁷ Rădulescu, *Cahle medievale din Țara Românească...*, vol. II, pp. 19-21, cat. 51-57, fig. 46.2, 47.2, 48.1, 49.

⁷⁸ Batariuc, *Cahle din Moldova medievală...*

⁷⁹ Rosemarie Franz, *Die Kachelofen - Entstehung und kunstgeschichtliche Entwicklung bis zum Ausgang des Klassizismus*. Graz, 1969, pp. 80-82.

⁸⁰ *Krása, která hřeje*, p. 77, 86, fig. 260.

⁸¹ Vladimír Brych, *Kachle: doby gotické, renesanční a raně barokní: výběrový katalog Národního Muzea v Praze*. Praha, 2004, pp. 168-169. The catalogue also presents four extremely interesting stove tiles, with representations of Roman gods (Mars, Jupiter, Saturn and Mercury), identified through inscriptions, though these are placed not in medallions but under Renaissance arcades. See pp. 170-171.

⁸² Yvonne Hackenbroch, "Stove Tiles from Austria," in *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin*, 22, 1964, p. 316, fig. 11.

⁸³ Unpublished items. Given their small dimensions and the lack of a setting, they are suspected to have actually been pot lids and not circular stove tiles.

presents lines and concentric circles or spirals,⁸⁴ while the last one, part of a disk-stove tile with the reconstituted diameter of 23.5 cm is incised with parallel lines on the circumference and oblique segments towards the interior.⁸⁵ Such disk-stove tiles, whether decorated or not, were probably used only in the area of the stove roof or were embedded in the mass of clay, at the level of the firing or heating chambers (Fig. 18).⁸⁶

The king of the sky. A heraldic stove tile with a royal eagle

Ever since the invention of heraldry, animals have often been used in the creation of crests. The ones preferred were, of course, those animals associated with chivalric values, those endowed with strength, courage, loyalty, devotion and piety in the writings of the time; at the top of these preferences were obviously the kings of the animal regna, namely the lion and the eagle. The latter appeared on the coats of arms of the ruling dynasties: the Angevins, the houses of Luxembourg, Jagiellon and then of Habsburg, as well as on nobiliary or city crests.

To refer only to nearby areas, eagles seen from the front, with stretched-out wings, wearing a crown or not, appeared on many tiles from stoves built during the reign of Sigismund of Luxembourg in his royal palace in Visegrád.⁸⁷

At Râșnov, there have been preserved several parts of a stove tile decorated with an eagle with stretched-out wings, glancing on its right, wearing a crown and a heraldic shield with a schematic representation on its chest, with one vertical and three parallel horizontal elements. The eagle is represented with the body seen from the front and the head seen sideways, with raised open wings, spread legs and an amply decorated tail. On both sides of the neck one can see an inscription (the letters B or D and another D), or just some decorative half-circles (Fig. 19).

Several fragments have been found in the barbican, coming from a large size unglazed panel tile, the preserved height being 28 cm, which can be dated to the early seventeenth century. Despite its schematic character, some authors have interpreted the shield emblem as belonging to the Báthory family,⁸⁸ which was based on the field representation of three dragon teeth, reminiscent of the legendary ancestor of the family who was said to have killed a dragon with three spear strokes.⁸⁹ The crest also appears on other stove tiles from Transylvania, a series of 8-10 identical pieces discovered in Făgăraș⁹⁰ and one from Vințu de Jos⁹¹ (Fig. 20).

There are no known analogies for the piece in Râșnov, but we could mention several stove tiles decorated with eagles represented from the front. One of them was

⁸⁴ Unpublished item.

⁸⁵ Marcu Istrate, *Cahle din Transilvania...*, pp. 263, 467, plate 128, fig. 2.

⁸⁶ *A visegrádi fellegvár*, colour reproduction from the cover.

⁸⁷ Edit Kocsis, Tibor Sabján, *A visegrádi királyi palota kályhai és kályhacsempe leletei*. Visegrád, 1998, pp. 118-119, dating from the end of the fourteenth century.

⁸⁸ Marcu Istrate, *Cahle din Transilvania...*, pp. 264, 468, plate 129, fig. 17.

⁸⁹ This is the reverse of a taler issued by the Prince of Transylvania, Gabriel Báthory, the eagle appearing to the right of the heraldic shield; <http://numismatica.hu/v/images/auctions/0129.jpg>, accessed on 26.09.2010.

⁹⁰ Marcu Istrate, *Cahle din Transilvania...*, pp. 98, 218, 399, plate 61, fig. 43.

⁹¹ *Ibidem*, pp. 98, 287-288, 499, plate 160, fig. 89.

uncovered in Micăsasa,⁹² in a secondary position, probably a refuse pit. The piece, dated to the late fifteenth and the early sixteenth century, represents a similar eagle, but without a heraldic shield. It is also a large tile (probably 36 x 25 cm), also unglazed, presumably referring to the Jagiellons' crest. Analogies can be found on some stove tiles from Bohemia dated to the fifteenth century. Dating from the first half of the century is such a stove tile fragment, with a very similar composition, with a crowned eagle with raised wings and a shield on its chest, on which the crest of Albrecht V Rakouský Habsburg has been identified.⁹³

Stove tiles with bicephalous eagles, influenced by the Habsburg coat of arms,⁹⁴ were quite common from the mid sixteenth century, especially during the next, and well after 1700. The motif was used not only in Transylvania, but also in Moldavia⁹⁵ and Wallachia.⁹⁶ At Baia,⁹⁷ for instance, an eagle features in the same position but with the head turned to its left, without a crown and without a shield. On either side of the head are represented a star and a lily (?).

At Râșnov there has been discovered another fragment that seems to belong to a stove tile decorated with the image of a bird.⁹⁸ The small size of the fragment prevents us, however, from engaging in any further discussion (Fig. 21).

Roses, rosettes and vases with flowers

One of the few decorative motifs on the stove tiles from Râșnov that can be fully reconstructed is a rosette with two rows of petals surrounded by two stylised plant motifs, repeated alternatively four times each (Fig. 22).⁹⁹ Two decorated parallel bands surround the motif along the borders of the stove tile, followed by two simple frames. The bands are decorated with small geometric motifs shaped like a V and a Y. The preserved fragments belong to 4 or 5 pieces impressed in different molds, one of the differences consisting in turning the small Vs into heart-shaped motifs (Fig. 23), while another difference refers to the round or rectangular shape of the first row of petals of the rosette (Fig. 24). This type of unglazed stove tiles measure 20 x 20 cm, being dated to the sixteenth-seventeenth centuries and having been discovered in the northwest side of the square.

In the field of decorative arts, the rosette is defined as a circular stylised floral motif or as a motif that imitates the calyx of a flower in terms of shapes and geometric braids. In its widest sense, it is a round folded, symmetrical flower, seen from the front. The rosette is one of the widely spread motifs on stove tiles in the Kingdom of Hungary, taken over indirectly from the German space and disseminated even beyond its borders, to Poland or Silesia and Moravia, being promoted by royal workshops that manufactured

⁹² Adrian Andrei Rusu, *Cahle din Transilvania (I)*, in *Ziridava*, 19-20, 1996, pp. 132, 145, fig. 10.

⁹³ *Krásá, která hřeje...*, pp. 92, 101, fig. 299.

⁹⁴ Marcu Istrate, *Cahle din Transilvania...*, p. 97.

⁹⁵ Paraschiva Victoria Batariuc, "Elemente animaliere pe cahle descoperite în Moldova," in *Arheologia Moldovei*, 26, 2003, pp. 164, 166.

⁹⁶ Rădulescu, *Cahle medievale din Țara Românească...*, vol. II, fig. 117-124.

⁹⁷ Batariuc, *Elemente animaliere* ..., pp. 163, 165, fig. 11.3.

⁹⁸ Marcu Istrate, *Cahle din Transilvania...*, pp. 264, 469, plate 130, fig. 22.

⁹⁹ Marcu Istrate, *Cahle din Transilvania...*, pp. 263, 467, plate 128, fig. 6.

the well-known knightly stoves. Stove tiles with rosettes were dated, just like those together with which they formed the stoves in question (decorated with knights in tournament, pairs of saints on consoles, angels supporting heraldic shields, griffins and lions), to around the year 1475.¹⁰⁰ The numerous rosettes and roses on stove tiles and from all the decorative arts might have made reference to the rosary and thus to the cult of the Virgin, but despite the use of rosary in the devotional practices of the late Middle Ages, there is no definite proof that the representation of rosettes may be interpreted in this way.

One of the stylised plant motifs surrounding the rosette from the Râșnov stove tile can be found on another ceramic fragment.¹⁰¹ The motif is nonetheless placed next to another type of band, divided into small diamonds and triangles decorated with crosses, and to a smaller flower (Fig. 25). The fragment is unglazed, measuring 9.9 x 6.5 cm. Four unpublished ceramic fragments also belong to the same representation.¹⁰² The general motif that we may infer is composed of a diamond made from a richly decorated band, having inside each inner corner a stylised plant motif that is identical to the ones from the corners of the stove tile. Between the diamond and the corners there are representations of flowers with six petals. The preserved fragments indicate the existence of stove tiles made with different patterns (due to differences at the level of the decorated borders) and the fact that they correspond only to the borders of the stove stile makes the reconstruction of the centre less reliable.

Three fragments belong, by analogy, to a Baroque representation with the portrait of the Virgin in an octagonal medallion, from which only the corner vegetal elements have been preserved, consisting of three oak leaves that come out of another identical leaf which is placed in reverse, and the marginal geometric motif. The border of the stove tile comprises three simple frames and a row of buttons that are sometimes accompanied by small crosses (Fig. 26).¹⁰³ The fragments are coated in glaze on top of slip.

The pattern, combining the portrait medallion with several different types of scenery, was produced in the first half of the seventeenth century in several Haban and Szekler Transylvanian centres, most of them dated through inscriptions and marked with different initials of the craftsmen.¹⁰⁴ Analogies are kept in the collection of the National History Museum of Transylvania in Cluj, with several variants of fragments

¹⁰⁰ The reconstruction of the stove in Imre Holl, "Spätgotische Ofenkachel," in *Acta Archeologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae*, 50, 1998, p. 203, fig. 58; see motifs from similar stove tiles in the German and Hungarian space in Judit Tamási, "Stücke des Ritterfigurenofens zu Ofen (Buda) aus dem Burgschloss von Ozora - im Kontext der Werkstattbeziehungen," in ed. Gyöngyi Kovács, *Quasi liber et pictura. Studies in the honor of András Kubinyi on his Seventieth Birthday*. Budapest, 2004, pp. 519-532; for the dissemination of the group of motifs in Poland, see Imre Holl, "Ungarisch-Polnische beziehungen aufgrund der Ofenkacheln (zweite Hälfte 15.-erste Hälfte 16. Jahrhundert)," in *Acta Archaeologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae*, 55/3-4, 2004, pp. 333-375. Rosettes in Silesia and Moravia: *Krásá, která hřeje...*, pp. 143-147.

¹⁰¹ Marcu Istrate, *Cahle din Transilvania...*, pp. 263, 467, plate 128, fig. 7.

¹⁰² Unpublished item.

¹⁰³ Marcu Istrate, *Cahle din Transilvania...*, pp. 264, 469, plate 130, fig. 23 a-c.

¹⁰⁴ Daniela Marcu Istrate, *Cahle din Transilvania și Banat de la începuturi până la 1700*, Cluj-Napoca, 2004, pp. 94-95; pieces from Vințu de Jos in *Mărturie...*, p. 90, p. 219, cat. 29.

that resemble the ones from Râșnov more closely (Fig. 27).¹⁰⁵ They date back to the seventeenth century, which is why this may be considered the period when the production of the fragments in question took place.

Another decorative motif, consisting of a vase with flowers of ancient inspiration inside an almond-shaped vegetal frame can be reconstituted by analogy, starting from three fragments discovered in the area of dwelling no. 25 (Fig. 28). The pieces are unglazed but coated in slip and an inscription of the year of manufacture can be suspected - a 6 - being preserved to the far right of the central fragment.¹⁰⁶ The other two fragments correspond to slightly different versions. The analogy also comes from the MNIT collection in Cluj-Napoca, representing an almost identical piece. The inscriptions include initials (PM, ID), as well as a year, 1665 (Fig. 29).¹⁰⁷ The pieces from Râșnov should therefore also be dated to the seventeenth century, and it is possible that inscriptions were also present on the parts that have not been preserved.

Two other fragments correspond to a stove tile with a central motif that is not preserved; however, we can reconstruct a portion of the frame that surrounds it (Fig. 30). This frame is laden with parallel lines, dots, dotted rows, triangles and stylised plant motifs. Both fragments correspond to the stove tile corners; the first is slightly larger (12.5 x 9 cm), unglazed,¹⁰⁸ while the second is smaller (8.5 x 6.5 cm) and coated in green glazing.¹⁰⁹

Other unpublished pieces that are fragmentarily preserved are less generous in terms of their size, not allowing the identification of the motifs with which they were decorated (Fig. 31). This category includes a corner with a torsade and a vegetal motif delineated by a semicircle that might surround a central circular motif. Two other fragments present dots, curved, parallel lines, and zigzags.

Geometric motifs

Some smaller or larger pieces of stove tiles from Râșnov are decorated with geometric motifs. One item was recovered from the Báthory Tower: it is approx. 17 cm wide, with an intricate decoration of lines and triangles (Fig. 32).¹¹⁰ The upper part is divided into vertical registers unevenly decorated with oblique parallel lines, triangles and zigzags. These are intersected by a semi-circular arch, decorated in a zigzag, which might have demarcated a central representation.

An even richer geometric pattern is found on another fragment discovered on the same point in the settlement (Fig. 33).¹¹¹ Also divided into intersecting registers, the

¹⁰⁵ *Ibidem*, pp. 193, 364, plate 26, fig. 8.

¹⁰⁶ The first fragment: Marcu Istrate, *Cahle din Transilvania...*, pp. 264, 468, plate 129, fig. 18; The second fragment: *Ibidem*, pp. 264, 469, plate 130, fig. 25A, apparently erroneously considered as part of the stove tiles with a city-on-a-leaf pattern; The third fragment: *Ibidem*, pp. 264, 468, plate 129, fig. 19.

¹⁰⁷ Marcu Istrate, *Cahle din Transilvania...*, pp. 194, 365, plate 27, fig. 19, but this drawing does not capture all the details of the stove tile even though reference is made to the same piece (inv. no. I1138). The photograph, taken in the MNIT collection, belongs to the author.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibidem*, pp. 263, 467, plate 128, fig. 4.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibidem*, pp. 263, 467, plate 128, fig. 5.

¹¹⁰ Rusu, *Investigări...*, p. 330, fig. 4c.

¹¹¹ Unpublished item.

decoration is more detailed and neater. The bands are meticulously filled with cruciform motifs framed in diamonds, the alternative spaces being also animated by small triangles and the four vertical strips being joined at the top by two parallel broken lines each. As an exception, one of the vertical registers has a rectangular section decorated with a cross flanked by two half circles, supported by a diamond that is also flanked by two triangles. Although we can again not reconstruct the whole motif, we must note the identity between the cruciform patterns inside these bands and those represented on the first two fragments in Fig. 25.

If we have so far discussed only stove tiles decorated in high relief, created by mold pressing, there are two cases where the pattern was made in open work. The first small fragment, with a band decorated with parallel oblique lines (perhaps suggesting a torsade), placed between two smooth bands, retains to the right the beginning of partially traceried curved patterns.¹¹² The piece is outstanding also given its polychrome - green and yellow - glazing. Another small fragment with similar glazing and curved shapes might have belonged to the same piece (Fig. 34).¹¹³ Although very small, these stove tile fragments make us think of the elaborate traceried Gothic pieces that imitated architectural forms, especially the mullions from the stained glass windows of the period.

Another decoration, preserved on an unglazed stove tile, has the shape of a wheel. A circle formed of two parallel lines intersected by many "spokes" is centred on a geometrical flower with five petals (Fig. 35).¹¹⁴

On other small fragments of stove tiles one may see parallel lines (a fragment with green glazing),¹¹⁵ torsades next to slightly raised borders (coated in red paint)¹¹⁶ zigzags (an unglazed piece)¹¹⁷ or simple undecorated bands (a fragment with green glazing)¹¹⁸ (Fig. 36). In Fig. 37 we present other fragments, all unpublished and unglazed. They all represent the marginal motifs of a representation that is now lost. Where we also kept the drawing of the section, the images show either raised borders or edges of stove tiles at the joining with the frame on the reverse, which was used to solder the stove tiles between them and attach them to the structure of the stoves.

Another small unglazed fragment (5.5 x 6 cm) is decorated in relief with a scaled pattern that could come from the representation of a roof, an animal or a simple geometric decoration¹¹⁹ (Fig. 38).

Miscellanea

A small fragment represents the hind legs of an animal, possibly a feline, walking in a vegetal setting (Fig. 39).¹²⁰ Due to its size, we cannot make judgments about the overall motif.

¹¹² Marcu Istrate, *Cahle din Transilvania...*, pp. 263, 468, plate 129, fig. 9.

¹¹³ *Ibidem*, pp. 263, 468, plate 129, fig. 8.

¹¹⁴ Unpublished item.

¹¹⁵ Unpublished item.

¹¹⁶ Marcu Istrate, *Cahle din Transilvania...*, pp. 264, 468, plate 129, fig. 12.

¹¹⁷ *Ibidem*, pp. 264, 468, plate 129, fig. 13.

¹¹⁸ Unpublished item.

¹¹⁹ Marcu Istrate, *Cahle din Transilvania...*, pp. 264, 468, plate 129, fig. 20.

¹²⁰ Marcu Istrate, *Cahle din Transilvania...*, pp. 264, 469, plate 130, fig. 21.

An interesting fragment represents, from the front, the body of a character with the right hand raised from the elbow, the legs spread and the knees flexed, who apparently has a large penis.¹²¹ To the right of the character who is very schematically and clumsily rendered, one may see a geometric motif that resembles a buckle and a slim pole with an annular thickening at the base. The fragment, measuring 15 x 15 cm, was found in the gate tower of the second fortified enclosure, the so-called Báthory Tower. Another fragment, glazed in green, could be mentioned here as having the same kind of schematic figurative representation,¹²² but it is impossible to infer the scenes involving these characters (Fig. 40).

Although there are many stove tiles decorated with courtly scenes, such as pairs of lovers or dancing couples, erotic scenes or sexually explicit depictions are extremely rarely represented. We are aware of only one such piece from medieval Hungary, from the town of Banská Bystrica, dated to the middle of the fifteenth century.¹²³ Produced locally in one of the three stove tile workshops in town, the scene was curiously used together with religious, animal or geometric representations in the similar composition of stoves from the house of the mayor and the local town hall. The unique motif throughout Europe featured on these identical stove tiles, presented the couple in all the anatomical details, in the missionary position (virtually the only one accepted by the medieval Church and only for procreation purposes), lying on a tasselled mattress. Both these stove tiles and the fragment from Râșnov remain a mystery to viewers today, who may find it very difficult to grasp the manner in which the people of the Middle Ages and the early modern period saw these images that decorated and warmed, probably not only in literal terms, their interiors.

Among the fragments from Râșnov that are difficult to identify, one belongs to an unglazed stove tile with raised edges, incompletely burned, with burn marks on the inside (so definitely used at some point in time in the composition of a stove; Fig. 41).¹²⁴

To the same category belongs another fragment measuring 10.1 x 8.2 cm, coated in red paint, whose schematic pattern might suggest a character with his left hand raised, looking upwards (Fig. 42).¹²⁵ We could possibly think of a scene like that of the she-wolf nursing Romulus and Remus. Two unpublished pieces, with a vaguely preserved pattern, could be considered to belong to the same motif.

Conclusions

The presentation of the stove tiles from Râșnov and of the motifs with which they were decorated helps create an overall picture of the material culture in this fortified borough, of the manner in which the interiors were heated, the commercial relations between the owners of these interiors and their tastes insofar as images are concerned. Tile stoves were important interior design elements, given their imposing

¹²¹ Rusu, *Investigări...*, p. 330, fig. 4b.

¹²² Marcu Istrate, *Cahle din Transilvania...*, pp. 264, 469, plate 129, fig. 15.

¹²³ Ana Maria Gruia, "Sex on the Stove. A Fifteenth-Century Stove Tile from Banská Bystrica," in *Medium Aevum Quotidianum*, 55, 2007, pp. 19-58 and *Studia Patzinaka*, 4, 2007, pp. 85-122.

¹²⁴ Unpublished item.

¹²⁵ Marcu Istrate, *Cahle din Transilvania...*, pp. 264, 468, plate 129, fig. 16.

stature, the chromatic interplay between the burnt clay and the glazing, which was sometimes polychrome, and the images on the component parts. The representations of the stove tiles were among the few images widely available to the inhabitants of Râșnov, so they must have played an important role. The quality of these stoves and stove tiles provides clues about the wealth of their owners, their desire to be fashionable (through motifs that were popular at the time, such as “the city-on-a-leaf,” the mounted hussar, the rosettes, the portraits of soldiers, the portrait of the Virgin or the vase with flowers) or conversely, about their desire to stand out through unique representations (especially the geometric ones or the strange priapic character). The owner of an interior boasting the image of the three Holy Kings of Hungary (Stephen, Ladislas, Emeric) may have wanted to express thus ethnic membership, political loyalty or the preference for certain saints. Religious identity could be expressed by using typical baroque Catholic representations, such as the portrait of the Virgin surrounded by angels. Other buyers, who surrounded themselves by antiquating representations, such as portraits of soldiers in Renaissance medallions or vases of ancient inspiration, could thus show their alleged or real “culture.” Military ambitions could be suggested by the possession of stove tiles with representations of soldiers and hussars. A stove tile such as the one featuring the image of the Báthory family crest on the chest of the heraldic eagle could have referred to the owner’s membership to or ties with that family, which was so important in the history of the principality of Transylvania. In the absence of written sources about the topic, the analysis of the possible functions of the images depicted on these stove tiles remains, however, open to interpretation. What the material discovered nonetheless indicates with certainty is the relatively large number and the great iconographic and chronological variety of the pieces. Their discovery in secondary positions prevents any consideration of the number or the actual composition of the Râșnov stoves. Due to the prevalently fragmented character of the material and the fact that on the dismantling of the stoves (which was required periodically, every 30-50 years, for cleaning the internal smoke ducts) entire pieces could be reused and only the deteriorated ones were discarded, we may not ascertain how many interiors from Râșnov were heated in this way. What we do know is that the tile stoves were used from the late fifteenth century until the end of the eighteenth century, demonstrating thus the fact that the space within the defence walls was permanently inhabited during this period, and that the inhabitants of Râșnov could see a variety of images in their interiors every day, some being widespread, others lacking analogies, at least insofar as the current state of research has shown.

In terms of the quality of the stove tiles from Râșnov, we may notice that the lot is not very valuable. There are only small fragments that have polychrome glazing or are traceried, which are the typical elements of high quality stove tiles. At the same time, the analogies identified of the pieces from the borough of Râșnov are found in rather elevated contexts, in castles (like the one in Vințu de Jos) and in the residences of the lower nobility (such as the curia from Lăzarea). Given that one of the versions of the city-on-a-leaf pattern is part of a batch produced in Brașov, we may suspect that other stove tiles from Râșnov were also produced in the area, in workshops from the Saxon towns.

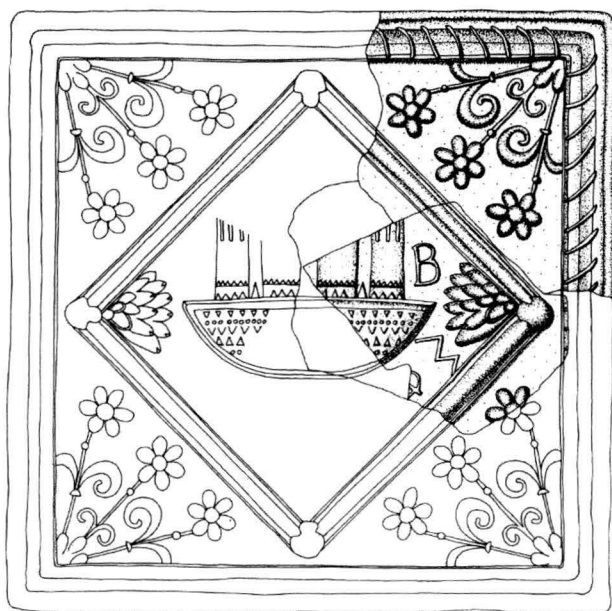


Fig. 1. Graphic reconstruction of a stove tile decorated with a city-on-a-leaf from Râșnov.

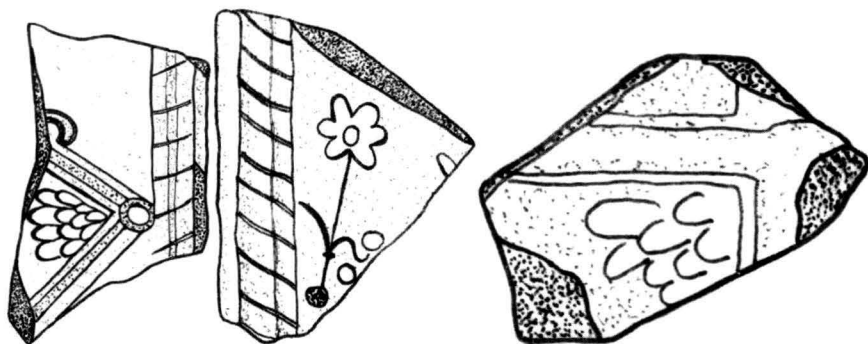


Fig. 2. Fragments corresponding to the same decorative motif, discovered in Râșnov.



Fig. 3. Previously unpublished tile fragment from Râșnov that completes the city-on-a-leaf motif.

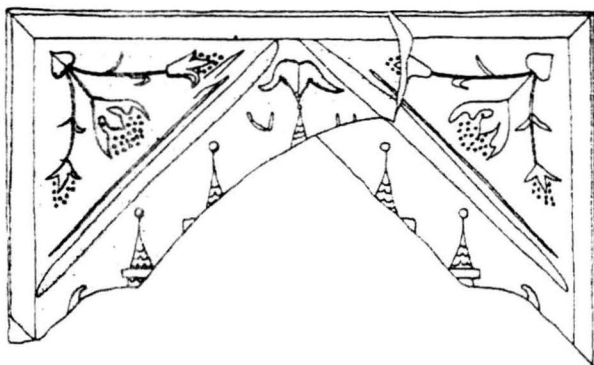


Fig. 4. The second variant of a city-on-a-leaf from Râșnov.



Fig. 5. Small fragment corresponding to the third variant of a city-on-a-leaf from Râșnov.



Fig. 6. Stove tiles with towers discovered in Visegrád.



Fig. 7. Stove tile from Melice, ca. 1400.



Fig. 8. Stove tile from Tileagd, end of the 15th century - beginning of the 16th century.



Fig. 9. Tile fragment from Râșnov decorated with the image of a haloed king under Gothic tracery.



Fig. 10. The Holy Kings of Hungary, reconstruction of a stove tile from Vințu de Jos.



Fig. 11. Holy kings on tile fragments from Lita.

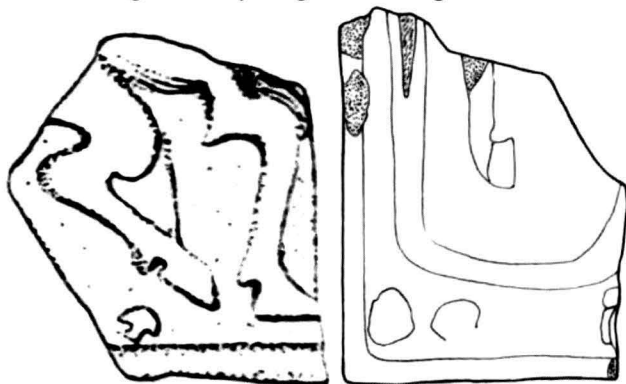


Fig. 12. Tile fragments from Râșnov with depictions of horses.

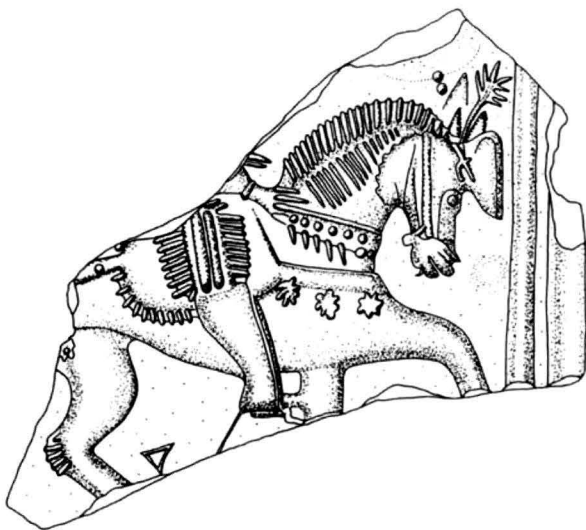


Fig. 13. Hussar depicted on a stove tile from Râșnov.



Fig. 14. Hussar depicted on a stove tile from Aiud.

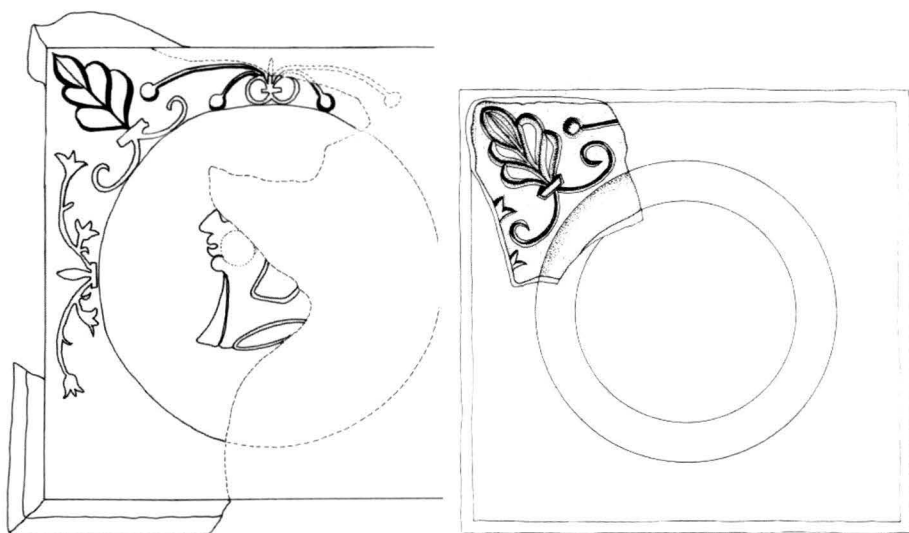


Fig. 15. Tile from Râșnov with central concave medallions.

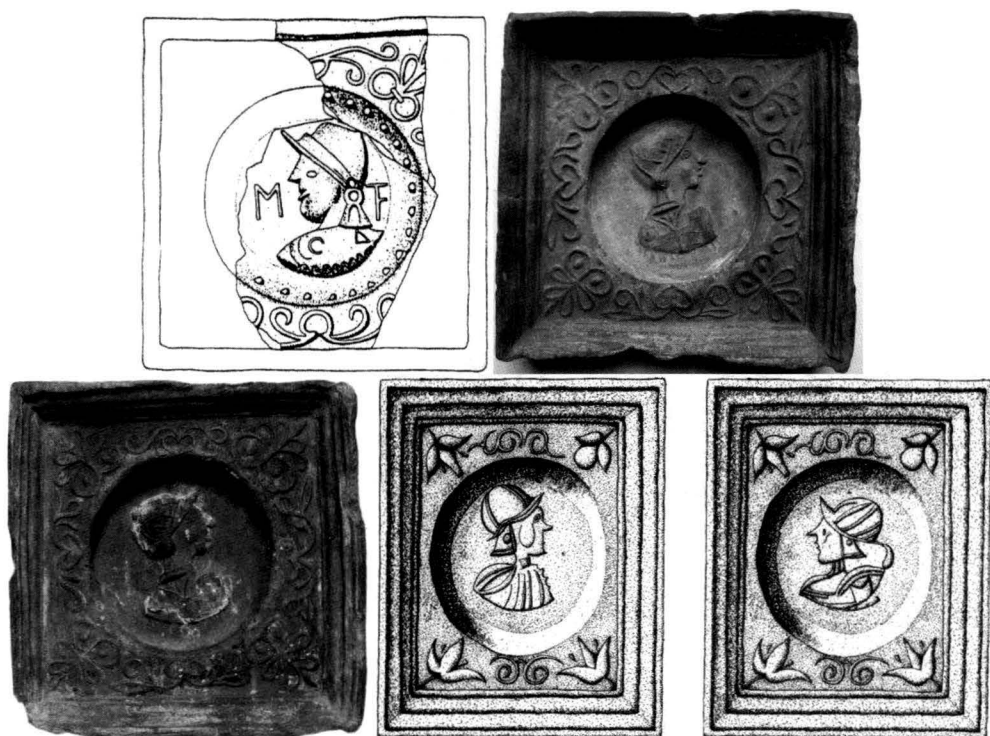


Fig. 16. Stove tiles with soldier portraits inside concave medallions from Aiud, Cluj, Sibiu and Lăzarea.

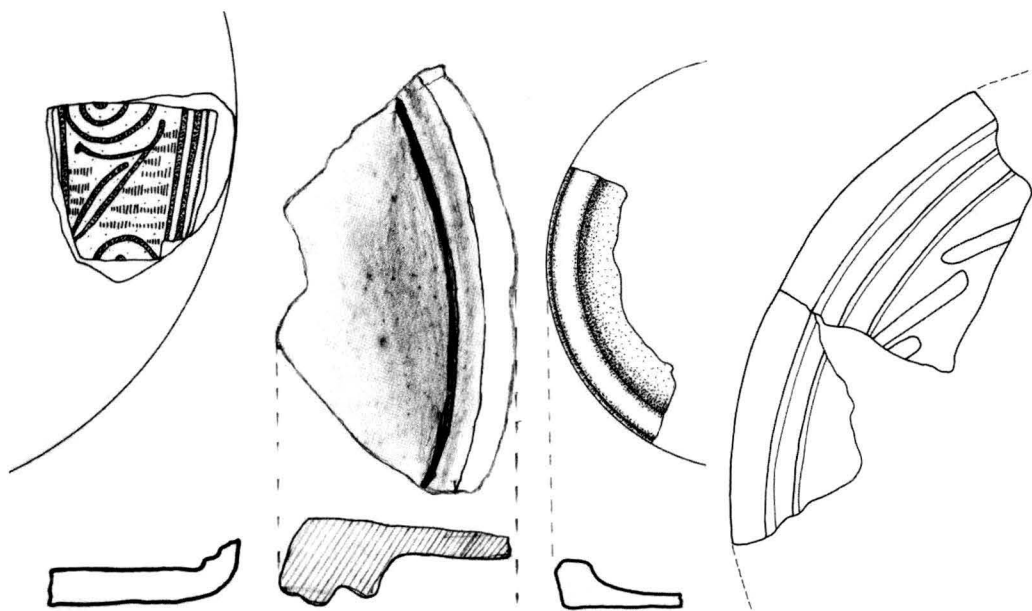


Fig. 17. Disc-tile fragments from Râșnov.



Fig. 18. Reconstructed stove from Visegrád, with disc-tiles used in the composition of the roof.

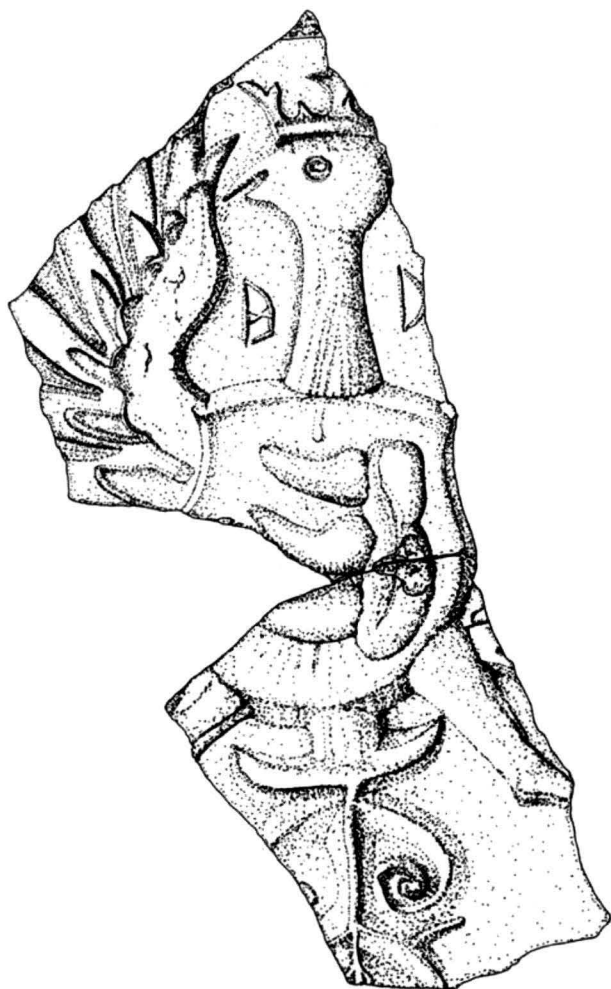


Fig. 19. Tile from Râșnov decorated with a heraldic eagle.

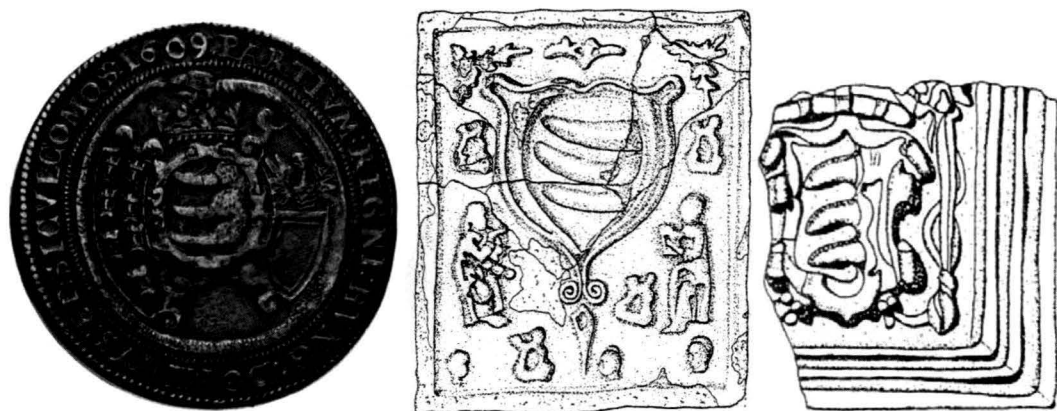


Fig. 20. The Báthory coat of arms on a coin minted in 1609 and analogies on stove tiles from Făgăraș and Vințu de Jos.

Fig. 21. Tile fragment from Râșnov, probably decorated with the image of a bird.

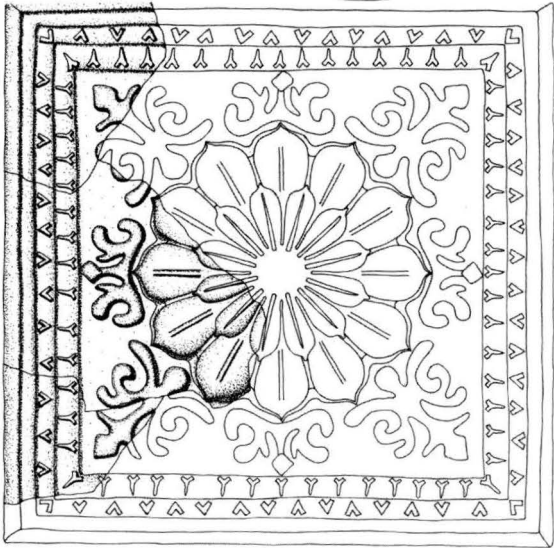


Fig. 22. Graphic reconstruction of a stove tile with central rosette and decorative borders, discovered in Râșnov.

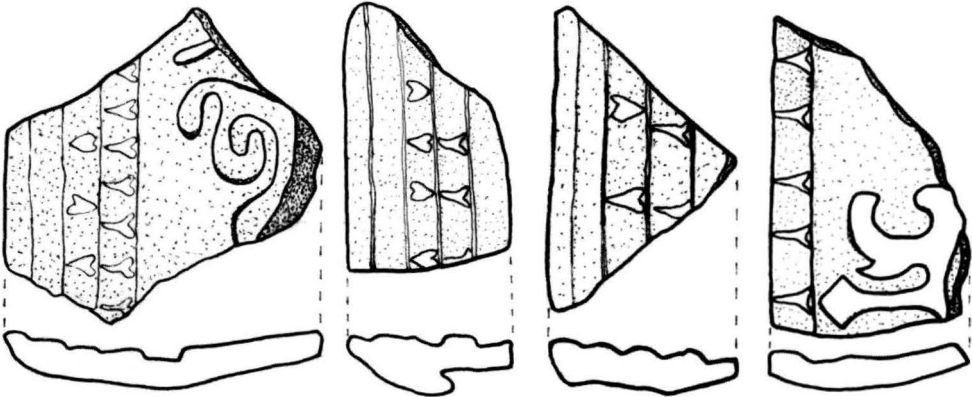


Fig. 23. Fragments of the side decoration.

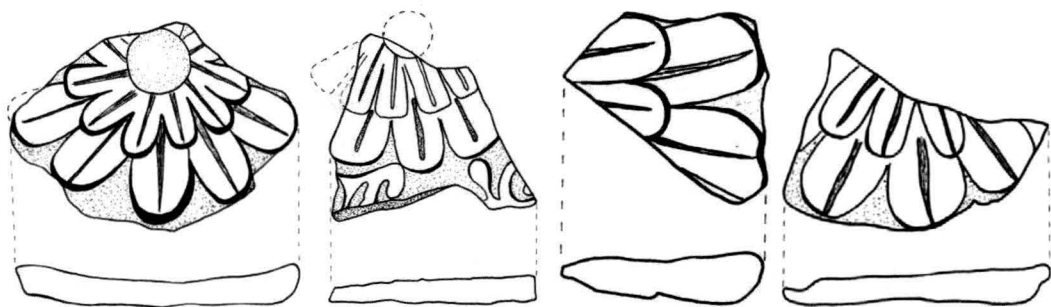


Fig. 24. Fragments of the central rosette.

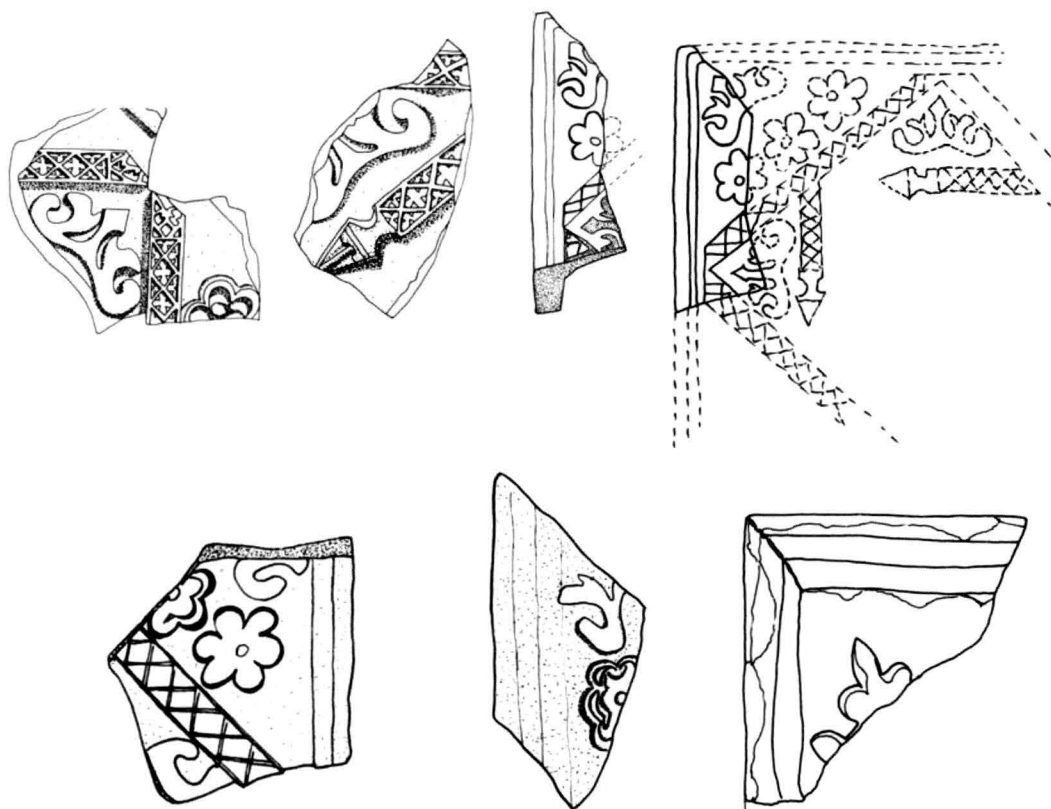


Fig. 25. Tile fragments from Râșnov decorated with geometric and vegetal elements and tentative reconstruction of the general motif.

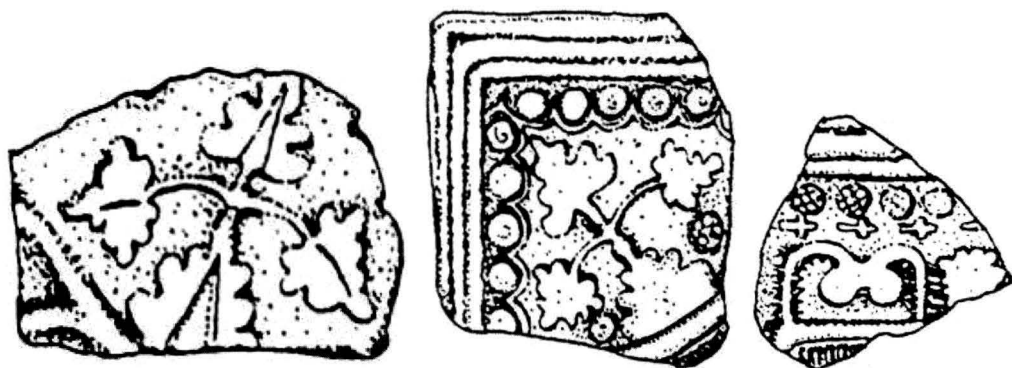


Fig. 26. Tile fragments from Râșnov with vegetal elements.



Fig. 27. Stove tile with portrait of the Virgin inside an octagonal medallion, with the same vegetal elements, preserved in Cluj.

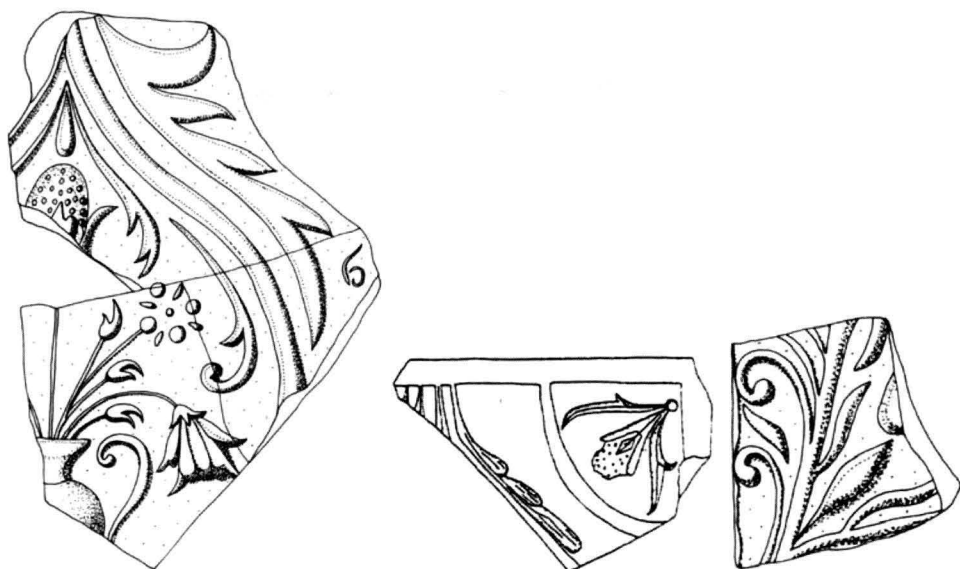


Fig. 28. Tile fragments with a flower vase, discovered in Râșnov.



Fig. 29. Tile with the depiction of a flower vase from Cluj.

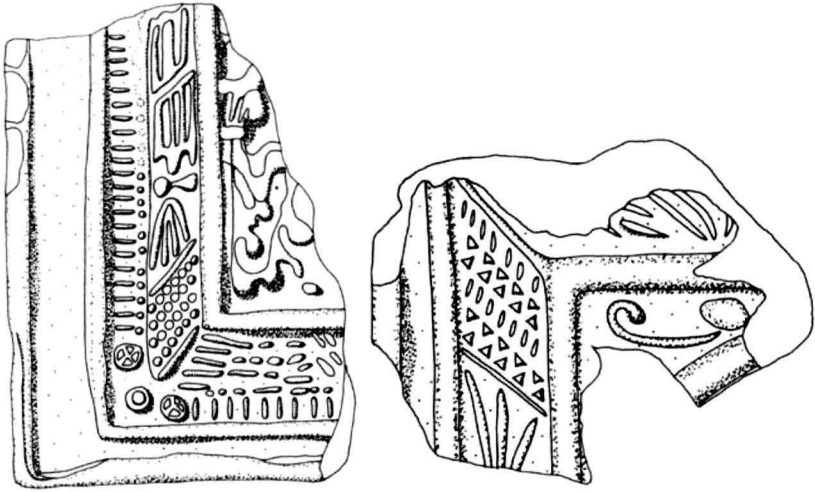


Fig. 30. Tile fragments from Râșnov with richly decorated borders.

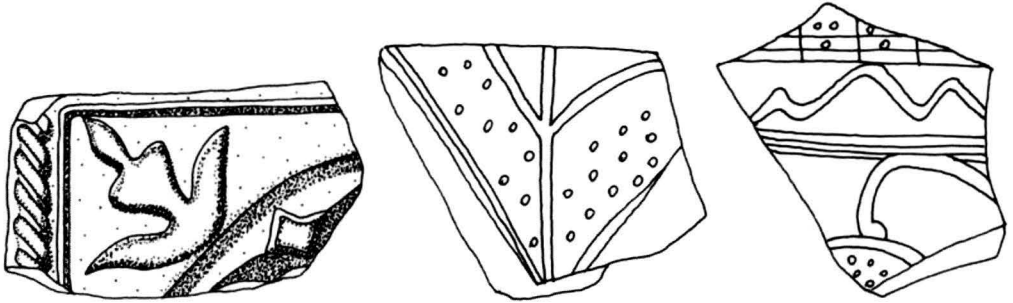


Fig. 31. Various tile fragments (Râșnov).

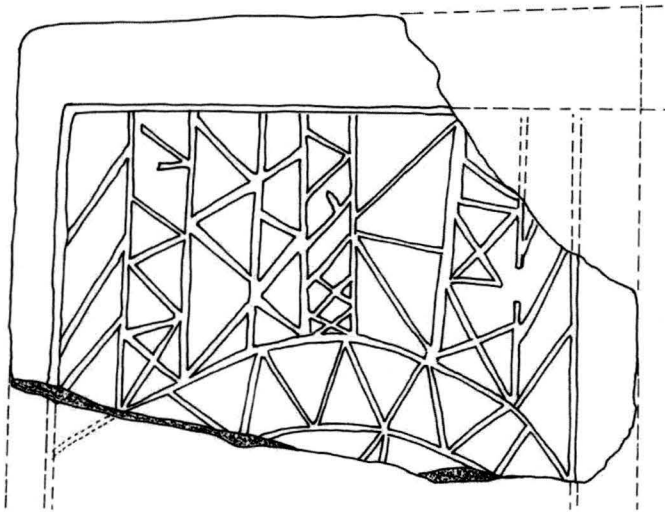


Fig. 32. Tile from Râșnov with geometric decoration.

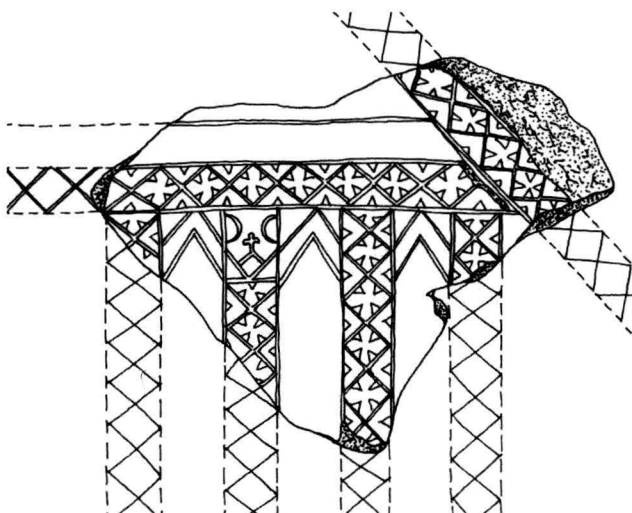


Fig. 33. Tile fragment from Râșnov decorated with a geometric motif.

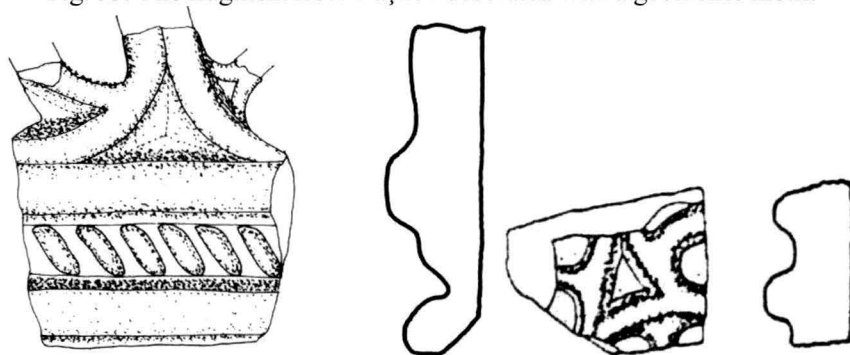


Fig. 34. Gothic tracery on tile fragments from Râșnov.

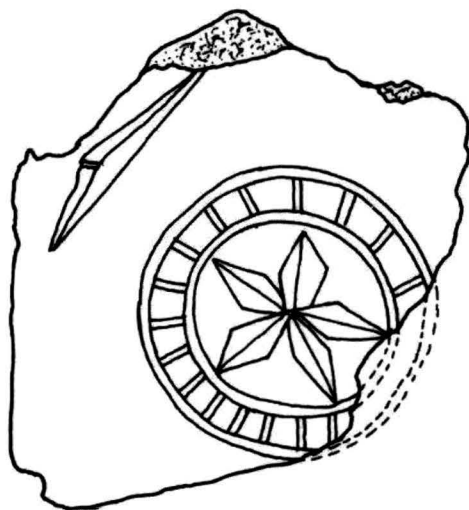


Fig. 35. Tile fragment from Râșnov with a stylized wheel decoration.

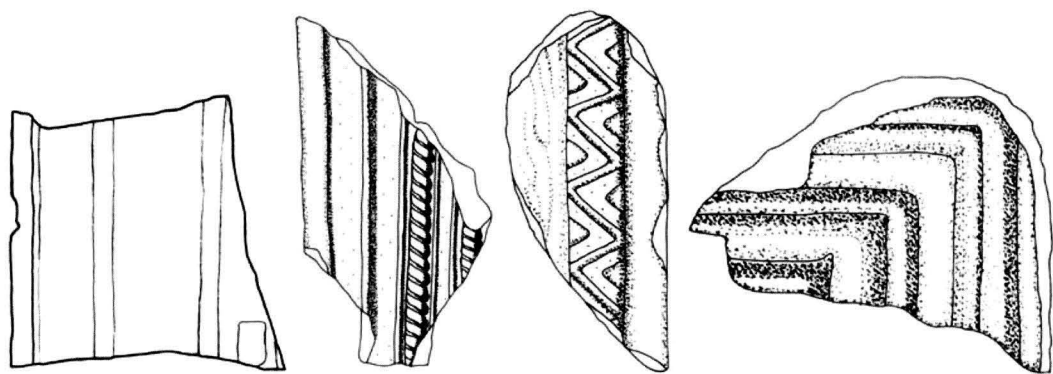


Fig. 36. Stove tile corners, edges, and borders from Râșnov.

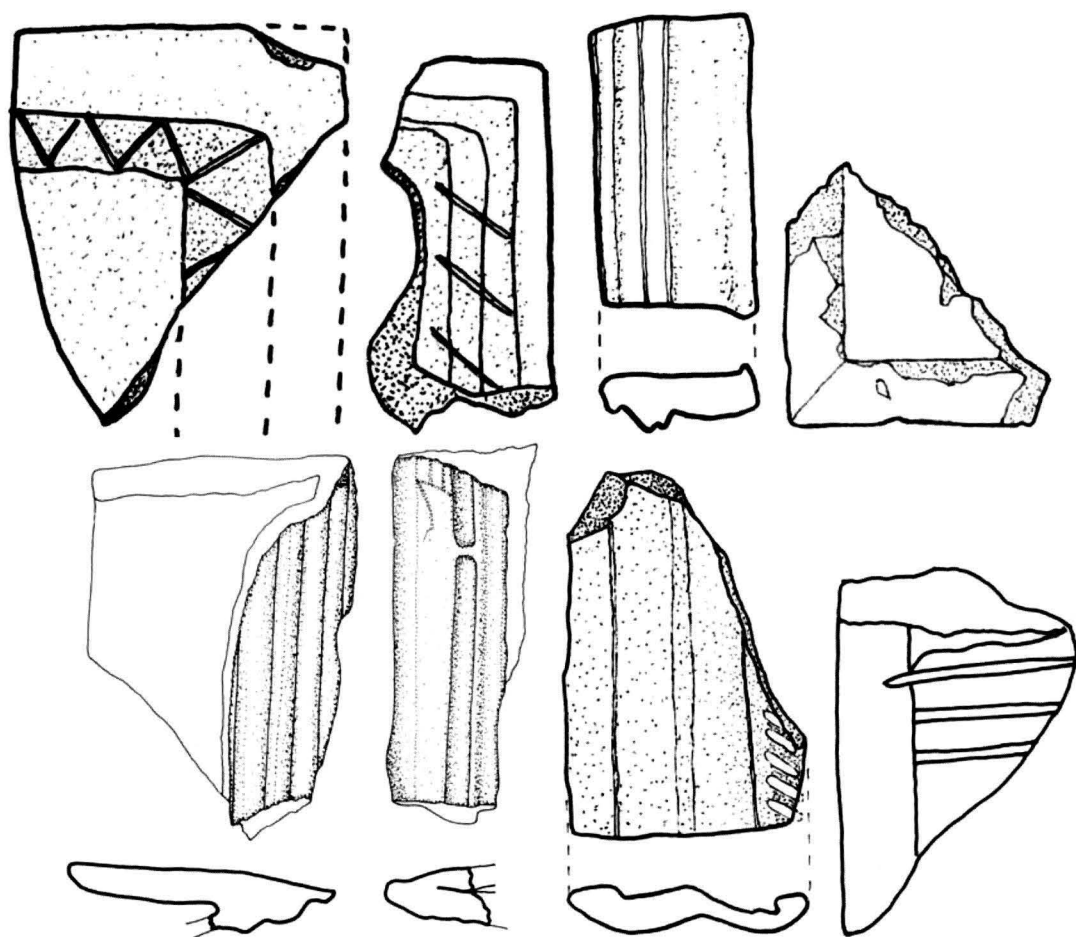


Fig. 37. Tile fragments with geometric decoration discovered in Râșnov.

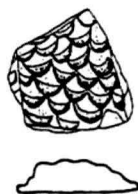


Fig. 38. Scales-like decoration on tile fragment from Râșnov.



Fig. 39. Tile fragment from Râșnov with a depiction of an animal's leg among plants.

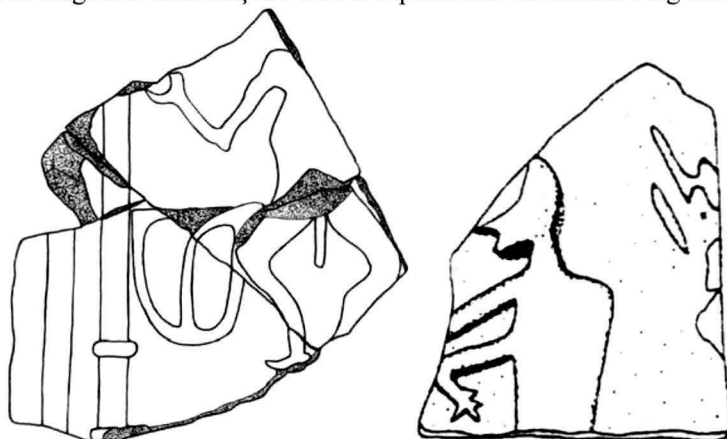


Fig. 40. Characters on tile fragments from Râșnov.

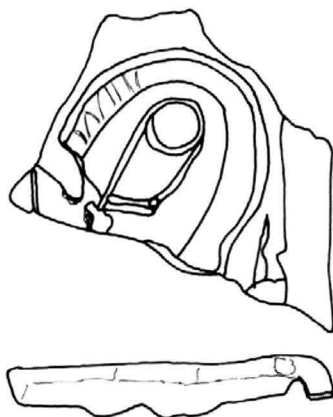


Fig. 41. Unidentified motif on a tile fragment from Râșnov.

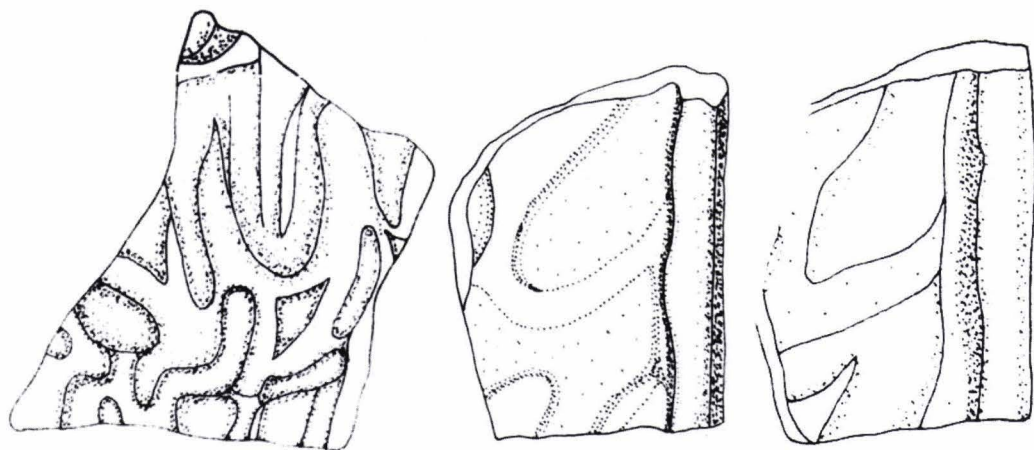


Fig. 42. Unidentified motifs on tile fragments from Râșnov.

NEOCLASSICAL FUNERARY MONUMENTS IN THE LAPIDARIUM OF THE NATIONAL MUSEUM OF TRANSYLVANIAN HISTORY

Abstract: In the lapidarium of the National Museum of Transylvanian History, there are preserved three fragments of neoclassical tombstones, two of which are related through their similar iconographic types, being decorated with the figure of a genius who leans against an urn of ancient inspiration. The fragments were placed in the museum inventory records with the mention of their unknown place of origin or indicating Cluj as their place of origin, but without a precise location. The purpose of this study is the presentation of these three fragments, the identification of their provenance and of their analogies in the Transylvanian funerary sculpture of the beginning of the 19th century.

Keywords: funerary monument, neoclassical, genius, urn, Minorite Church, Cluj.

In the lapidarium of the National Museum of Transylvanian History,¹ there are stored three fragments of neoclassical tombstones, two of which are related through their similar iconographic types, being decorated with the figure of a genius who leans against an urn of ancient inspiration. The fragments were placed in the museum inventory records with the mention of their unknown place of origin or indicating Cluj as their place of origin, but without a precise location. The first information about the monuments may be found in the study written by the historian Lajos Kelemen and dedicated to the former Minorite Church and its funerary monuments.²

From the second half of the eighteenth century on, the former Minorite Church in Cluj³ accommodated, besides the tombs housed in the crypts of the townspeople and the Minorite monks, several other tombstones of the personalities who had supported the church, their circle widening at the beginning nineteenth century, with a series of Armenian merchant families, who, as patrons of the church, found their rest in this church. The burials dated until 1834, when following the spread of cholera in the city, the municipal council forbade burials in the centre of the locality.⁴

On 7 November 1926, the Minorites' Order was compelled to leave Cluj on papal command; thus, the buildings of the church and of the monastery were ceded to the Greek-Catholic Church, while the movable assets, such as the altars, the organ, the library and the archives, were transferred to the Minorite monasteries from Lugoj and

¹ Hereinafter we shall use the abbreviation NMTH.

² Kelemen Lajos, "A volt minorita templom és síremlékei," in *Pásztorút* 1926, 536–538. The new, complete version of the study appeared in 1982: Kelemen Lajos, "A volt minorita templom és síremlékei," in ed. B. Nagy Margit, *Művészettörténeti tanulmányok*, vol. II, Bucharest, 1982, pp. 72–76, 348 (hereinafter: Kelemen, *A volt minorita*). The more recent studies adopted Kelemen's information to a large extent: Sas Péter, "A kolozsvári egykori minorita, majd görög katolikus templom sírfeliratai," in *Lymbus*, 2005, pp. 157–158.; Idem, "Az egykori kolozsvári minorita templom örmény síremlékei," in *Művelődés*, 34; Idem, "A szépek temploma – az egykori kolozsvári minorita templom," in *Szabadság*, 01 March 2012.

³ Today it is the Greek-Catholic Cathedral *The Transfiguration of Christ*.

⁴ Kelemen, *A volt minorita*, p. 73.

Târgu Mureș, two of the altars being transported to the Minorite Church from Aiud.⁵ At the beginning of the twentieth century, there were seven tombstones in the Baroque and neoclassical styles in the Minorite Church, some of these items being donated to the Museum of History in Cluj after the changes from 1926.⁶

The monuments identified by the study are: the pediment of the monument dedicated to Mrs. Simon Vikol, born Kata Daniel (1814), the lower part of the monument dedicated to Ms. Márton Bogdánffy, born Augusta Seifert, and the sculpture of a winged genius coming from the monument of Domokos Simai Jr., the fate of the other monuments, as well as the inscribed parts of the museum items being unclear.⁷

The first of the neoclassical monuments, transported into the lapidarium of the NMTH, is the lower register of a funerary monument representing the figure of a day-dreaming genius, sitting on a cubical seat, with curly hair, fastened with a ribbon, with a typical early nineteenth-century women's hairstyle, with the body partially covered in an ancient-inspired, draped garment. The genius is represented holding an hourglass in his right hand, a symbol of the passage of time, leaning with his left arm against an anchor, the symbol of hope. The scene is completed by the high relief of a funeral urn entwined by a serpent, placed on a high pedestal, richly profiled. The urn is surrounded by a curtain attached with a spherical brooch and decorated with vegetal motifs. The sculptural quality of the monument is inferior to the other monuments from the period, having massive, disproportionate sculptural details, and being carved in sandstone. Lajos Kelemen's study reveals that the monument was originally located on the east side of the nave, close to the entrance, being dedicated to the memory of Mrs. Márton Bogdánffy, born Augusta Seifert, who had died at the age of 24. As described by Kelemen, the monument was originally about 3 metres high, consisting of two registers, an inscribed plaque, decorated with the gilded unified crest of the spouses, while the lower register was dominated by the winged genius figure. The inscription of the monument was incised, with characters painted in black, some parts being golden: *A legjobb nő, anyák egyike, nemes Seifert Augusta rövid élete 24 éveiből hatig nemes Bogdánffy Márton felejtethetlen hitvese.*⁸ (One of the best women and mothers, Augusta Seifert, unforgettable wife of the nobleman Márton Bogdánffy for six years, out of her short life of 24).

The second fragment of a funerary monument is the sculpture of a winged genius leaning on his left knee, with his back bent and his right arm supported by a funeral urn. The genius is a young man, represented with physiognomic features in the classical style, with idealised traits, with a dreamy face, provided with a draped garment that partially covers his body, with curly hair, with strands fastened with a golden ribbon, with a hair-loop coiffure specific of the beginning of the nineteenth century. In his right hand, the genius holds a laurel wreath, the symbol of fulfilled life, in his right hand - an extinguished torch, turned upside down, the symbol of passage into nonexistence. The

⁵ Sabău, Nicolae, *Metamorfoze ale barocului transilvan*, vol. I. Cluj-Napoca, 2002, p. 154, 176.

⁶ Kelemen, *op. cit.*, p. 348.

⁷ Besides the neoclassical fragments, in the lapidarium of the NMTH there is another funerary monument coming from the former Minorite Church, that of General Ignatius of Rosin, belonging to the Baroque style.

⁸ Kelemen, *A volt minorita*, p. 73.

hair ribbon, the lid of the urn and the laurel wreath are gilded. As described by Kelemen, the sculpture of the genius comes from the monument erected in 1835 in memory of Domokos Simai Jr., the prosecutor of Békés County, the judge of several counties, who died at the age 25. This funerary monument was originally placed close to the monument of Mrs. Bogdánffy. The sculpture is part of the lower register of the original composition, the upper register being reserved for the funerary inscription: *NEHAI NEMES IFJABB SIMAI DOMOKOSNAK NEMES BÉKÉS VÁRMEGYE VICEFISKÁLISÁNAK ÉS TÖBB NEMES VÁRMEGYÉK TÁBLABÍRÁJÁNAK ÖRÖK EMLÉKÉRE SZOMORÚAN EMELTÉK ÉDES TESTVÉREI E KÖVET. SZÜLETETT 1810-BE, MEGHALT KOLOZSVÁRON, 1835-BE JAN.19-ÉN*⁹ (This stone was erected in eternal memory of Domokos Simai Jr., Prosecutor of Békés County, Judge of several counties, by his grieving brothers. Born in 1810, died on 19 January 1835, in Cluj).

The third neoclassical fragment is a semi-circular pediment, with a slightly curved surface, carved in Baciú limestone. The lower part of the pediment comprises the monument's moulded canopy, as well as the relief of unified escutcheons inscribed in an oval shield, representing a coat of arms with two palm branches combined with a Greek cross and a crest representing Noah's ark, with the oversized relief of a dove that has an olive branch in its beak. The oval shield is framed by garlands of laurel leaves. The fragment comes from the funerary monument of Mrs. Simon Vikol, born Kata Daniel, achieved after 1814, which was originally on the west side of the church nave, by the entrance. The initial shape of the monument is known to us thanks to Tóth István's drawings, published in Lajos Kelemen's study, consisting of an inscribed rectangular plaque, with the funerary inscription engraved in the centre of a sunken panel, framed by a decorated border, in the upper half, with a series of dentils, a wreath and a pair of fluted consoles decorated with vegetal motifs. The lower register of the monument is decorated with motifs specific to the Empire style, with fluted consoles, garlands, gutti, friezes with geometric motifs and the relief of a skull and bones. The funerary inscription is also specific to the literature from the beginning of the nineteenth century, being dominated by expression formulas typical of Romanticism: *Ha kérded ki van itt / e' földnek porában / a' vagy ki fekszik itt / a holtnak sorában, / daniel katalin / vikol simon párja, / kitől el maradott / egy leánya s fia: / három esztendőket / a' sz: házosságbán, / kilentzven-két napot / töltött egy folytában / s így midőn éltenek / adóját letette, / férje könnyei közt / e' követ emelte / szül. mdccxcii / xv junii / megholt mdcccxiv / iv april*¹⁰ (If you wonder who is lying under the sod, or who is lying in the line of the dead, this is Katalin Daniel, wife of Simon Vikol, who left a daughter and a son. Without interruption, she spent three years and 92 days in holy matrimony, fulfilling all the duties of life. Tear-filled, her husband has erected this (grave) stone for her. Born MDCCXCII / XV June / Passed away MDCCCXIV / IV April.).

From the rich collection of funerary monuments from the former Minorite Church, the lapidarium of the museum also preserves the monument dedicated to General Ignatius of Rosin, achieved in Baroque style in 1774.¹¹ This monument was

⁹ Kelemen, *op. cit.*, pp. 73–74.

¹⁰ Kelemen, *op. cit.*, pp. 75–76.

¹¹ Kelemen, *op. cit.*, pp. 74–75.

originally on the eastern side of the nave, at the southern end, being transported entirely into the museum's collection. On the western side of the nave from the Minorite Church, there were initially three simpler monuments, carved in black marble. Chronologically, the first of these was the tombstone of the young Kata Csáky, the daughter of János Csáky and Mrs Rozália Bethlen, who passed away at the age of 15, in 1794. The second monument was made in memory of Mrs. Miklós Csiszár of Vurpăr, born Rozália Geréb of Araci, who died at the age of 16 because of chickenpox, after 23 days of marriage. The third, carved in limestone or sandstone, was dedicated to Mrs. János Csiki, the mother of eight children, buried in this place with six of her children, in 1814. A drawing of Mrs. János Csiki's monument was published in Kelemen's study: its outlines are those of a different type of neoclassical monument, consisting of a rectangular base, decorated with an extinguished candle and an hourglass, an inscribed trapezoidal plaque, combined with the relief of the spouses' unified crests and a cinerary urn with flames.¹²

The first examples of neoclassical funerary monuments in Transylvania appeared in the early nineteenth century. In contrast with the dramatic Baroque language, dominated by the terrifying idea of death, these early neoclassical monuments present a new outlook on death, perceived as eternal, quiet sleep; they represent dreamy geniuses and supplement these scenes with a series of other elements symbolising the idea of time flowing by (the hourglass and the snake), of Hope (the anchor), or of fulfilled life (the laurel wreath).¹³

The first neoclassical funerary monument from Transylvania, decorated with the figure of the young genius, is found in the Reformed Church from Brâncovenești, in a niche arranged above the side entrance, ordered by Baron János Kemény (son of Simon Kemény III) after 1802, in memory of his young wife, born Ágnes Szentpáli.¹⁴ The monument represents the high relief of the genius, partially covered in a draped garment, leaning with his right arm against a prismatic base, with a socle and a moulded cornice and an inscribed façade, crowned by an urn; in his left hand, he is holding a laurel wreath.

This iconographic type is taken from a series of Transylvanian tombstones from the first four decades of the century. One of the examples of a poorer quality is dedicated to the memory of the Reformed priest János Bálint. The funerary monument is next to the main entrance of the Reformed Church in Alba Iulia, having been commissioned by Zsuzsanna Fürst, his widow, in 1836.¹⁵

¹² Kelemen, *op. cit.*, pp. 75–76.

¹³ Pusztai László, *A szobrászat*, in ed. Szabolcsi, Hedvig–Galavics, Géza, *Művészet Magyarországon 1780–1830*, Budapest, 1980, p. 111. (hereinafter: Pusztai, *A szobrászat*); Honour, Hugh, *Klasszicizmus*, Budapest, 1991, pp. 135–148.; Sabău, Nicolae, "Monumentul funerar transilvan între Renașterea târzie și neoclasicism," in *Caiete de antropologie istorică*, year III (2004), no. 1–2, p. 49. (Sabău, *Monumentul*); Barabás Kisanna, "Adalékok a marosvécsi református templom építés- és berendezéstörténetéhez," in *Korunk*, 2005, pp. 96–100.; Sisa, József, *A magyar klasszicizmus*, Budapest, 2007, pp. 97–99 (Stílusok – korszakok IV.).

¹⁴ Barabás, *op. cit.*, p. 100.

¹⁵ Ibidem; Sisa, *A magyar*, p. 99.

This model spread, of course, throughout Hungary. One of the examples from the Catholic milieu lies in the yard of the Roman-Catholic Church from Csór. The funerary monument is a remarkable work, commissioned by the widow of János Nádas Tersztyánszky, born Katalin Nedéczei Nedeczky, and made by the sculptor József Huber, from Bratislava, between 1831 and 1834. This type adopted the model above, representing the elegant figure of a winged genius, supported by a pedestal decorated with the relief of an urn. Unlike Calvinist examples, in the case above the pedestal was destined to support a stone cross.¹⁶

In yard of the Evangelical Church from Tâlmăciu (Sibiu county), there is the funerary monument of Stephen Samuel of Salmen, made after his death, which occurred on 27 May 1822. The monument is of the same type, having the shape of an aedicule, with a triangular pediment supported by a pair of columns, decorated with a statue of a winged genius that holds an extinguished torch in his right hand and a crown of roses in his left hand, the figure of the genius leaning against a tree trunk.¹⁷

One of the last examples of neoclassical funerary monuments, dominated by the relief of a winged genius, also comes from the Evangelical environment. The epitaph of Martin Haupt lies in the Evangelical Church from Călnic, having been made in 1837. The monument is composed of a lower register, decorated with the relief of the genius, the upper register being reserved for the funerary inscription; the entire composition is crowned by a triangular pediment with corner acroteria, decorated in the pediment field with the relief of a chalice, a cross and an anchor, symbolising the three virtues of Christianity. The scene is completed with the relief of an hourglass, a symbol of fleeting time.¹⁸

Another interesting iconographic type is found today in the choir of the Franciscan Church from Cluj. The funerary plaque was built after 1821, in memory of Ádám Henter of Sântionlunca, having been commissioned by Mrs. Anna Hammel, the deceased man's aunt and the widow of József Mostits of Weidenfeld. The plaque consists of the funerary inscription and a curved pediment, separated by a moulded cornice. The reliefs of the pediment represent the flat relief of a sarcophagus in the background, the late man's a coat of arm on an oval shield supported by the long side of the sarcophagus, framed by a wreath of laurel leaves and flanked by the figures of a bowing woman mourner and of a genius. The female figure is dressed in a long, draped robe, with short sleeves, fastened around the waist with a band, having her head covered with a veil, and a handkerchief in her right hand. The genius appears as a semi-nude young man, of smaller size, with his waist and right shoulder covered with a long robe, holding a downward torch in his left hand. The scene represents the crowning of the female figure with a laurel wreath, symbolising the fulfilled life of the deceased man. This type of representation was certainly adopted, with certain modifications, from the funerary monument of Count Sámuel Gyulai Jr. of Mintia and his 21 month-old child, commissioned by his widow, Baroness Borbála Bornemisza of Cașin in 1794, which

¹⁶ Pusztai, László, *Huber József szobrász élete és művei*, in ed. Zádor, Anna-Szabolcsi, Hedvig, *Művészet és Felvilágosodás*, Budapest., 1978, pp. 515-543.; Pusztai, *A szobrászat*, p. 111.

Sisa, op. cit. pp. 97-98.

¹⁷ Sabău, *Monumentul*, pp. 51-52.

¹⁸ Sabău, op. cit., pp 50-51.

located inside in the Franciscan Church from Cluj.¹⁹ While the ungainliness of the Henter monument denotes a mediocre sculptor, this latter monument is a work of outstanding quality, coming, in all likelihood, from the workshop of one of the famous stonemasons of the time. It is equipped with a curved pediment, decorated with the relief of a sarcophagus in the background, while in the foreground, in the centre, there is the crest of the deceased, flanked by the figure of a mourner, the figure of Chronos cutting a rose with a sickle and a bubble-blowing baby, one of the well-known *memento mori* themes of Baroque art. The artistic decoration of the monument is inspired by Baroque, the inscribed plaque being framed by a border decorated with motifs characteristic of the neoclassical style. One of the early analogies of the Gyulai monument dates from 1795, being found in St. Michael's Parish Church in Cluj, on the western side of the nave, near the main entrance. The funerary monument of Baroness Rozália Kemény of Mănăstireni was commissioned by her husband, Elek Cserei, inspector of the salt mines from Transylvania, assessor of the King's Bench. The funerary monument is an accurate rendition of the type above, similarly composed of three registers, the high, prismatic socle, and the engraved field, crowned by a semi-circular pediment. The decoration of the pediment is a simplified version of the decoration from the Gyulai monument, the central motif of the scene being the sarcophagus relief in the background, on whose lid is placed a skull and an urn shaped like a flattened sphere, decorated with garlands. In front of the coffin, in the centre, there is the defunct person's coat of arms, in an oval shield, framed by a wreath of laurel leaves, over which the kneeling figure of a woman mourner is bent, dressed in a long, draped robe, with her head partially covered with a veil, raising, with her right hand, a long scarf to her face to wipe her tears.²⁰

In parallel with the above types, simple neoclassical funerary monuments also spread, being composed of three registers, with a moulded base, an inscribed plaque and a semi-circular pediment decorated with the dead person's coat of arms in a circular or oval shield, framed by a wreath of laurel leaves. The first example of this model is the funerary monument of Baron Ferenc Huszár of Cuișd, a student of the Royal High School in Cluj, who died of chickenpox at the age of 27; this monument is located in the Franciscan Church from Cluj, having also influenced the monument of Mrs. Simon Vikol from 1814.²¹

The three fragments of neoclassical funerary monuments from the lapidarium of the NMTH, originating from the former Minorite Church in the city, fall into the category of late neoclassical monuments, their quality being much lower than that of the monuments from the Franciscan Church due to the rougher material in which they were carved, two of them being made from sandstone, but certainly also due to lesser financial possibilities of those who commissioned them, since they belonged to the circle of tradesmen who had settled in the city. The above-mentioned monuments illustrate the popularisation of new trends, such as the permeation of the neoclassical style among the urban bourgeoisie, after having most certainly appeared initially in smaller, typically

¹⁹ Sabău, *op. cit.*, pp. 64.

²⁰ Sabău 2004, pp. 62–63, fig. 22.

²¹ Kelemen, *A volt minorita*, pp. 75–76.

aristocratic milieu. Despite the fact that the three fragments of the former Minorite Church are not among the most remarkable works of this kind from that period, their importance resides in the fact that they represent the testimony of an interesting phenomenon in the city's history, namely, the settlement and development of a strong layer of Armenian tradesmen in the late eighteenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth, who, in time, established close relations with the Minorite Church of the city.

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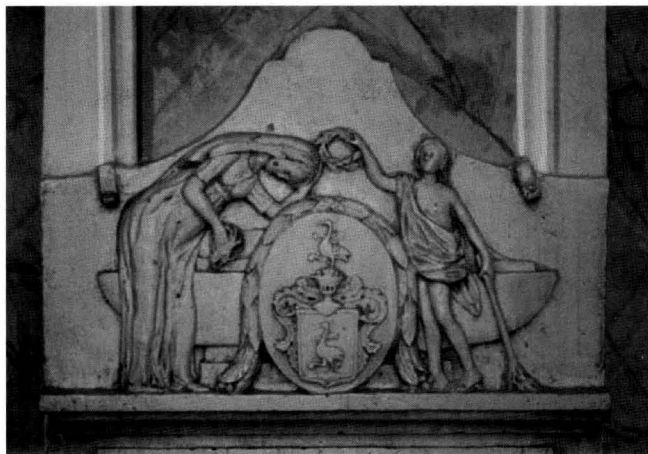
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TOBIAS MAUKSCH: *INSTRUCTIO*

Abstract: Tobias Mauksch (1727-1802) bought in 1752 the oldest pharmacy in Cluj, founded in 1573, from his uncle, Samuel Schwartz's widow. Nowadays it is the Museum of Pharmacy History.

He married twice and had 9 children from each marriage. His son Johann Martin Mauksch (1783-1817) born from his second marriage. He bought for his son in 1790 a pharmacy in Târgu Mureş, and named it *Aranyszarvas* (The Golden Deer) to take over when he would be adult and have pharmacist diploma.

He wrote for his 11 years old Johann Martin in 1793 the famous *Instructio* in German, frequently pointed out in literature. This Instruction was also intended for the employees (in parenthesis the name in German): manager (Provisor), assistant (Gesellan), probationer (Jung) and assistant chemist (Stosser). Dr. Iuliu Orient, as pharmacist and physician, translated it in 1918 from German into Hungarian, being also helped by Arthur Wagner, as pharmacist and from Hungarian into Romanian by me.

Tobias Mauksch describes each employee's tasks and obligation in *Instructio*.

He gives instructions how to cash, keeping also a cash book. At the same time the pharmacy had to have an expenditure book, a book with pharmacy's debtors (the drugs were sold also on credit) and a book with domestic and imported supply of merchandise. It describes the method of storing the merchandise in the basement and in the attic. It also indicates the fire fighting measures. It enumerates the towns from where good and cheap merchandise can be supplied. The pharmacy and the house nearby had to be supplied with paper, bottles, fire wood, coal and candles. The oxen or horse wagon was the transportation means (even from Vienna).

Tobias Mauksch explains how his son and the other employees shall behave with diplomats, physicians and simple citizens. He recommends his son shall marry with a German, Evangelic girl. He draws him attention not to make friends with drinkers or doubtful morality. He often draws attention that everybody shall be economical.

Keywords: 1793, instructions for an 11-year old child, pharmacy in Târgu Mureş

In 1752, Tobias Mauksch (1727-1802) bought the oldest pharmacy in Cluj, founded in 1573, from the widow of his uncle Samuel Schwartz. Today it is the History of Pharmacy Museum [3].¹

He married twice, both marriages resulting in 9 children each. His son Johann Martin Mauksch (1783-1817) was born from the second marriage. For him he purchased a pharmacy in Târgu Mureş in 1790, giving it the name of *Aranyszarvas* (The Golden Stag), so that Johann would take it over when he was an adult and had a degree in pharmacy.

In 1793, he wrote the famous *Instructio* in German for his eleven-year old son Johann Martin, frequently mentioned in the specialised literature. This *Instructio* was also destined to the employees (in brackets, the name in German): administrator (Provisor), assistant (Gesellan), apprentice (Jung) and lab technician (Stosser). From German it was translated into Hungarian in 1918 by Dr. Iuliu Orient, a pharmacist and a physician, helped by the pharmacist Arthur Wagner, and from Hungarian into Romanian by me.

In *Instructio*, Tobias Mauksch describes the duties and responsibilities of each employee.

¹ See the Bibliography at the end.

Here is how Iuliu Orient describes how he came into possession of *Instructio* in 1918 [1]: “Years ago, I accidentally came across the *Instructio*. A former student of mine, who was employed at a pharmacy in Târgu Mureş, told me that during the renovation of the pharmacy, some of the old equipment and the obsolete documents were put into a cart to be taken to the town dump. During the transportation, a book fell from this cart, and he sent it to me. Surprise: this book was “Pharmaceutical *Instructio*” written in German by Tobias Mauksch in 1793. In translating *Instructio* from German to Hungarian the pharmacist, Mr. Arthur Wagner, has been very helpful, and I must thank him this way.”

Instructio was written for his son Johann Martin, for whom he purchased a pharmacy in Târgu Mureş (until his adulthood, it was owned by his father). Tobias Mauksch gives more than pharmaceutical instructions; he also provides crucial information about the lifestyle of a wealthy bourgeois family of Transylvanian Saxons at the end of the eighteenth century, about their outlook on life, their moral position and their practical style of activity.

INSTRUCTIO

After my death, the pharmacy in Târgu Mureş shall be run by an administrator, then, at the right moment, by my beloved son *Johann Martin Mauksch*. My orders and instructions shall be strictly implemented, because I have not written them in vain or out of boredom, but inspired by the love of God with great care and experience, for his benefit.

Signature: Senator Tobias Mauksch, privileged pharmacist in Cluj and private pharmacist in Târgu Mureş. September 1793.

Besides this, I have also written a notebook for the pharmacy in Cluj, regarding the manner of supplying it with indigenous and imported specialties, so that you may be economical.

Preface

In the Preface, Tobias Mauksch describes how he got into possession of the pharmacy in Târgu Mureş. Since the pharmacy was in a state of bankruptcy, with many debts, because of an incompetent administrator, Mátyás Wladar, he bought it on 11 May 1790 for 4,800 forints. He paid the debts of the pharmacy, hired a skilled administrator, with whom, in three years of activity, he obtained a nice profit. Also in May 1790, Tobias Mauksch became a citizen of Târgu Mureş.

After buying the pharmacy, he hired János Botz to collect the money from debtors, and gave him 30% of the money collected, over 2,000 forints.

Tobias Mauksch: in what follows, I shall provide my relatives with complete guidance, so that they may orientate themselves easily when the right time arrives.

1. About running the pharmacy in Târgu Mureş

Running the pharmacy located in Târgu Mureş shall be done in the following manner from Cluj:

- the pharmacy shall stay in one place and shall be sold only in case of force majeure

- an experienced administrator (Provisor), who speaks the Hungarian language, shall be hired.
- likewise, a good and skilled assistant (Gesellan), a Hungarian-speaking apprentice (Jung) and a loyal, diligent and lucid-minded lab technician (Stosser) shall be needed.
- the pharmacy shall always be stocked with indigenous and imported merchandise, to avoid dysfunctionality.
- a twice-monthly review shall be made to determine the exact situation of the receipts and expenditures. Also, tabs should be kept on expenditure concerning the residence and the pharmacy.
- at any major change, for example, in the case of my death, the division of inheritance, the employment or departure of the administrator, accurate inventories shall be made.
- an accurate record shall be kept of all the receipts and expenditures, as well as of the indigenous and imported goods. I want to write about each and every aspect.
- the measures taken by me are also valid for the pharmacy in Cluj.

2. *On the pharmacy from Târgu Mureş in general and in particular*

- because this pharmacy, like that in Cluj, is a treasure for us, it requires special attention and good management.
- because the pharmacy is located on a very good commercial venue, it shall not be moved either now or after my death. For any change, the lease agreement for the building and the pharmacy made with *Gróf* (count - translator's note) István Tholdalagi shall be taken into account.

The annual rent for 5 rooms and housing:

- the pharmacy chamber (dispensary or officinum - translator's note), the housing, the laboratory, the small room, the material storage room, the cellar, the attic for the plants, the drying attic, the wood and coal shed, Secretum (OO) in the courtyard, communal kitchen, which is suitable for grinding the materials in the mortar, the free courtyard, where the various goods can be stored upon arrival.
- these rooms are not very big, but they are so comfortable that you could not live in better conditions even in your own home. And if in the future my son marries and would like to live there, he could use the two rear rooms - which currently do not belong to us - and the kitchen, where the mortar is.
- the lease contract starts in June and ends in late May.

The annual rent is 173 Rh.fr. 20 kr., or 208 forints.

NB. The rent shall be paid annually against two receipts, and shall be paid by deducting the deposit, the pharmacy account and other expenses.

- so that we may use some things more quickly, all the smaller repairs, the windows, floor, Secretum (latrine), wood shed, etc., we shall pay for them, so that we shall not inconvenience the Gróf with every trifle. However, repairing the roof and such great works shall be taken care of by the Gróf. But if moving house, all we have done and bought, we shall take with us.
- the roof of the two rooms in the rear shall be repaired by the Gróf, so that the medicinal plants shall not be kept wet.

- because the house of the Gróf is a noble free Curia, the Magistracy shall have nothing to do with it. But because I would like not to have hostile relations with the Magistracy, and if they should ever require tax, we should not refuse to pay this.

3. On the administrator and his obligations

- we must strive to seek an experienced administrator who speaks good Hungarian well, is intelligent and worthy, of an appropriate age, who does not drink and is not a womaniser, avoids the company of frivolous persons, is talkative, presentable and suggests confidence. These qualities I also demand of my son.

- in addition, he must be loyal and honest. Both towards those of high rank and the ordinary people, towards the rich and the poor, he should act in a modest and friendly manner, and assist them quickly and pedantically. And if he or the employees commit a mistake, he should solve it with the utmost attention.

- the correspondence with Cluj shall be made twice a month (between 3-16 and 16-30) precisely; on this occasion, the exact receipts, the expenses related to the housing and the pharmacy, and the remaining proceeds shall be communicated.

- he may retain the monthly amount of 50 forints for any higher costs, for the supplies, etc.

- he shall report any major change (e.g. the food of the assistant, the apprentice and the lab technician, or that related to the Gróf, etc.) so that if the administrator should be changed, we may have a clear situation.

4. On receipts or the pharmacy retail

He gives guidance on the procedure.

The situation of the account books from the cash register

- if he empties the cash box every fifth day - in the presence of the assistant because both the administrator and the assistant have a key - after counting money, the amount shall be written down, in the presence of the assistant, in the cash register, but also in the administrator's register. The proceeds from the current year, which were recorded after last month, shall be mentioned in the minutes.

The cash record

- he shall report twice monthly on those written above. He shall highlight the expenditures for the pharmacy and for the household. The difference in money, should it arise, shall be send to Cluj, for which he will receive a receipt, in which the amount shall be entered in numbers and letters.

The book of the pharmacy costs. The book of the household expenses. Filling in the book of debts.

- it is compulsory to record everything in the right book, what is bought for the pharmacy (in the pharmacy book), what is bought for the household (in the respective book).

- medication given on loan or credit shall always be kept tabs on by the employees.

The book of merchandise

- the pharmacy shall have a record book for the merchandise coming from Vienna, Cluj, or indigenous and imported, allowing for their inventory to be kept. This is necessary so that he may be informed whenever of the quantity of goods sold, which helps to determine the quantity of each item he needs on a new order.

The book of connotation. Elaborations (Elaboratume) and products (Productume).

- a record shall be kept of elaborations and products, with the quantities made of each. From this book one may find the necessary quantity of each product, which is very helpful in the future and does not require a special effort. For example, if I prepare *Syrupus violarum* or *Unguentum populeonis*, and if this is not enough, next time I will know how much to prepare.

Between the pharmacist, the administrator and the employees and, in the future, my Son, there is no room for familiarity, if no note is taken of my warning, you will regret it when it is too late.

- the pharmacist, or the administrator (Provisor) or the employed pharmacist (Subject), also the apprentice pharmacist shall be polite, without exception, whether to nobles or to simple men; however, they should not be too friendly towards anyone or too confident, because most people abuse such relations. If we refuse something, it ends the friendship, and anger, revenge, envy crop up. Therefore, be friendly and honest with everyone, but never too confidential, because you will be sorry when it is already too late.

This entire article shall be complied with exactly.

So you will need to be friendly with everyone, but confidential to nobody. Especially you shall not lend money to strangers.

The administrator and his subordinates must get used to cleanliness and punctuality. Avoid laziness, lazy friends. And you, my beloved Son, show a positive example to your people, because it is certain that nowhere will you feel better than in your own pharmacy and near your wife. Take care of all, put the money in a safe place and do not play cards.

- the administrator himself, especially his subordinates, the apprentice, lab technician or caregiver shall work continuously. He shall accustom them to punctuality, clear-mindedness and correct thinking, because laziness is the beginning of all evil. Instead, he shall maintain his authority, treat his subordinates well and nicely, but never be confidential with them. He shall avoid nocturnal carousing and the company of indecent men.

- on hiring a new administrator, everything must be inventoried and when he leaves, the new administrator must be entrusted with the same inventory, which also helps with the supplies. The old and the new administrator had better make an inventory, but each separately. These inventories should also be attended by the assistant or the apprentice. The assistant shall be careful so that everything is recorded correctly (see chap. Inventory).

- after finishing the inventory, the departing administrator shall make an excerpt with the credits in both books. The recipes given on credit shall be kept carefully for any further justification.

The protocol of the two debts, or the book of claims.

- *the inventory made by the old administrator*
- *a statement of the money from receipts and payments*
- *the book of pharmaceutical manualities and prescriptions*
- *the pharmacy expenses, and the retail selling*
- *the book of elaborations and products*
- *the book on imported medicinal substances*
- *instructions given by me*
- *the small record of receipts and expenses*

- all these documents shall be handed over by the administrator and under no circumstances shall he leave with any of them. Since not everything can be checked, only the most important ones should be verified: *Saccharum album et candis, papir* (paper), *Spiritus vini et rectificati, Mel., Cera alba et citrina, Amylum, et in toto, Sarsap. Fol. Sennae, Manna, Cinnab. fact., Herbar and aquar*, then the attic with the drugs, the amount of *ficilie, Axungia porci, Mercur. Viv., Ol. Bergamotti, Thymi, Lavendulae, Bals. Indic., Laudanum liquid, Ambra, Croci, Macis*. NB. *Moschae, Caryophyll.* An exact record must be kept of the glasses, zinc pitchers, bedding, without forgetting anything.

Note. The administrator from Târgu Mureş has instructions, and in all cases he shall be guided by them, leave them to his successor, and in no way take them with him.

- the administrator from Târgu Mureş has been given instructions written by me, with a cover, by which he can guide himself on any occasion and can obtain advice.

The situation of missing goods shall be sent to Cluj.

- the extract with the missing goods shall be sent to Cluj in time, if they have to be brought from Vienna or imported, we shall bring them together with those for Cluj. For example, the paper that is not found in Târgu Mureş.

If you, my dear Son, take over the pharmacy, you will keep correspondence with the medicine dealers in Vienna - the Materialists, with a confirmation signature, in the same way you will send the money too. You shall put the letters in the book of correspondence, and take care of the receipts, so they are properly prepared, otherwise you will incur damage. You shall not pay more than 3-400 Rhf once and write to the Materialists, if you do not have the opportunity to pay earlier, asking them to wait until the spring, or until the Armenians come, you will send the money with them. If they do not like this or - God forbid - the money is lost, say you will pay only half. You must say nothing to the postman, perhaps only that there are important documents in the envelope.

- the correspondence with Vienna and the merchandise from there are not the administrator's business there, but he must keep the *defectura* (the situation of the missing goods - translator's note) drafted by him, and he shall order the goods from Cluj. The administrator does not need to know the value of the goods. But if the value of the goods increases or decreases, the administrator must be notified. For example, the paper price, he must orient himself compared to the local price, lest he should drive the customers away.

- with physicians and surgeons there or anywhere you have to behave nicely and in a friendly manner, sometimes you may visit them, otherwise they will hold enmity. Take

care of New Year's gifts, give them sugar or coffee, but if they write few prescriptions, then give them a box of smokers, or a box of *Trochisci benedicti*. To the physicians you should give free drugs for their own use, but make a note what you gave to whom.

The administrator shall be reserved about the internal and external problems of the pharmacy.

- lest he should have problems with the physicians and the surgeons, the administrator must keep silent about the internal and external problems of the pharmacy. He should not be worried about the treatments, but execute the guidelines. On serving patients, he should be careful not to give advice to the patients lest he should commit some mistakes. For example, medicine containing mercury or arsenic may be released only on the basis of a prescription.

The administrator must not have a separate home, but always live in a room near the pharmacy, and live with a pharmacist employee (Subject).

- *the administrator's home, in winter and summer, shall be in the room next to the pharmacy, together with the assistant and the apprentice.* The room in the back shall be in no case arranged, otherwise committing sins would be the order of the day. If they had a separate room, they would sleep until 9 am, and would waste firewood and light, bringing over all sorts of guests, they would have many occasions for drunkenness, gambling and carousing. If these things are also noticed with the assistant, the apprentice, the lab technician, he must endeavour to stop them.

- the administrator shall, in due time, ensure that there is firewood, charcoal and light, make inexpensive purchases, so they will never be lacking.

- in the same way, he shall get cheap bottles, paper, starch, wax, honey, pork lard (for making ointments - translator's note), NB. *Flor. Radic. Seminae*, etc., all these at the cheapest price and pay for them on the spot.

- so that I may have an experienced and skilled administrator, I have decided to make a contract with him, whereby he shall have a salary of 300 Rhf. The administrator must instead earn it and recuperate it: he must be good at everything and keep everything in order. He must strive to avoid any inconveniences. He must strive to increase the revenues from 3,905 in 1792 to 4,000, which is easily obtainable if he is diligent, and courteous and polite to the people. *If he raises the sales to over 4,000, then he will receive 10% from the boss*, but will not receive anything from the annual credits, as he receives for this a nice salary and meals, prizes and all comfort. If an administrator's salary is over 500, then he earns more than a pharmacist in Mediaș, Reghin or even Sibiu.

On the administrator's leaving and on hiring a new administrator, one of our directors shall be there, check the inventory, especially if the old administrator was not conscientious. For someone to be a good administrator, it also depends on how we educate him.

- we shall talk about the rest, but as for his underwear, he shall buy it himself.
- before the administrator leaves, he shall give notice three months in advance and may not leave until the new administrator begins service.

In such cases one of my directors must be present, so that we may take over everything from him and hand it over to the new administrator.

- because at this short notice, in three months, one cannot find a capable administrator, secretly, without anyone knowing about this, the man shall write to some trusted pharmacists in Miskolcz, Rozsnyó (Râșnov - translator's note), Debrecen, Pécs, Pozsony (now Bratislava - translator's note), Krakow and Budapest, and ask them to recommend a Hungarian-speaking administrator of the reformed religion, mentioning the demands for the salary and road expenses. We must mention to these gentlemen that they should recommend to us the most reliable ones because especially distinguished men live in Târgu Mureș. The letters should be sent free of charge and the expenses must be paid for.

- the administrator's conduct shall be kept an eye on, lest he should work for himself, and after a while disappear, as the administrator Eördögh did, or as it happened with slick Wollmann, who having just arrived, went back to Reghin on foot the next day and wanted to chase away Bransch, who lived there, causing us trouble. But he did not succeed, because he was recognised everywhere. They both believed that their conduct would cause my dislike of the profession of pharmacist and hand them over the pharmacy, otherwise I would remain without an administrator after three months. Instead, I was not scared because within 2-3 days of their departure, the new administrator came, so after Eördögh came Wollmann and after him the current Max, then Hönsch, and after Hönsch came Mr. Roll.

On the true administrator Hönsch.

- In Kassa (present-day Košice - translator's note) he had many sins; I on the one hand, because of constraint, and on other hand, because I received good references and he was skilful, received from Winkler of Bródi, I accepted him hoping that he was no longer young, would avoid sins, would come round and be of loyal service to me. At first you must be very careful how he behaves, if he is in order with the reports and receipts, if he chases women, if he is not in a vicious society, if he does not drink or play cards and sends money regularly. You must be very careful lest he should want to get hired as an administrator elsewhere. But he will not find a position as an administrator, like the one in Târgu Mureș, where he receives a salary of 300 Rhf.

To his misfortune, after three years, Hönsch returned again to Bródi, where he was in trouble again. *If we did not find another administrator, we should hire him again, perhaps he would get serious in old age.* Roll the administrator lives with a miserable slut, originating in Tálya, without being married to her. This would have soon caused me great loss, according to the inventories.

- I believe that he will not leave here soon. Therefore, if he stays until my dear Son works in the pharmacy, he will keep him until the end of life and will give him a pension of 150 Rhf. He will keep beside him a useful and diligent boy, who will be respected and remain as an administrator and receive 200 Rhf or as negotiated, until my Son gets to know the surroundings of Târgu Mureș.

- but if the administrator should want to leave, you should search for another in due time, in the surroundings or from me, a man who is diligent, educated and skilled.

- the relationship between my Son and the administrator must be maintained through constant correspondence, and every other month, with the collection documents,

he must show the revenues to my beloved wife and my dear children, to whom he will show great respect.

- the administrator is obliged to make an inventory, just like to our satisfaction, Mr. Eördögh and Hönsch did too. If you find that the administrator is not honest, does not communicate accurately the money from receipts and expenditures, or exchanges the goods, especially when he wants to start a business, then you must not give him a certificate and if you nonetheless gave him one, then make a complaint to the council he belongs too, or to the rest of the pharmacists and demand satisfaction, but only if you can prove that he is a philanderer, a sloth or a thief.

Charging rules.

- the taxation of the prescriptions shall be at the price set by us, because then he cannot be punished. As regards the dyes, paper, etc., the established prices shall be used, but he can also guide himself after the prices of other retailers. See the orders established in this sense in Vienna.

- Prepare the least amount of a compound, which will remain fresh only for a limited time or will hardly be required. *Do not waste simpliciates, use little of them.*

He shall recover the debts conscientiously and diligently.

- just like an administrator takes care of claims and taxes, he shall also keep a record of the debts. He shall use every opportunity to recover them, because a pharmacy can be emptied more quickly than debts can be recovered. See debt recovery.

The administrator as a family father and a patriot.

- because the administrator in Târgu Mureş features as a patriot and a family father, he shall strive so that everything is in order and shall supply the house with everything that is needed.

Important reminder and saving about an apprentice, or an assistant, employed in the fifth year.

- an administrator can save a lot if a good bloke is hired as an assistant, if he teaches him everything in 5-6 years.

- *the decrease of claims and debts (both to the pharmacy - translator's note) see the fol. 8 paragraph 10.*

- already both in drafting the annual statement of claims and on the departure of the administrator, it will be ascertained to what extent they have been paid and what are the outstanding claims. Because the report is made on a monthly basis, one may easily know what quantity was given, from whom to whom, during the time of which administrator.

Important knowledge for how to avoid loans. It is not advisable to go to the country because the officials who live there have no money and do not pay. It is better to send letters to speed up the payment of debts.

- when smaller loans are requested, you shall not give medicine away, arguing that for such trifles records are not commonly kept.

- every third or fourth week, a full statement of the debts to be recovered shall be made, after the list of streets, addresses or messages should be sent to the villages, or if this method is unsuccessful, they should be recovered on a legal basis.

5. *On the Subject pharmacist or the assistant in Târgu Mureş.*

- so that the pharmacy in Târgu Mureş may have great sales, especially if the royal court convenes, a good assistant shall be hired, one who is resourceful, a connoisseur of the Hungarian language, a reliable and accurate help for the administrator.

- he should have a pleasant morality for God and men alike, be honest, humble and have an appropriate behaviour, and live like a good Christian.

- like the administrator, and all people, the pharmacy assistant should have fear of God, know that God sees and hears everything, rewards good deeds and punishes bad ones.

He should always be diligent and avoid laziness.

- with the dignitaries and the ordinary people he should be equally modest and friendly, he should not upset the poor and ordinary people, what they do not understand he should explain, not sell damaged goods, only proper goods, and always under the tax. See the tax of Württemberg whence I took my inspiration. He should not put flies or worms in bottles with medication. The jars with solutions, mixtures and syrups shall be covered and kept in their place. He should note down immediately what he gives on loan. He should prepare the recipes immediately and not postpone them until the next day.

- in the morning the assistant should get up on the hour, at 5 o'clock in summer, at 6 in winter, not when he is woken up. Until people come to the pharmacy, he should pray, then he must be ready for work. In the evening he should go to bed at 9 o'clock, no later than 10, and if an acquaintance should come by, he must say that it is during sleep time.

- the assistant should avoid any game in which he can lose money, both by day and by night. If there are two assistants, then both in elaborations and in serving patients they must help each other, so that everything is done accurately and quickly, and if they do not know something, they may consult each other.

- the assistants shall not argue among themselves and with the apprentices. The administrators shall teach them to be honest, alert them on their obligations, but never be confidential with them, maintain their prestige and set them a good example.

- if an assistant has a problem or wants to say something, let him relate these seriously, but if he is rude, then he will be treated accordingly.

I sent to Târgu Mureş a tax from Württemberg. The annual salary of an assistant in Târgu Mureş is 80-100 Rhf.

- if he behaves well, his pay will increase every three years by 10 Rhf. On New Year's he will receive half a souvenir (probably half the salary - Orient translator's note), if he has an excellent behaviour, the present can be increased to 2 ducats. Travel expenses are to be reimbursed.

How to take care of two assistants and how you can become convinced of their honesty.

- if there is no apprentice and the pharmacy requires the keeping of two assistants, then the latest hired employee will always be the older one's subaltern and according to his conduct, he will receive a salary of 70-80-100 Rhf and will receive the education of the older one. Afterwards they should both be monitored if they are honest,

the administrator also having to be careful as their boss and if one of my directors were to go there, he should be informed.

Important notes to avoid damage.

- the assistant has the role of controlling the administrator and the administrator has the role of controlling the assistant. The assistant shall monitor the administrator's loyalty, and if he commits something, does not work honestly with the money, then the assistant will make a report without anyone knowing, and if one of my directors goes there, he will pretend that he has heard this from a stranger and wants to prevent other similar cases. But if he fails, he will look for another person and eliminate the thief.

How to proceed with an assistant who is a useless drunkard.

- an assistant who is wicked, stupid, clumsy, lazy and slick shall first be held accountable, and if that does not help, he shall be dismissed and another assistant will be hired, who is good and honest, speaking Hungarian too.

- the pharmacy in Târgu Mureş shall never be left without an assistant, because if the administrator is sick or leaves, an assistant or an apprentice should be there.

The assistant's fun with other young people.

- because even an assistant must have fun, let him make friends with a scribe, with students, and with 2-3 friends, he will not get bored. They in turn must be trustworthy, behave flawlessly, and if they come to the pharmacy, they should not be loud, but mostly avoid women revellers.

- if an assistant leaves or is dismissed, a trained and trusted apprentice must be sent over, so that the pharmacy may still function.

- the assistant shall have food, drink and accommodation. Every fifth day, when the cash box is emptied, the assistant is required to assist in counting the money, then he and the administrator must enter the amount in the cash box book, and administrator also in his book.

The administrator shall take care of the assistant and watch out lest he should commit any mistake.

- the assistant shall beware of any error, mistake or confusion, everything should run well, fast, cleanly and precisely. During work nothing should disturb him, everything should be checked 2-3 times, so that he may always be sure a disaster does not happen or is held accountable. A pharmacist needs to talk to the people because he cannot let them stand like a piece of wood, so that when they do their job they are not in the wrong.

The assistant's resignation and dismissal.

- If the assistant wants to leave or we dismiss him, a three months' notice is required. But if it turns out that he is a thief, he can be immediately dismissed so as not to cause further damage, and we will not recommend him to someone else.

When can an assistantship be given to an apprentice, provided they execute things precisely, well and responsibly.

- if an apprentice is reliable and has sufficient years of training, he may do without an assistant and his duties may be performed by the apprentice, but soon a new apprentice has to be hired, who must also be trained in Târgu Mureş.

6. On the apprentice pharmacist.

What qualities must a well-educated boy have.

- A good guy, a skilled, Hungarian-speaking, loyal and lively boy is the right hand of his boss or administrator. Besides, he must be a modest, diligent and careful student, because if he malicious, disloyal, or possibly a thief, then you had better do without him.

- for shipments, debt collection and other courier tasks, you always need a reliable person and for that you need a foreigner rather than anyone in town. The apprentice should come from good parents, have a proper education. It is best if we send a well-known apprentice from Cluj to Târgu Mureş.

Better to have a foreigner than a local.

- it is not advisable to hire a local boy, for he is inclined to evil, careless behaviour and is influenced by others. If, however, he seems to be loyal and obedient, he can receive underwear and clothing, so that he will not resort to theft. For that *he must learn for 6 years* and if he behaves well, on release he will receive a prize of 30 Rhf, from which can buy a festive costume.

In all cases, apprenticeship may be reduced to four years.

- If the apprentice comes from good parents and you can use him shortly, and he buys clothes, then his apprenticeship will be only 4 or 5 years, but then he will not receive a festive costume.

You must be very careful about the apprentice, since the young man does not pay attention to certain things.

- If bad habits come out quickly in the case of a boy, which will increase with age, his treatment is more dangerous and sensitive. He may end up in a vicious circle of friends, so we must be careful lest he should befriend women revellers, he should not have any connection with them. He should not get mixed up in financial trouble, and if sent somewhere, he should not be absent for long, especially during the meal or the service in church. In the morning, before the administrator or the assistant gets up, or at night, when they are asleep, he might steal, so everything should be hidden away, and if he is suspected, things should be done in such a way as he will be afraid.

The contract with the apprentice.

- the apprentice's obligations are in the order found on the last page of the Württemberg tax, which must be explained to the apprentices.

- if an apprentice should flee for no reason, then he should be caught and punished accordingly.

- if an apprentice in Târgu Mureş is incorrigible, then he should be brought to Cluj, and there we must try to make him come around, and if we fail, then the security and clothing received shall be forfeited, and we should kick him out by surprise, lest he should have the opportunity to steal again, we should pay him with 6 xr, so that he may remember the good old days.

- but if the apprentice performs well, is loyal and diligent, then he must be praised and hired in Cluj, or if there is no vacancy, in 3-4 years.

- the time spent in Cluj or Târgu Mureş must be authenticated.

- great care must be taken with heating and lighting, especially when going to bed at night, lest a misfortune should happen (especially with *Ol. Therebentinae*, *Petrae*, *Spiritus*, etc.). He should take great care with *Ol. Vitrioli* and *Aqua fortius*, lest he should ruin his clothes or harm his body.

- if we have a useful apprentice, then in year number 5 or 6 he may be hired as an assistant, but another apprentice should also be hired, so you can save more. The older apprentice will recover debts, and he will teach the new apprentice how to do this.

7. About the grinder or the so-called lab technician

- because drinking water and fountain water is brought from afar, and other heavy work arises too, the apprentice cannot be used for them because he would get bored. For these works a good and handy lab technician will be used, who is not dumb, especially for crushing and other common work. The daily salary can be 15-16 xr, from which he must provide food and clothes for himself, but on Sundays and holidays he will not get anything, although he must present at some works.

There can also be a grinder who receives breakfast and an annual salary of 30-36 Rhf. He should originate from known places and not be a bad boy. He should be clean. As far as possible, he should be Hungarian, but if he is German, he should also speak Hungarian. He must be monitored lest he should steal, not be a drunkard and if he goes with others to the pub. In this case he will be sacked and a day labourer will be hired.

- the lab technician must always know Hungarian and be from Cluj or the surroundings of Târgu Mureş, have no bad habits or a dissolute wife, and live separately. Such a person will have a good situation, winter and summer, with the same salary, always live in dry places, and even if it rains, he will receive the daily wage.

- because there are several Hungarian villages in the surroundings of Târgu Mureş, the job may be announced so we can find a trusted grinder who is honest and not a drunk, who is reliable and honest. Many times you can find a man among the employees from the food supply, in constructions and among the day labourers. You may perhaps find patriotic people in town, but you must explain the benefits to them, because an ordinary man cannot understand, otherwise two grinders would not have lived with me for 20 years.

- you can give the grinder food too, from which he can also support his wife, so being afraid that he might be fired, he will perform well and will grind well.

- but if he is not needed or if he drinks, steals or does not work properly, he must immediately be fired. His wife may be used as a laundress. You need to ban booze, card games. If he can, he should be Reformed or a Catholic.

- around Târgu Mureş there are many Hungarian villages, you can find the right man with whom the administrator will have an easier life and will not be bothered by rain or bad weather. At first these jobs are boring, because you cannot be lazy with me. But if you find that grinder is dumb or steals, is lazy, then you must immediately throw him out, lest he should keep stealing, because such a man will use every opportunity.

- if you cannot find a grinder quickly, then hire a day labourer or a trustworthy military on reserve who was hired by officers.

Debts may be recovered with the grinder, but only by way of notification.

- if a grinder is well trained and trustworthy, and if you know him well, then you can recover debts with him, but only so that he asks people to pay.

What to watch out on grinding the sugar and spices.

- since a hardened grinder and thief will find, in time, all the places where he can hide something, he can cause great damage at the grinding. Thus, for example, if he grinds spices, sugar, wax or other things, you must stand by his side or before the grinder you must weigh the substance, and after the grinder weigh it again. If we do not do so, he may sell many materials or to give them away as gifts, believing that he will go unnoticed.

The grinder cannot be entrusted with money or money documents.

- you cannot give him more than three forints and you must be careful lest he should get hold of the money, especially when sweeping the pharmacy, because at the slightest opportunity, especially if he has no self-esteem - he will steal without problems.

You must be careful to mix and grind everything with precision.

- when grinding drugs, cutting roots, drying and mixing, he should be advised to work with the utmost precision and care, lest some misfortune should happen. The wooden floor, on which the plants are left to dry, must always be scrubbed beforehand.

All ground goods must be checked.

- the pharmacist can also make mistakes, and a grinder all the more so, which is why before you give something, you must first control him, and he should not be given three or more commodities at a time.

- strong smelling or very potent drugs should not be ground in the laboratory, such as: *Hyosciamus*, *Cardui Bened.*, *Euphorbium*, *Helleb. alb*, *Arsenic*, *Cobaltum*, etc., and the paper, sieve and vessels used with them should be kept in separate places. The mortar, in which are ground *Moschus*, *Camphor*, *Mercuriale* shall be wiped with a separate cloth. The same will be done in the case of strong smelling drugs. The cleaning of the mortars shall be done immediately, or else it will be forgotten. Similarly, the cloths used for sifting emetics, vitriolates, or oily rags shall be washed separately.

- for example, one crept into the substance storage and stole a jar of sugar, the same person stole the most expensive wines from my cellar and drank them. The only way he could do this was if he supported the boards only, as if they were nailed, but

luckily I noticed in time, otherwise the Graf would have caused me the biggest inconvenience and I would have had to pay him a lot of money. Who would have thought of such a trick?

Important notes on gathering herbs and roots.

8. *What you should caution the women and men who gather herbs, roots, flowers and seeds against.*

- all pharmacists need women, men and girls, whom they teach about the collection, at the right time, of herbs, flowers, roots and seeds.

- they must understand that with this occupation, they can earn more than in any field. At least 3-4 should be instructed and as far as possible two should be sent collecting, because for one it would be boring.

- at the right time, I will also go, or send the assistant or the apprentice, to show the right plants to the gatherers. Picking plants requires special knowledge, especially so as not to mix the good with noxious herbs. The region where certain herbs are found must also be known because different herbs are found in different places, and these places must be noted down. Gatherers must observe what herbs are found in what places and in what quantity. Those who rarely walk in the fields do not know where different plants are scattered.

- It is necessary to make notes every month so that you may be informed when different plants can be collected or sold.

Important observations. *Flor. Sambuci, Verbasci et, Papav. rh.* are three sensitive flowers that can be collected only in dry weather, in the warmest days, so that they will not be wet, because then they will sweat and will not be nice, they should not be in a pile and may not be turned over until they are half dry, then they can be turned over and spread around.

- women must be accustomed that some plants, flowers and herbs should not be collected early in the morning, only from 9 till dusk, when the weather is nice and warm. After removing the stems, they should not stay long, they should not stack them in piles or kept in sacks for long, for they will begin to sweat and darken. *It is characteristic of flowers that the beautiful yellow colour and of herbs that the beautiful green colour will be preserved, especially in verbascum, peonia, rosarum, cyani, calcatrippae, calendula.*

- herbs should be turned over often and never be piled up or placed too far scattered around, or else they will darken. After cutting, the roots shall be separated from the unusable parts, the soil shall be washed off, they shall be cut neither too thin nor too thick, then left to dry. They must be turned often lest they should go mouldy.

- in spreading and preserving herbs, flowers and roots, we must be careful not to mix them up, for example *Bardana* and *Carlina*, or potent grass should not be mixed with the others, like *Flamul Jovis*, for this would cause great trouble; therefore, storage should not be entrusted to the apprentice or the grinder, but the pharmacist must be present and write in chalk on the crates what they each contain.

- so as to stimulate people, especially adolescents, to gather plants, we must, in addition to training, give them wages, which should be higher than elsewhere, but we

must not incur losses. For beautifully picked *Flores violanum* we can pay 2-3 kr, for those that are not so nice - 1-2 kr.

- flowers and herbs can also be picked in prolonged wet weather, or distilled, and after the rain has stopped, they may be left to dry, because if we waited until the rain stopped, we would be left without herbs and flowers and that would cause inconvenience.

- herbs, roots and flowers placed in crates should be turned over frequently so that we may guard them against dirt, spiders, dust, damp air, so they will not absorb moisture, or else they will darken, lose their therapeutic action, and provoke nausea.

Important note. The names of the herbs in the tax from Târgu Mureş are noted in Hungarian and Romanian, so that they may be referred to in all languages and bring them with the people.

- if you cannot find a man to dig roots, we must inquire from others where they are to be found, then the pharmacist will ride on horseback and find out where they are, e.g. *Rad. Altaeae, Acetosellae, Pimpinellae, Cichorei, Carlinae, Taraxaci, Valerianae*, etc., will take the apprentice with him, or someone else, who has an axe, a spade and a shovel, the required hoe, will note down the place, the grinder and apprentice will memorise it too, so they will know where to find it in the future.

Observation. In the east there is a man who trades in herbs, roots, flowers, so they can also be brought from. The herbs from Vienna are very bad, old, dark, and so they are nearly unusable.

- garden plants, such as *Flor. Naphae, Aurant., Rosmarini, Salvia, Hysoppi, Rutha, Menthae, Melissae, Matricari*, etc., should be brought from large bourgeois estates or gardens, but always as cheap as possible, so that you may sell them at a normal price.

- it is my great joy to dry beautiful green herbs, and the beautiful *Spec. pro thee*, yellow nicely dried *Verbascum, Sambucus, Flor. Chamomillae, Flor. Rosar., Papav. Peoniae*, and if drying is successful, they will taste and smell good. But if you they black, dirty, with an unpleasant taste, they will cause nothing but trouble and shame, and you can also be punished, so such herbs should be discarded or burned.

- the plant attic can be increased as necessary, and 50-60 boards can be placed.

- if not beautiful dried, *Flor. Sambuci, Chamomillae* may be used in *Aqua aromatica* and the beautiful ones in hand sale.

- old herbs must be stored in separate cabinets and can be used by women in making cushions or coffins, or for baths or in veterinary medicine.

9. The lease contract with Gróf István Tholdalagi for the pharmacy and house in Târgu Mureş.

- the trade premises and homes in Târgu Mureş are very expensive, especially those for pharmacies. I would not have found a more beautiful and comfortable home than that of Gróf Tholdalagi.

- after much hard bargaining with the Gróf, we agreed that I should pay an annual rent of 173 Rhf and 20 ducats, or 208 Rhf, but I obtained the right to pay this in two annual instalments, counting in the credits from the pharmacy, in exchange for a receipt.

- the Gróf has always asked for the money in advance and because he is a very sensitive man, it is not advisable to talk more to him, if he demands the money, it must be paid immediately in exchange for a receipt, and at the end a large receipt, that the rent has been paid for the entire year, until the end of May 1793. Every year the rent must be paid, including the drug invoice.

- rent begins on 1 June and ends in late May. The pharmacy credit from last year is included in the calculation. It should not be forgotten, if he orders something, candles or anything else, they should be immediately noted down but not on the drug invoice, on its reverse. A receipt must be issued immediately, to avoid suspicion and uneasiness. In May these bills must be presented, when the accounts are settled. If he is not in Târgu Mureș, the administrator is responsible for this problem every year and it should not be delayed for more than two years, because this would cause trouble.

- the original lease is in two copies, one for me and one for the Gróf, stating all the important aspects, how many and what kind of premises are used. On the last page there is the copy, because the original should be spared.

The house may not be abandoned under any circumstances, because in fact we are bound to the Gróf and he to us, the rent cannot increase so easily, nor can he throw us out easily.

What you should be cautious about in the cellar.

- the basement, where we keep the water and other things, is separated from the basement of the Gróf only by simple boards, so care must be taken lest what occurred in the past should happen again: a man of mine, who was drunk, broke the boards and stole the noble wine of the Gróf, and if I had not noticed in time, it would have caused him great damage. Care must be taken, because if something disappears, the administrator must pay for it.

About the rear kitchen, where the large mortar lies.

- the entire back cellar, where the large metal mortar lies, is mine, the Gróf has an oven out of my benevolence, and he has ceded the hearth to the master tailor, because I do not need it. In this kitchen drugs are ground down and the mortar must be covered so as to be protected from dust. If sugar is ground, things are to be done as mentioned before.

- both attics are kept in order, under a good, clean and dry roof. Herbs are periodically transferred from the back attic to the other floor, where the herbs are left to dry now, so that in case of need, if my Son wants to live there, it can be emptied easily

- on the relations with the house, see above section 4, paragraphs 6, 7, 8

- if in time, my dear Son, Johann Martin, with God's help, should marry, then the assistant and the apprentice will be left in the same room, where the administrator and the assistant are now, near the pharmacy, and he and his wife may live in the small room located between the pantry and the shelf, where the metal stove is, with furniture, so that he may be in the pharmacy and avoid unnecessary expenses

- if he marries and keeps a maid, and if God blesses him with children, then he shall move to the two rooms at the back, have iron bars fitted at the windows, lest someone should break in and steal anything. The room at the furthest back should be given to the maid and the small room should be kept for himself, and thus they have sufficient space for the children, and will also have enough comfort. But if it might be

should be uncomfortable, then he should place the assistant in the small room and move with his family where the administrator has lived thus far. If the Gróf rented one of the rooms upstairs at the back, then he might move there, but this one is not comfortable, because the husband would be separated from his wife and children, so they had better live downstairs, but together. It is good to keep an eye on the maids, so they will do their job. The man, the woman and the children should always help each other.

Important observations, to which you must pay great attention, because if a disaster should happen, the damage cannot be avoided. Since the ducats and gold coins are rare, we should strive to exchange the collected money and those of copper for gold, for example, into 100 forints and if we send money to Vienna, we should borrow a higher amount and thus we will be left with good money.

- with God's help, I hope, that the wealth of my dear Son, besides a good guardian and a successful pharmacy, will multiply, or at least will double. When he becomes an adult and a good pharmacist, he should take the money-making activities under his management, record everything and take care that nothing is lost. He should especially be careful with the cash, lest any amount should be lost. Once a larger amount of money is gathered, he should change it into gold, put it into a cabinet that closes well, such as the mine, and put it in different drawers, wrapped in paper, so that no one may suspect that there is money. About this only his wife should know, so that in case of a burglary there is little damage.

Important observation, my son shall remain in the Tholdalagi house and not move. See sections 50, 51 at the end.

- it is not easy to buy a house in Târgu Mureş, but it is also not recommended, as very good and comfortable houses are rarely found. These are often lordly houses and have built or renovated. As the building is very expensive, it is advisable that the man should remain in the house where he is now, even if it is not comfortable, in Tholdalagi's house, that is. In an old house, a man lives quietly, as if it were his, he must not fear that the Gróf will lease the premises to another pharmacist.

- because we live separately, let us behave towards the Gróf, his wife and servants, let us behave so as not to give occasion for offence or gossip. If they come to the pharmacy, we should behave politely. We should give candy to the young master sometimes, but not too often.

- as mentioned above, the man had better stay in Gróf Tholdalagi's house and settle there as well as possible better and settle for what he has. I do not advise you to buy a house in disrepair and invest much money. Buyers are accustomed to old places. It is advisable to spend capital on safe places and enjoy the interest serenely.

Buying a house causes only trouble, and for that reason you should stay with the pharmacy in the current place. Strive, with God's help, to increase your capital and to grow it with interest, so soon you will have a capital whose annual interest will be significant. But I repeat again, be very precise, have good company and ask for advice only from sincere people.

This advice should be discussed with other honest people. For example, Mr. Pataky, who often comes by the Lord's. Therefore, you should try to know people. Respect my advice, my Dear Son, because apart from me and the good God, no one will

give it to you. *Many will advise you to do this and that, but never to do what I tell you. For lack of space I cannot write everything here - so stay with God, my Dear Son!*

- if you still really want to buy a house in Târgu Mureş, then you should wait for a suitable occasion when you can buy cheap. If you need to move out from Tholdalagi's house, you could also move the pharmacy. If you found a home that is also a tavern, you could be exposed to nuisance, noise, trouble, jealousy and gossip. But you would also be disappointed with the revenue, as there are enough restaurants in Târgu Mureş. So it would be useless, but if someone is a good administrator, invests capital into something else, and you would earn an interest of 60 Rhf without doing much.

- if you need more rooms, the future young Gróf will build two more rooms and a kitchen near the back rooms, but if you used the back rooms, then there you could keep the maids, the laundry. The room where the assistants live now could be used as a bedroom and living room, and the assistants could be moved to the small room where the metal stove is. You could move them to the back room, beyond the wood shed, and the maids in the first room near the kitchenette, so there would be comfort, but during the day you would have to stay in the small room, among your people. So that man's wife could also be there or if they want, they could sleep or eat there. NB. The small room could be arranged in such a way as to put a metal curtain in front of the bed, so the assistants could pass by there.

10. On conduct towards the prestigious town Magistracy and the town citizens.

- the High Council is invested by God, and therefore must be respected by everyone; even if some are not so respectable. With those who live in Târgu Mureş and are employed, you must cultivate relations of friendship and respect them. If they come to the pharmacy, you must offer them *rosolis* and flatter them. Not because you are afraid of them, but because you never know how quickly you may become a debtor or get in other troubles, and in such cases, if you are not on good terms with them, they will make you sense their prestige. In fact, you can get a lot with their help.

- however, besides the fact that we behave well towards them, every year we send cheap invoices for what they purchase from us, and if they do not pay immediately, we politely draw their attention. It is a suitable occasion when we prepare new medications for them, that we should send them a message that old debt is still not paid, and thus, their debt increasing, they will find it hard to pay at the same time. With such messages, they do nonetheless pay us.

- although I live in a noble curia and nobody gives me orders, still, as a citizen of the town, I live from and in the town, so you can never know when we might need them. But if we respect them, they can help us in need.

Since I am a citizen of the town, You have to go to the town judge and ask him, as the son of a citizen of the town, how much you need to pay for the recognition of your citizenship right. Give him a Taller. When you enter the pharmacy, be polite to all citizens regardless of religion, especially to the vicar, the teachers whether Catholics or Protestants, the chair and the deputies of the court house, as well as to the physicians and pharmacists.

- so, my Dear Son Johann Martin or another child of mine, when you take over the pharmacy, you must be a citizen of the town. For the right of citizenship you should

give 1-2 Rhf to the Council at the most, also a Taller as a gift to the council judge and a forint to the notary public. Thus, as a citizen, you can ask for help in case of need, and because you live in a noble curia, you do not have to pay *portio*. But if they demand it for the pharmacy, you must pay it.

- so that you may gain the sympathy, friendship and confidence of all, you have to behave very politely and courteously to the clergy, the prestigious bourgeoisie, without exception, because rudeness, contempt and drunken behaviour will not get you anywhere and no one will take your side. You may make yourself loved if you talk nicely to people, also if you are available to the people day and night, which is required of any pharmacist. But if you are haughty, or do not talk to them or talk roughly, you will get yourself into trouble; we should adapt to them, not they to us.

- we must strive to get to know people, during conversation, especially if they have debts to the pharmacy, because if they pay by coercion or after several requests or only every 3-4 years, but sometimes do not pay even then and they want to buy on credit again, then you should use beautiful words, it is better if they pay that little amount that they have owed for so much time. Those who pay regularly every year should be served without question, with the greatest politeness; the list of debtors is in the credit book.

- if necessary, you can give advice to the best and noblest citizens, e.g. Mr. Horváth, the chief of police, etc., and if you meet them anywhere, always be polite. Because: *Si ueris Romae, Romano vivite More, Si fueris alibi, vivito sicut ibi*.

11. On behaviour towards the gentlemen physicians, surgeons and other pharmacists.

- you should treat the gentlemen physicians and surgeons with respect. Towards them we must be humble and polite, not engage in arguments, but live with them in friendly relations. This friendship must be sustained by the woman and the pharmacy staff. If they are convinced of our honesty and good behaviour, and their service is done well and without error, then they will never do us harm, on the contrary, will speak about us only good words and praise us, so we cannot live without them.

- if physicians have a good experience and create benefit for the pharmacy, then the drugs for their own use must be given freely. But these should be noted down precisely, to see if it is worth giving them another time. But if the surgeon does not write any prescription or writes few, then he must pay his debt; however, if he does write, then a third of the price can be deducted, but if he buys for others, he must pay.

- because, unfortunately, New Year's gifts are given to gentlemen physicians everywhere, here at Târgu Mureş we must send them too. Such a gift can be a jar of fine sugar, 4, 5, 6, 7 pounds of coffee, a can of *Pulv. Fumalis*, or *Troch. Benedicti* and if the lemons are beautiful, 6 pieces. For the physicians who have little experience and write less, half of these amounts. Since few prescriptions are written in Târgu Mureş, without retail selling we could not even make a living. If the gentlemen physicians had a better practice and knew better, the town - with as many dignitaries - would not be negligible. It very much depends on a good medical practitioner, such as Dr. Pataky, Dr. Szöts and Dr. Intze, but what is not now will come in time.

- before physicians you must bow. On New Year's you must wish them "Happy New Year!," give them a little gift, but you have to mention that we cannot give more and using the opportunity, we may ask them to honour us with their support in the future too.

- if a physician asks us for our advice, we should not give it rudely, but always politely. All orders must be executed precisely, that is, serving and wrapping. And if medicine is sent to the country, we should not make mistakes or change packages.

- new physicians must be courted and attracted but never be talked to for long because they visit many families and other pharmacists, the latter striving to entice them and thus causing damage.

About surgeons from the vicinity of Târgu Mureş.

- because around Târgu Mureş, as well as in Târnava County, there lives a surgeon, you must make friends with them too, but not engage in too big a friendship with them. You must carefully observe whether they are drunkards or dissolute, they should pay their debts every 3-6 months, so that their debt will not increase. That is the consideration you should give all surgeons.

About the second Mauksch pharmacy and the relation with it.

- because there is another Mauksch pharmacy in Târgu Mureş, I therefore named it "Aranyszarvas" (The Golden Stag), so that everyone, including ordinary people, may differentiate them, otherwise many mistakes would happen. Since my pharmacy (Aranyszarvas - translator's note) is in the best and most outstanding place, the other in a hidden place among houses, mine has much higher sales and, besides, mine is also in order. We must be careful lest they should cause us losses and decrease our revenues.

NB. Because his name is also János (Johann - translator's note), you must write your full name, J. M. Mauksch "Ad Cervum Aureum," or in Hungarian, Patikárius Mauksch János Márton (pharmacist Johann Martin Mauksch - translator's note) from "Aranyszarvas" (The Golden Stag).

- also you must leave him alone, you must make no acquaintance with him, who wants to go there, they can. We must only do our duty, be polite to everyone, stock the pharmacy with good and fresh merchandise, the service should be fast and accurate, the price should be counted after tax, so you should not be afraid of the other pharmacy.

- we must not create opportunity for the other pharmacy to get upset with us, and we should especially be guarded against backbiting. If you meet with them, be polite and avoid anger. We did not build our pharmacy, but bought it already furnished, and if I had not bought it, someone else would have, so for him it is all the same.

- it is much better to have two pharmacies in one town so that everyone may have a preference where to buy, so they can go wherever they want, lest people should think that a pharmacist will charge alone as he wants, because he always has to calculate according to tax. Therefore, whoever buys where depends on which of the two pharmacies does its job more honestly.

The Golden Stag drawn on the shop-window shall get bigger in time. But the stag should be alone, without trees, so great as to fit in the window, but not facing the church.

- in several years' time - because we have renovated everything - if my dear son paints the pharmacy, or renovates the shop-window, then let him draw a bigger golden stag and let it be covered in gold like the writing, but without leaves or decorations, because the painter has made it too small, since I was away.

What should you watch out when the pharmacy is verified?

- the control of the pharmacy should be done, according to regulations, wither in early February or at the end of November, but because you cannot impose on the main physician when he should come, you should always be prepared for this control. It may happen that I will not be there and if we have little merchandise, we must say that the shipment is on its way and has not yet arrived. We have so many bottles that they will last us from spring to autumn.

- we must always be careful to have a sufficient stock of goods. When a new shipment arrives, we place the old on top and sell it first.

How should you behave towards the main physician or his deputy?

- according to a higher older order, you should pay three Thallers to the ones doing the inspection. As it was disgusting for the pharmacists, the order was cancelled, so you need to shut up and not give anything. If the physician or *phisikus* should nonetheless demand something, you must tell him that, with the best intentions you cannot honour his request because as it is known, the gentlemen physicians in Târgu Mureş write few prescriptions and the expenses are high. Since the pharmacist is not the one who requests the inspection, but the town, or county Magistracy. *Because the main physician or phisikus has a fixed salary from the town, he is obliged to inspect the pharmacy for free.*

12. Fire prevention measures.

Important note about handling spirits and oils, which should be protected from fire, as man can lose his life, his home and all the possessions. If you are not careful, you can become a beggar in an instant. Therefore the shed with the materials should be locked up at night.

- it is recommended that all those working in the pharmacy, the administrator, the assistant, the apprentice, the grinder, should take great care with lighting and fire making. Especially if handling spirits, *Ol. Therebenthinae* or other such materials. If they work with such materials in the evening, they should be very careful not to break any glass, not to hold a candle at the mouth of the vessel, because vapours may also ignite and if someone cannot dodge the flame, they can get burned. Spilled spirits or oils burn and can be extinguished only with ash or ground. Such misfortune endangers not only human life, but the whole family fortune may be lost. Let the good Lord protect us. This important observation of mine shall be respected by everyone and not be disregarded, and if a man works with such things, they should always think that with their carelessness they can cause misery for themselves and others.

- in addition to those mentioned, *emplastrum*, ointments and cooked oils, and in distilling spirits, the boiling of resin and oils, we must be careful not to let them on open flames because great loss may be generated by high heat. Burning oils can be extinguished only with sand or ash, water does not extinguish such fire.

- thank God, man is safer against fires in Târgu Mureş than in Cluj. But because the neighbour's house is right next to the material warehouse, fire - God forbid - may extend there; the first time spirits and oils are to be evacuated from the back to the front rooms; care must be taken not to break any bottle, because then the danger will be greater.

Important note regarding the chimney, which is in the administrator's room. Let the administrator and, later, my son take care of this aspect.

- because smoke, oddly enough, goes from the pharmacy rooms up a chimney to which you do not have access, the chimney wall, with the Graf's agreement, should be broken and cleaned of the soot collected for many years, or something must be done, because if the hole is filled, a great misfortune could happen. A good administrator should be alert to these dangerous things, *because trouble can arise even when you are very careful.*

13. On the materials used for lighting, on fire and fire fighting.

- in case of big fires made with coal or wood, the most dangerous nocturnal fire can break out and the greatest damage can be incurred. Oils that can burn can be extinguished only by covering them with ash or sand, water is not useful and increases human fear. That is why you should be cautious and take care of yourself and the people.

- as it is customary to say, in Târgu Mureş with God's grace and help, we are in greater safety than in Cluj. But because the neighbour's house is made of wood and is near a warehouse, in case of a fire, God forbid, you should be careful, especially when it is windy, to prevent the fire from spreading. If there is time, then the spirits and the oils must be placed safely in the pharmacy or the room, lest a bottle should get broken, because the danger will be greater.

- and *accidit in puncto, quod non reparatur in Anno*. You should take care when placing objects or melting materials and cleaning lamps, lest one amber should fall on paper, clothing or bedding. Just the same, you should beware in the cellar, where there are flammable oils and pouring them into pots should be made by day rather than by night, otherwise there would be fire in the basement, and in the attic with plants.

14. On stocking the pharmacy with imported goods.

- just like for three years I have been bringing merchandise, with my own, to Târgu Mureş too, so you can bring some from Cluj too, together with the other native goods, such as paper, *Cera, Antimon, Amylum, Pulv. Capillarae, HB. radic et flor. nostra*. Thus transport costs only 10%, while to the Armenians you have to pay 20%.

- the administrator accepts the merchandise in alphabetical order and also looks at the contents of the crates and cabinets, then at the bottles up in the attic and down in the cellar, to see how many are left of each, then calculates how much was sold in the first year. Then he sends the order with the quantities listed, *those imported to Vienna*. From there one is sent with the mention: M.M.T. or J.M.M. (Johann Martin Mauksch) and when it arrives we check whether the seal is broken, the packet *is sent to Târgu Mureş by oxen, or when the weather is nice, by horses*. We can pay 12, 15 or 18 forints for transport, especially if the weather is bad. The carrier shall be obliged to put 18-20 quintals, or even 24 quintals per wagon.

- if the road is good and the weather is nice, he needs to hurry with the transport and should not wait until the rain comes because sometimes the road is bad and the merchandise gets wet. He must therefore hasten with the transport.

- a specification must be drawn up for all the goods from Vienna and for the indigenous ones, so that the administrator may verify them and put them down in the book of merchandise.²

- there is no need to tell the administrator the price of goods and the total sum, but only the name of the merchandise and the weight, so that he will not have an overview of the whole transport. Enough that he knows how much there is of one or the other. The goods can be sold at the price of the day or at the price written on the crates. But you have to orient yourself after the other tradesmen, because the price of goods may go up or down. In such cases the administrator must be notified, so that he may keep to these exactly. Because if something is more expensive than elsewhere, people will no longer come, for example, if the Greeks or Armenians find something for 1 Rhf 8, but we sell it for 1 Rhf 30. Therefore we must take care that we also sell like other merchants, or lose all retail sales, which bring the greatest benefit. Many times we need to cut the price by 1, 2, 3, even more kr, and buyers should not be let go of.

NB. If the manager of the pharmacy assumes it himself, then he may correspond with those from Vienna, but the merchandise should always be brought to Cluj with that for Târgu Mureş with a reliable carrier, and also with him bring them to Târgu Mureş, even if he pays 12-15 Rhf, only with the Armenians he should not bring it, because they will exchange it with counterfeit goods. Beware, my dear son, the Armenians, they ruined Walter Csiki.³

- because the merchandise for Târgu Mureş arrives with that from Cluj, all expenses are counted together: 1. The price of packaging and other such things. 2. Transport and percentage. Expenditures in Pest for loading and unloading. 3. All customs fees, tarpaulins and other expenses, bribes. 4. The drug bill that is payable now. 5. The carriage. Adding up the total expenses, we write on the merchandise, which will be identical for Târgu Mureş too, because I hope that my administrator in Cluj, out of love for my son, will bring him for the same price as for us. The druggist's salary is of 10-12% per quintal at most. Instead, the price of transport from Cluj to Târgu Mureş will be considered separately, 45-51 xr per quintal, when the road and the weather are good, more - under no circumstances. But for a cart to be filled, it always be completed with indigenous goods.

- but if in Târgu Mureş they run out of imported goods, the administrator must immediately ask for more from the director in Cluj, and he must send it immediately, so Târgu Mureş will never be out of stock, but to the price is added 15% to imported goods and 5% to the indigenous goods, compared to the price in Cluj, such as for *Cera citrinae*, *Amylum*.

- the bottles shall be ordered in time from the factory in Görgény (Gurghiu in the Eastern Carpathians, in Szeklerland - translator's note), so they will never be out of stock.

² The control of the drug packets consists in breaking the Vienna seal on the crates. In Cluj, the payment of the drugs is made at the Drug Office in Gherla, or where indicated from Vienna. If Drug Office sends us the invoices in Cluj, they are immediately payable, then they are passed to the pharmacy in Tg. Mureş and are paid while the order is in force.

³ Since there is no Drug Office in Tg. Mureş, you must address the one in Gherla.

- NB. To avoid misfortune and loss, especially for the benefit of my dear Children, I have prepared a booklet titled "Important knowledge about what to do when ordering goods from Vienna, as well as having them transported here, also what to be careful about as regards indigenous and imported goods, so that you may tell if they are good." Because the Viennese obviously cheat, sometimes tricking you out of 100-200 Rhf.

- NB. The content of this booklet shall also be copied by my dear son Johann Martin, so that he may benefit from this at the pharmacy in Târgu Mureş, but always follow it after the provisions in Vienna in alphabetical order.

15. On stocking the pharmacy with indigenous goods.

- about collecting herbs, flowers, roots and seeds, I have written in chap. 8.

- here I will just mention that all indigenous goods should be purchased in advance, as far as possible in Târgu Mureş, not have them brought over from Cluj

- care should be taken however that it is good merchandise and you can sell it cheap, for you must always adapt to the conditions and the weather. You must ask if the pears are sweet and frosted, then you can proceed to the production of honey and wax.

- because neither honey nor wax is required in large quantities, we must strive to buy good, clean, dense - as far as possible - granular honey because it is cleaner and healthier. Honey that is too diluted is not clean, it is never good, it sours quickly, boils down to very little and forms a lot of foam. Wax must also have a beautiful yellow colour, not dark or limy. A cup of honey, a cup of wax give 2.

Spiritus vini simplex. et rectific. is cheaper in Târgu Mureş, but often worse. To rectify, add 1-2 servings of water, so that the empyreumatic part (burned oils - Orient translator's note) will remain.

- *spiritus vini simplex* in Târgu Mureş is almost as good as in Cluj, because the officials there use large amounts of good old wine. We need to attract those who make good and strong brandy from wine and we can pay 1-2 xr more. As regards the goods, must we guide ourselves after the old ones. Then a cup of spirits could be bought for 18, 20, 24 xr. In the rectification we must be careful to get a good rectified spirit and last us for the entire year. If we have *Spir. vini rectific.*, then we can prepare *Spir. lavandulae*, *Formic*, *Lumbric* and other similar ones.

- a little *Spiritus frumenti* should be prepared, 2-3 cups, so that we may give a glass to the day labourers or for the dissolution of *Mercur. Sublimat.*

The time for buying Axungia porci or pork lard is December, when it is cold.

- *Axungia porci* is an important commodity in the pharmacy, being used in large quantities in creams and ointments. The time to buy it is before Christmas, the months of November and December, because then it is the best and cheapest. After Christmas it is much more expensive. We must take into account the butcher's opinion. It is advisable to purchase big and fat pigs from the mill or pigs fattened with corn, because they give hard lard. Other lards are more viscous, light, soft, never harden as fat obtained from pigs that are fed on corn. In summer it melts and becomes like oil, so it is not good for making ointments. Such lard is used for *Ung. Pedicul.*, *ad Scabies* and white, hard, fresh lard for *Ung. alb. simpl.*, creams. The of *axungia* may be 9.12, at most 14, 17 xr. Scraps are pressed. There is not much to tell about this procedure.

- *Cera alba* is obtained in Cluj from *Cera citrinae* and after paying for the bleaching process it is sent to Târgu Mureş, and if the yellow wax was expensive, it will sell for 26, 28, 30 xr.

- the *Amylum in toto et in pulvere* is much needed in Târgu Mureş. Therefore more of both should be purchased in winter. It must be dry and free of dry odour. Because we pay for a Viennese pound and the Greek Armenians only 20.24 wide, we can compete with them.

- there is no need to bring *Lythargyrum* (or *Silberglatt*) from Vienna, as it is also found here. Yellow coarse *Lythargyrum* can be obtained from Baia Mare, 25-50 once. It should not be black. Never buy for the pharmacy through potters and never give them anything on credit.

- we can buy pharmaceutical bottles from the bottle factory in Görgény (Gurghiu, Mureş County - translator's note). We always order bottles for pharmaceutical purposes all the qualities once, in May or September, when they work in the factory and the fire is not extinguished. We must always buy long-necked bottles that equally hard. Currently there are used bottles that are found 10 in a bundle.

Liquiritia (sweet root) is brought at the right time from the Vlach (Romanian) peasants, half green. A pound costs 4, 5, 6 xr, xr maximum 7, since it takes long to dry, and should be placed in an airy room, because if it does not dry quickly, it turns dark and will not be a pretty yellow.

About Mercurius vivus.

- *Mercur vivus* can be found in Transylvania too, but because in Vienna it is cheaper, we buy it from there. Here the price is 2 Rhf, but in Vienna is 1 Rhf 36 xr, 1 Rhf 40 xr, but it should not be tampered with zinc or lead, for it is good only for *Ung. Peducul.* and it cannot be used for *Merc. dulcis*.

About Nitrum or saliter. It can be ordered through the soap-makers. There are 50-60 in a sack.

- because there are few opportunities of going from Târgu Mureş to Sibiu, one can buy *via* Cluj 1-2 quintals of nice *nitrum* or *saliter* in Sibiu through the gentlemen pharmacists Kreutner or Schuszter, for a quintal one can pay 36 Rhf. It should be dry and a nice white.

- we order *crucibles* of all qualities from skilled craftsmen, we take care that they are painted and burned well.

- *abrasive dust* can be brought from Zlatna (Alba County - translator's note), a quintal costs 2.30 xr and 1.42 xr to Cluj. If it is wet, then it is paid for 10% less, because it has to be dried.

Bolus citrinae, in Hungarian *Rudnik-sárga* (Rudnik yellow - translator's note).

- *Bolus citrinae*, yellow earth (Rudnik yellow) can be found at Gyergyó (Gheorgheni - translator's note) in Szeklerland, for 5-6 Rhf a quintal, or even cheaper. You can order several quintals of beautiful yellow earth for Cluj and Târgu Mureş.

About stocking on Pottasche, potash.

- *Sal. alkali* or potash (hamuzsír in Hungarian. - Orient translator's note) is a commodity sought in Târgu Mureş, as here and in the Saxon villages nearby there are many women who prepare cakes. It is therefore necessary to have good dry potash. We must stock for at least one year. It may be found especially in Toti, in the surroundings

of Somlyo (Şumuleu, Harghita County - translator's note), Margitta (Marghita, Bihar County - translator's note), a quintal costs 9-10 Rhf. It is best if it is ordered through people who come from Debrecen to Cluj and back, and then to Târgu Mureş. One can also find it in mines of bottles (? - Translator's note), which however is not as nice as in the places mentioned above.

About paper. Paper is very good at Borgó (Prundu Bârgăului - translator's note) near Bistriţa. The best is at Sibiu, beautiful white, writing is not smeared on it. The best is however in Görgény (Gurghiu - translator's note), which I recommend.

- paper can be found in Hungary, in Poprád, Rozsnyó, Rohocz or Murány (these localities are in present-day Slovakia - translator's note). For savings, such a quantity should be brought to Cluj that it will also be enough for Târgu Mureş. For several reasons 2-3 carts should be brought at one time. At Târgu Mureş large paper is necessary and little paper for the mail. Besides writing paper, different coloured papers are required from Vienna, smooth paper, various cardboards decorated with gold and silver. A small amount of royal paper must also be purchased from the Netherlands and France. Wrapping paper must be ordered in advance from Orlat (a locality near Sibiu - translator's note) or Gurghiu because much money can be earned from this.

- *Cantharides* can be found here on ash, in some years there is a lot, then we have the peasants collect it. We kill it with vinegar and immediately leave it to dry in the shade. Thus you can easily stock up Cluj and Târgu Mureş, moreover you can sell at a good price to others too. To the peasants collecting it, you can give 40-50 xr, in Pest, Bratislava you can sell a pound for 3, 4, 5 forints. After sunrise and before sunset the branches must be shaken and they will all fall down.

- *Baccae Juniperi* grows in large quantities in Ciuc (Harghita County - translator's note), beautiful black berries must be ordered through acquaintances, they should be well dried - not fresh, such a quantity that it will be enough for Cluj and Târgu Mureş for 3 years. When I bought the pharmacy in Târgu Mureş, I found a lot of this, and it has been preserved nicely. But you must be careful lest it should be eaten by mice and it must often be ventilated. If we did not find it in Ciuc, then 2-3 sacks should be brought from somewhere in the county. It is also brought from the mountains. But it can also be ordered from the Vlachs (Romanians - translator's note), for 24, 30, 31 kr. One can order some from Cluj or Szepesség (a region in present-day northern Slovakia - translator's note).

- *Semen Carvi, Foeniculi, Hyosciami* can be ordered from Bistriţa, a quantity that will last a year.

- other goods, like the Turkish ones, that are cheaper here or cannot be brought from Vienna, must be purchased in advance from the Greeks, or the Materialists

- in the booklet guide mentioned on page 9 there are points 9, 10, 11, and you my dear son Johann Martin will write them down, so that you may learn a lot about indigenous goods, for your own sake.

16. On stocking the employees in Târgu Mureş with supplies.

- because on the one hand, it is not advisable to have a cook and because everything is very expensive, I believe that it is more profitable if 10 forints are given to the employees for food. So I have decided that I should give the administrator and the

assistant 10 forints, lest they should complain about the bad food, 5 forints to the apprentice, a total of 25 forints. This is better than if I kept a bad cook, a whore and a thief perhaps, and there will remain firewood. The administrator must take care not to have bad food, and if that might still happen, he should get better food. Therefore they receive lunch and dinner.

- the lab technician will ensure his subsistence from his daily wages, but usually there is so much left from the administrator that he will be satiated.

- the bread is purchased at the central market and this, like other things, is charged, but care must be taken lest the lab technician should eat ours, for it will cost us double.

17. On wine and wine money.

For wine money you can promise 20-25, 30 forints at the most.

- because it is not advisable to keep wine in barrels because the apprentice and the lab technician would fall into excesses, the administrator and the assistant will bring together a cup of wine from the restaurant at noon and in the evening, or if they want, they can receive money too. There are good wines at the restaurants in Târgu Mureș.

- one might buy a few barrels of young wine and keep them in the cellar, though it is not recommended, because it would give opportunity for debauchery.

- at the time of my son, if he were there too, he can give full board and thus take care of all.

18. On firewood, charcoal and lighting materials.

- as firewood and charcoal are very expensive in Târgu Mureș, and can be difficult to purchase because of poor roads and long distances, you must strive to buy them in summer, when the roads and the weather are good, and not later, when they are more expensive. Therefore you must take care of the wood, lest it should be stolen or lest the lab technician's wife stock up on it or give it away as gifts, because *Practicae est multiplex, et qui non credit et non attendit est simplex*.

- due to the high price of coal and wood, you have to be economical with the heating in the laboratory and the rooms, the wood must be completed by 2-3 shovels of charcoal.

- it is not advisable to heat the room too much, moreover you are not allowed to, even if you have enough wood.

- because the metal stove is heated, its pipes are cleaned often, and as I have mentioned, great care must be taken with the pipe hidden in the wall, lest it should catch fire; this cleaning shall be discussed with the Graf

- because the administrator always stays with the assistant in the other room next to the pharmacy, where the cast stove is (probably cast iron - translator's note), this should not be heated.

- candles can be bought cheap from the locals of Sibiu, at Márton-vásár (Martin borough - translator's note) to last you through the winter, but they should not be burned out of boredom or for nothing at the same time; you must take care lest they should be carried away by lab technician or be given as gifts to someone, because you cannot even imagine how many things a thief in the house can lay hands on and carry away.

19. *On managing the pharmacy in Târgu Mureş after my death.*

See page 150 of my Documents and paragraph 3 of my Will.

- after I handed over my guidance in paragraph 18 to my administrator in Târgu Mureş, showing also the instructions for my dear son and son-in-law Mihály Streicher as to how he should run the pharmacy and protect it, so that with minimum effort and fatigue - already beating the brunt - he may follow in my footsteps in the future, I want to give some instructions to my successor only about the administration of the pharmacy.

- because I left the pharmacy in Cluj by will and gift to two of my children from my first marriage, I leave the pharmacy in Târgu Mureş - which also has a very good commercial venue - by will to my dear son Johann Martin Mauksch, so that at the age of 24, he may pay his heir brothers.

- because my dear son is only 11, until the age mentioned above, my dear son-in-law Mihály Streicher and my dear son Samuel Tobias, together with the advice of my beloved wife, shall monitor, like I have, the activity of the administrator and the other employees and strive to maintain the pharmacies in the current thriving state.

18 June 1799. (subsequent addition to the *Instructio* written in 1793 - translator's note). Since the pharmacy in Târgu Mureş, after my death, will go to my dear son, it should run for his benefit, so that he may receive the inheritance, like the other children, since he will spend much anyway, travelling and studying.

This is what I ordered it in 1793, but because he has since become an adult, I cancelled it. See page 30 (of the Order, not this translation - translator's note), paragraphs 14, 15.

- the income obtained until then from my pharmacy shall be added in equal parts to the capital of my beloved wife and all the children from my second marriage, from which I receive interest each year. But they are required to pay the expenses incurred.

If a considerable amount is collected, it shall be divided equally into 9 parts, namely a part to my beloved wife, 7 parts to my dear children and a part to the gentlemen directors and inspectors, and, respectively, to my dear son and son-in-law. However, if one of my children should marry and remove the part that is rightfully his, the others will pay him this amount. If my dear son Johann Martin should die with God's will, the pharmacy in Cluj would be inherited, based on the privilege, by one of my beloved daughters, who will marry a skilled pharmacist. He should run my pharmacy, as I willed my second son.

- keeping my property after my death is the duty of the two pharmacist inspectors and, respectively, of the guardian. First of all, the administrator's reports must be checked out, then if he sends the report on revenue and expenditure every other month, if the debts to the pharmacy have been recovered with the utmost care and precision. If reports have been made on those recovered or not. The inventory should be made accurately and reliably, etc.

- the best overall picture is offered by a clean and tidy pharmacy, by precise and good supervision. Of the pharmacy managers, one or the other should always go there twice a year, in spring and in autumn, to control everything with the utmost precision, to have an idea about running the pharmacy in Târgu Mureş. In both pharmacies they

should inspect the material warehouse, the cellar, the plant attic, the quantity and quality of the materials, namely the bottles, the sugar, the china, and so on, so that the administrator may see that the man cares about all.

At Târgu Mureş, advice should be sought from the gentlemen physicians and dignitaries, but you can also complain that the gentlemen pay poorly.

- on this occasion, the attention of the gentlemen physicians must be drawn to the fact that in the pharmacy everything is most clean and tidy. The administrator's pleasantness and diligence must be praised. They should inform themselves if there have been complaints, and if so, they must be addressed with the utmost kindness.

About the pharmacy inventory and expenses.

- an inventory must be made every third year with the administrator, as I indicated. But if the administrator were to leave, then it will be made with the assistant and the well-trained apprentice, and not alone.

- I tackled the administrator's obligations in paragraph 7.

- the cash box and the debt to the pharmacy must be treated separately.

- whatever happens, those two gentlemen inspectors find everything and get inform about the rules I wrote for the administrator. Their interest, however, is that the administrator and the assistant are good and faithful, and strive to maintain them much as possible because any change would bring forth damage.⁴

- many expenses totally absorb the profit. My son can also live on his capital, moreover, he can also save a little, and maybe make capital too. This pharmacy should be cherished.

- the year 1796. I have always felt that the revenues of the pharmacy in Târgu Mureş, despite the high costs, will save me a significant amount, from which my dear children will benefit, my beloved wife from my second marriage and the two directors. But on a thorough inspection I found that over 5 years I have lost over 1,000 forints in indigenous and imported goods. I paid a lot for an expensive household, rent, then food, firewood, lighting, etc., for which the receipts and debt recoveries do not suffice. There are still about 3,000 forints in old debts, from which I can recover half.⁵

- if you think about it, that you can live well from this invested capital - which profession or building ensures, in an honest way, one's daily life? - then we must be very careful, to recover the debts as quickly as possible.

20. On the education and behaviour of my second dear son, Johann Martin Mauksch.

- as I write these lines, my dear son is 10 and a half years old and so I do not even know how to begin, so that his future may be prepared properly. Like the other children, I want to educate him with God's help. In all circumstances, however, as regards his authority, I must order the following:

About the education of my second son, Johann Martin. Following these principles he should also educate his own children. *From childhood, he should always*

⁴ Thus I had one skilled administrator in 1791 and in 1800. The daily and annual earnings will show you what a diligent administrator, as Mauksch was, can do, especially with the help of God, when you run it.

⁵ The damage mentioned, thank God, is already recovered, as already shown by the revenue of 1796-97 and 1798-99, with the debt resolution. Over three years, there will remain a considerable profit.

speak German. Instead, in school, he should befriend the most skilled student, if possible, a student should engage with him, and if he wants to continue with higher education, he should be taught by the best professors.

- he should be educated under the supervision of my beloved wife, under the guidance of the official guardian and the custody of my dear son-in-law, Mihály Streicher, and my dear elder son Tobias Mauksch, as well as the respectable main priest, of the future son-in-law and his sister, until age 16 and, respectively, 17. To be educated in the fear of God in the true evangelical Christian faith and learn German, Latin and Hungarian, learn science and good morality, so that he may be, in the profession chosen, clever, useful, an honest Christian and a righteous pharmacist citizen. These tasks I entrust especially to the good directors and the main priest, and I hope - because I reward this kindness with 50 forints - that they will strive, and out of Christian love - that my dear son will have the best education.

- if, with God's help, during these years, in local schools and with the main priest, of his own diligence, he completes his studies and earns a good foundation in the evangelical faith, gains experience in the desired science, then he may enter in my pharmacy and remain under the smart management of his elder brother and learn the art of pharmacy. During the years of practice he should work diligently, after two years under the administrator from Târgu Mureș he should do one more half-year of practice, so that he may know the conditions both in Cluj and in Târgu Mureș.

- it is important, for half a year at Târgu Mureș, to learn about debt recovery at the home of dignitaries, and also to meet the priests and the citizens. For this he should not be ashamed, because it will be to their benefit and he can easily meet anyone.

- during practice he should have good knowledge of the suitable work for him and do everything, so that he can later put his knowledge into practice. This is necessary because when he becomes the owner of my pharmacy and must prepare something before someone, or the assistant or the apprentice do not know how to do this, then he must show them how to prepare it. He must get used to doing any kind of work, to prepare everything accurately, not be clumsy, ignorant or - may the good Lord save us from this - die as a drunk and stupid pharmacist, and be left like an evil man. Therefore I ask my family to be very careful in this regard.

- after finishing the apprenticeship, he should try to reach Vienna, Pozsony (present-day Bratislava - translator's note), Kassa (now Košice - translator's note) or Pest, and there be an assistant for 3-4 years until he reaches the age of 24 and only after that take over the pharmacy in Târgu Mureș.

- I hope, by dear God, that by then the wealth and inheritance will have been enhanced and he will receive money for a better life and suitable clothes. In addition to the salary, he should be given a little pocket money. He should have only good and honest people as friends, learn from them all that is good, useful and enjoyable.

- he should avoid friendship with evil, suspicious, drunk and lazy men.

- if he goes to Vienna, then do ask Mr. Hauschteiner or Mr. Heinrich, or other good acquaintance; in Pozsony Mr. Lumnitzer or Mr. Grossschmidt, at Kóhalom (now Rupea, near Brașov - translator's note) Mr. Gábel or Török, at Kassa Mr. Friedrich and in Pest, Mr. Liederman, to be kind and take care of him.

- in Germany if you are an apprentice assistant, it is expensive and it is also unnecessary because, unfortunately, according to my own experience, there you cannot learn much compared to the above-mentioned localities.

- if my beloved wife, son-in-law or my elder son heard or noticed that my son Johann Martin had a bad behaviour, spending time in idleness, drunkenness or, God forbid, with whores, then he should not be sent even a krajczár (small change - translator's note), but a letter should be sent urgently to the house owner not to give him anything on loan, but insist that he should go home immediately. At home utmost care must be taken lest he should steal or send something. In the pharmacy he must work; at the same time, word must be spread that no one should give him credit because no one should take responsibility for him. Then, to avoid other misfortunes, he should be punished on the basis of my testament.

- if, I hope, with God's help, he becomes a good, skilful and useful man, except in case of war or other dangers, and if he should feel like travelling, *I will allow him to make a small trip* from Vienna, through Brno and Moravia (a region in the present-day Czech Republic - translator's note), to Prague, and from there to Sachsen (Saxony - translator's note), to Dresden and Leipzig, and through Halle to Berlin and Potsdam, to visit Frankfurt am Main, thence, through Stuttgart, go to Ulm and through Augsburg to Nuremberg, and if the weather is fine, to Regensburg. Let him strive to find a good and honest company, with whom he may go down the Danube through Linz to Vienna and from there to Pozsony, from Budapest go to Debrecen or Kassa, then home. Let him go on this journey even if it costs several hundred, possibly 1,000 forints. If he uses his time well, he will be happy his entire life and will benefit from the experience. But if he does not use this journey well and valuably, the time and money will have been spent unnecessarily, and he will remain unhappy. Therefore, the gentlemen tutors are required to examine his behaviour, inclination and health, and after carefully ascertaining them, approve the voyage.

At Erfurth he should visit especially the excellent pharmacist and professor Tromsdorf.

- before going to Germany, hoping that he will be able to help himself on this trip, and he is healthy, let him guide himself after my advice. With the advice from Vogler and Lumnitzer, if possible, he should go on the journey, in the name of God, with a sincere companion. In Leipzig, Halle or Berlin he should go to a skilled pharmacist and ask him to recommend him a famous chemist who may teach him the theoretical and practical knowledge of chemistry and botany. He should finish his studies in Pest, because here a man has the opportunity to learn the necessary things for a pharmacist, because education is as good as abroad. But if my son does not feel like travelling and wants to save money, then he should learn only in Pest, and after graduating and obtaining a degree, with God's help, he should return home, first in Cluj. When he turns 24 years and has sufficient knowledge, he should take over the pharmacy inherited in Târgu Mureş and run it in the name of God.

If you have taken the exams, go to Erfurth or Leipzig, so that you may study chemistry and botany more deeply. Ask for approval, so that you may be admitted to the university pharmacy, where you can learn how to use the scales and other devices

accurately, which would be very helpful to you. In Leipzig, Berlin, Erfurth the people are the showiest, but also the strayest, so beware of crooks, and for the same reasons, take care of your honour, health and money.

- a pharmacist is not qualified merely through an exam, but through practice and experience

- and when he has reached adulthood and has passed the exams required by law, then, with God's blessing, he should take over the task envisaged for him

- if has taken over the inheritance from the two tutors and the curator, in the presence of his mother, the other brothers-in-law and brothers, then, with God's help, with the desire for a good life and blessing, he should take over the property that is rightfully his and run it as he thinks best. He should pay his beloved brothers from the pharmacy.

- if the administrator of Târgu Mureş has proved, over the years, to be good, helpful and honest, he should keep him until he wants to stay for his own interest. A beginner will need a lot of time to get to know the place and its surroundings.

- but because he will show no responsibility, you, my Dear Son, will explain to him that You do not want to throw him out of the pharmacy and do not want to be ingrate towards him, moreover, that you want to keep him until the end of his life, but because your costs have increased, you are obliged to cut his 300-forint wages to half. If this is not convenient to him, then you must strive to find him a job as an administrator, but this would be difficult, because not everyone can pay him 300 forints.

- especially try to keep him with you until you get married, so that pharmacy is under good supervision. Until you realise your plan, you can pay him 300 forints

- if during the journey to Pozsony (Bratislava) or Sopron, you will have the opportunity to meet the daughter of a man of the evangelical faith, sincere and honest, who has been raised excellently in the Christian faith, is not clumsy, is modest and has a good and worthy mother, and you know that she speaks Hungarian, and would agree to go with you to Târgu Mureş, then go to her and discuss everything with her. If there is no hope there, then you can marry the daughter of a priest or of a dignitary from Mediaş, Sibiu or Reghin, but before you should seek the advice of good folks. But take into account whether she can speak Hungarian, otherwise You and your wife and She with you and the maids will lose, because keep in mind that you will be among Hungarians and must live with them.

- you should marry taking into account your well-thought of interest, asking the advice of your brothers, as well as the priest. You need a straight and honest woman, who should be well educated even if she is the daughter of poor people. You must take care that she is a pious, God-fearing girl, not dissolute, modest and pretty. She should not be sickly, but healthy and enjoyable. No need to rush. All your future, good fortune, peace and satisfaction depend on a successful marriage; I would never have been so old if the good God had not given me honest, good and nice wives. They were my crown and peace of mind. All the business I've done has been with a peaceful soul, with satisfaction, with God's blessing, they were never hard on me because they loved both from the heart and respected me.

- beware of relatives of other religions, Reformed or Catholic. They would trouble the peace of your children and your home. Do not make a proud decor.

- if, as I want and hope, with God's help, you succeed in marriage and manage your wealth, you should have fear of God together with your wife. Arrange your household well, for your comfort, get silver things and porcelain, and they should be beautiful, tasteful and good. Strive to ensure and increase your capital in a good place, so that you may have a living in old age. And if the good Lord has blessed you with a wife, love her the most, after God. Be faithful to one another, and treat her right and like a Christian, but do not allow her to order you around. Let her be everything to you and you to her.

- because there is no evangelical church in Târgu Mureș, have a light carriage and go to Reghin every month or, in winter, every three months, on the good road and weather, buy a home, negotiate the price with the owner and someone to cook for you there. Give a gift to the chaplain and the main priest (főtisztelendő in Hungarian - translator's note). Every year you should attend the Eucharist 3-4 times. Since in Târgu Mureș there are talented and good Hungarian Reformed priests, go to church with your wife - you should know Hungarian - and listen diligently to the sermon. Your children should go to the reformed college, but do not allow them to be Magyarised, but always have them speak German at home.

- your eternal satisfaction and fortune lies in:

1. having a God of grace (kegyelmes in Hungarian. - translator's note), an honest name and a clean conscience.

2. working diligently, being aware of all, so that the pharmaceutical business may be run with the highest precision.

3. marrying well and intelligently, and living like an honest Christian.

21. On lending money.

- there is no easier a thing than lending money and emptying your wallet, but there is nothing more difficult than recovering your money, especially when you or your relatives need it.

- I am telling you, from my own experience, watch out and do not lend money easily, because of big words or promises, out of mercy, otherwise you will be unhappy and this will cause trials and sometimes inconvenience

- because besides the pharmacy, you have no other goods, just what you inherited from me and what you will inherit, I advise you not to invest your safe property in an unsafe place. Put your money in a known safe place, where you will get interest every year (for 100 forints, a profit of 6 forints).

Important note, from whom you need to stay away when you lend money.

Never give loans, under any circumstances, to the military, the Armenians, the Greeks and to strangers. You may lend money to people with a good reputation, landlords, judges and nobles who have no debt. You may not lend money on a contract that has the name of another person, but only to the one who appears in the contract, otherwise the other one will say - rightly - that he did not receive a dime from you.

- let this be a warning to you - that you are not allowed to lend money to strangers, Jews, Armenians, Greeks, decorators, painters, to the wife of another or to

orphan children, to one who is in an on-going trial, to the one who already has many liabilities and his property has been forfeited. My dear Son, in these few lines I told you a lot of things. Read them carefully and do not let yourself be misled by promises or explanations because you will be sorry later and then it will be too late.

- do not lend money in exchange for gold, silver, clothes, pearls, diamonds, precious stones, rings or other jewellery, antiques or other things, as you will remain an eternal mortgager. It may happen that these things might be stolen from you, or their owners will pay you neither interest, nor capital.

- do not lend money in exchange for houses, buildings, e.g. arable land, vineyards, etc. Do not buy land, for that is not for you. Because you can buy as much wine as you need, and you can get it without effort and without neglecting the pharmacy.

You must not give loans to strangers and citizens without collateral. Those who offer collateral, must also be honest.

- as I said, you are not allowed to lend more than 500 forints, not even if the person is very rich, but even then the contract must be signed by two well-known persons.

- you should lend money at an interest rate of 6%, and the contract should be made only for one year, because you may need that money or in the meantime you may see your loan in danger.

- all contracts must be made in such a way that the debtor will ensure it will all his possessions and animals.

- in all cases, you are to seek advice from your good friend, to know what situation that particular person is in. When drawing up the contract, you must choose a trusted lawyer.

- you must not lend money to a noblemen from the countryside, because he may return it only with great difficulty. Write for yourself some facts from the book of loans back home, like on pages 1, 7, 8, 9.

- I know that in the beginning you will not have much money for loans, but in time God may help you. You must take care of little and of much, because money is scarce and you can earn it with difficulty.

- if someone asks for money, you must not promise them the loan immediately, but must say that you do not have the cash at hand but that they will receive it. You must first know what the wealth of that individual is, and if you find that he is not reliable, you must say that the money has not come yet. If the individual seems mischievous, which can be seen immediately, his request will be turned down from the beginning.

- if the debtor does not pay the interest precisely, this is already a bad sign, because if he cannot pay that little, then how can he pay a bigger amount. There are those who pay interest ahead of time, in order to keep the loan, but that is just as dangerous, so you should beware of any manifestation of the debtor.

- in the case of a loan of larger amounts, in addition to the interest, you can require a barrel of wine as a "pledge," for example they should give you a barrel of 20-30 buckets each year, because God gives it to them freely anyway. Of course, this is not deducted from the interest, nor should it be written down in the contract, because you cannot get a higher interest.

- you do not need to pointlessly show the original contract, but only a copy of it. You cannot make adjustments, or change it and until the capital and interest are paid exactly, you cannot give it to anybody. You must keep it carefully, lest it should get stolen or get wet, get burnt or eaten by mice. In loans, you should not hand over the money until the contract is in your hand, signed after it has been read by the husband and wife.

- for all interest paid, you must always give a receipt.

22., 23. Different notes.

If the logo of the pharmacy or the Golden Stag or the pharmacy shop-window has to be changed in time, then the stag will be painted backwards, with its head facing the door of the pharmacy and not the church.

I would have never painted such an unusual sign on the pharmacy, but because the other pharmacist is also called Mauksch, I have chosen this, so that even a peasant may know my pharmacy. The stag was painted too small by the poor painter, if you need to correct it, it must be painted on a larger scale, without the grass and the trees.

If the good Lord blesses you with children and your current home will be smaller, then try to rent out a room at the Veres house, where Procurator Tobiasch lives, or in the house of surgeon Galambos, who lives near the town tavern, or a comfortable upstairs flat, where Mr. Csiky Márton currently lives, so that you may be close to the pharmacy.

Your housing conditions and relations must not be known to anyone except you, not even how you live with your wife, how much wealth you have, what your revenues are, how many debts you have, etc., as these are the secrets of the house, which should not be known to a stranger.

Because it is hard to earn money with a fountain pen (pen - translator's note) or in offices, and making a living is hard and tradesmen are struggling with all kinds of obstacles, I recommend to you, my dear son Johann Martin, to stay in Târgu Mureș, where the income of the pharmacy provides you and your family with an honest living.

But I do not want, I do not wish to convince you to choose the profession of a pharmacist. I will let you choose your profession from the industry, science or commerce, whichever brings you contentment and joy. Consider and think well, if you do not like the art of pharmacy and if - as they say - you want to try your luck with the pen and you have a calling for it, then think that such a man must write beautifully and a lot, think well, sit many hours. Instead, the salary is small even though the work is hard, as you can see, how many scribes, clerks there are and how very busy they are. It is a tedious job to work for the military or the post, where you do not become an officer immediately, but much later. It is also not pleasant to wake up early in the morning and there are many dangers, and yet you do not obtain a higher military rank. Being a tradesman also requires a lot of skill, you must have talent to talk to customers, it is tedious and it requires a large capital and a lot of good luck. The professions of artist, painter and sculptor require a lot of talent.

From all of this you can see that all the professions have more difficulties than the one of pharmacist.

If, my dear Son, you do not want to be a pharmacist on any account, I will allow you to choose another profession. I instead, as a lucid father, recommend you to stay in

the pharmacy, because God has thus given you a good name, to which your father has contributed. Because You, my dear son, you are not married yet and you will get to Târgu Mureş as still a young man, and it is most likely that both the officials and the citizens from the same class will be excited for you, because of their daughters. Aranky, in particular, will be dangerous for you, because he has well-educated girls who know music and German, are clever and beautiful, but excel in exaggerations.

Therefore I beg you for God's sake, do not let them influence or mislead you, because a bit of playing the piano, or understanding the German language or the course of fashion is not the same thing as a noble, reformed girl should be like. Your beloved mother, your sisters and your relatives of Győr will be so kind and good as to recommend you a nice, honest, smart and witty girl. And if the good Lord gives you an honest, just and cute wife like I have, then I assure you that you will be lucky, content and happy, with a Christian and honest lifestyle. God will forever watch over you and your wife.

All of this I write, my dear son, in so detailed and thorough a manner, so that you may know everything and stay away from things that could be damaging to you, otherwise you are lost. I do not really think that God will let me live to tell you things that are so important to you. Therefore I leave this in writing, for you to learn from here and I whole-heartedly wish that the Almighty blesses you richly, spare from all evil and harm, and give you a good, honest, modest and nice wife, so that your beloved mother and your brothers may rejoice for you. *Oh dear God, help me! And let everything succeed.*

24. Important note about placing the capital and insuring the home in the pharmacy.

- because the houses in Târgu Mureş, especially in the downtown area, are very expensive, it is hard to find a better and more useful house than of Gróf Tholdalagi, so you need to make sure that the rent is paid on time and you must always be to the liking of Gróf Tholdalagi and his descendants.

- because the Gróf has no male heirs, his properties will left as an inheritance to József and Pál Tholdalagi, and the house will belong to - if I know well - his sister, Mrs. Gróf Zsigmond Hallerné.

- regardless of who will own the house, you must be courteous to all the owners and the rent must be paid exactly.

- to be sure of renting that house, you can give a loan of 3,000 forints to its owner under a contract in which his property or another building appears as the pledge.

- so if the Gróf should need money, you can give him - assuming that the rent will remain 180 forints - a 6-year loan.

- if he agrees, then for the interest of 180 forints, you can live there without any hindrances.

- if after 6 years he pays the loan or decides to keep it, then with the consent of both parties, the contract may be extended.

- the contract must be signed and sealed by the Gróf and his wife before they receive the money.

- if you notice that the Gróf does not accept this agreement or the loan of 3,000 forints, and will not lower the rent, then keep your mouth shut and accept it the way he

wants it, because otherwise you would lose *Tabula regia*, which would have an important effect on the pharmacy.

- the houses in Târgu Mureş are very expensive and are not suitable for a pharmacy. Therefore, if possible, you should stay here. The Weress house would be suitable for a home and a pharmacy, but it is rugged and hidden, therefore you must stay where you are now. Tholdalagi's big house is a noble curia.

- you can start trading wine, but only wholesale, because retail is not worth it

- have good relations with everyone, be polite, but do not be on intimate terms with anyone.

Note.

This little book of *Instructio*, my dear son, comes with the 1799 inventory from Târgu Mureş and the booklet of supplies with indigenous and imported goods. Also, the Manuals from Cluj and Târgu Mureş Tar and other printed books like *Pharmacopoea provincialis*, *Hatmam formulae*, the *Book of the Pharmacist Hagen* and other good books of medicine, about healing various diseases. In the cases you will come across, it will be useful to you and you can even give advice. I do not recommend treating sick people or visiting them at home. You will never be paid like a physician and in case of an epidemic, you can get sick and pass the disease to the employees.

25. Notes on spending hours of boredom.

I wrote this later, in July 1801

- With the help of God, I have run the pharmacy from Târgu Mureş for 11 years, until 11 May 1801, and I have been able to keep its maintenance and its accounts under control.

On the administrator's behaviour.

- with the best will and with adequate control, the administrators were not able to spend their time in an adequate way. They did well for two years, remaining alone, but in the third year, they became conceited. They ran much, played, travelled, spent time in the company of drunkards, everything seemed funny to them, so they changed. For example:

About Eördögh, the administrator.

- like the others, Eördögh, the administrator, became conceited and after a three months' notice, went to Debrecen, where he did not succeed in his plan.

He had to work as an assistant for two years in Pest and he ended up buying a house and a pharmacy in Debrecen for 18,000 forints. He had to spend all his life tormented because he married a widow, invested all the fortune of the widow's only son in the business and becoming laden with a heavy burden.

Wohlmann.

- Wohlmann, the administrator, who was rather clever, but lazy, treated the people haughtily and roughly. He always tried to buy a pharmacy in Reghin and caused

damage to the pharmacy in Târgu Mureş. I decided to terminate his contract and after 8-9 months I sacked him. He has not achieved its purpose - because he had no wealth - and is living in poverty somewhere.

Hönsch.

- I called the clever Hönsch as an administrator; the last time he was in Kassa (now Košice - translator's note), and from there, after much misery, he fled to Bródi, hoping that learning from experience, he would come around. Compared to the two previous administrators, he was pretty good, but when his predecessor unexpectedly died at Bródi, he speculated that he would marry his widow and thus, after three years, I terminated his work contract and I predicted many things, including the fact that the widow would marry another man. It is interesting that he fooled the Jews from Bródi and fled with a piece of gold to Vienna, where he was in a surgery that went bad and he died shortly thereafter.

Roll's adventures.

- then I hired Mr. Roll as an administrator, who had also worked for me as an assistant. In Pozsony (now Bratislava - translator's note) he worked for Mr. Dobai. He stayed at Târgu Mureş for two years and behaved very well. He hoped that he would eventually marry one of my daughters and thus receive the pharmacy. This, however, was not possible. Then he planned to take over the pharmacy in Reghin, but it was already owned by another person, and thus he remained at Târgu Mureş, where he met a military whore, who became pregnant. With a licentious life and drawing attention to him, he resigned and got employed by Mr. Dr. Fukker at Tálya (in Tokaj wine region - translator's note). He sent me a letter from there saying he would stay there. At the same time the letter of *Maurer* the administrator came, to occupy the position of administrator, which I had promised to give him.

- on a particular day, I went to Târgu Mureş and I fired Mr. Roll. Roll and his whore, whose child has already died, in a reckless manner, without being married, went to Tálya (maybe got married later). Since then he has been living with that nasty and vicious slut in misery and trouble.

Moral.

- the resulting moral is that even the most skilled and experienced man who acts without thinking may quickly end up in trouble and spend his life in pain and agony.

About Mr. administrator Maurer.

God helped me and I got a diligent administrator.

- finally, I received a good administrator, who is honest and diligent, Mr. Maurer. He is loved by everybody and throughout the two years he has been here, he has proved to be very helpful and honest.

Review of library from Târgu Mureş of the great dignitary, Chancellor Sámuel Teleki, as described in the literature from Jena.

- as printed in the Baumeister typography: *Bibliotheca Samuelis SRr. I. Com. Teleky de Szék pars prima. Auctores classicos braecos et latinos, ex optimis editionibus*

ordine chronologico, depositos euromaq. Opera at fragmenta conjunctimedita, praeter denia et scriptores ecclesiasticosveteres complexa. Cum brevi vita descriptione et notatione temporis quo quia, circiter vixerit, adjectis passim eruditor judicis 1796. 310. S. without a preface and list of contents.

- the same thing printed at the Schmidt typography: Bibliotheca Sam. S.R.I. Com. Teleky de Szék pars secunda, Classes theologicam historico ecclesiaticam. juridico politicam,, philologicam, antiquariam historiam et Litterariam complexa. Praesnituto lege Bibliothecaria cum supplimentis et emendationibus pars prima 1800. XXXVI. U, 106. S8.

Grof Szék Teleky, the Court Chancellor of Transylvania, is currently one of the most talented writers. He has transformed his library, enriched with rare books published in literature, into a public treasury in his palace from Târgu Mureş (Acropolis). Unlike other Grófs, he has ensured that this beautiful library, which collects books for luxury covers, is useful. The collection of the classical Dutch and English works is to be admired. Here are all the Helvet Lalloland editions and the fabulous works from Oxford (abridged). Among the works of poets, rhetors, jurists, etc., there are also works of mathematics, chemistry and medicine. With deep sorrow I have learned that this exceptional man has lost, over the course of a single year, his wife, grandson and eldest son, who was so worthy of his father.

As regards the use of the library, he has made a foundation, with the following password:

Incorrumpa fride, Secundis temporibus dubiisque rectus.

Dr. Orient Gyula (Iuliu)

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3. Tuka László: *Studii de istoria farmaciei*, Cluj-Napoca, Ed. Studium, 2012, pag. 15-19

ALEXANDRU IOAN CUZA'S ECONOMIC REFORMS REFLECTED IN THE ROMANIAN PRESS FROM TRANSYLVANIA: *TELEGRAFUL ROMÂN* AND *GAZETA TRANSILVANIEI* (1859-1866)*

Abstract: The Romanian press, from Transylvania in the period of Cuza's rule in the Romanian Principalities, managed to render aspects regarding the European context of the election and of the unification of Romanian Principates, the internal evolution of the new state, as well as the Transylvanians opinion.

I intend, through this study, to underline strictly the economical problems: economical projects, economical difficulties, reforms and their consequences. Their purpose was the unification of Moldavia with Tara Romaneasca, the organization of the new state and its modernization. Taking over and analyzing the throne's messages, fragments from Walachian and foreign press or law texts, the two main Transylvanian newspapers – *Telegraful Roman* and *Gazeta Transilvaniei* – formed a coherent image for all the levels of the society, behaving like an information source and an opinion shaper very important for the second half of the 19th century.

Keywords: Alexandru Ioan Cuza's reign, Transylvanian press, economic reforms, European context, the Transylvanians' attitude towards Cuza's reforms.

Motto:

*"We have everything to create: we have to start our public credit, open roads, make bridges, adorn and cure the towns, expand the harbours, let the trade flourish, encourage the industry, strengthen the army, dig canals, stretch iron road lines across the surface of our land in order to facilitate communication and, in one word, develop all the public establishments."*¹

In this study I want to capture the attitude of the press in Transylvania - more precisely of two Romanian newspapers - *Telegraful Român* and *Gazeta Transilvaniei* (1859-1866) - towards the economic reforms undertaken by A. I. Cuza in the second half of the nineteenth century.

The events in Europe and in the Romanian Principalities were of particular interest for the Romanian press in Transylvania, because the latter supported and popularised the cause of the election of a common ruler in the Romanian Principalities, thus providing valuable moral support to the unionist movement and the struggle for their progress and prosperity. Thus, the publications detailed the circumstances in which A. I. Cuza was elected in the Romanian principalities after the unionists had prevailed

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¹ The quotation is part of the Throne Message uttered by the ruler A. I. Cuza on 6 December 1859, published in *Principatele Unite. Monitorul Oficial al Ţerei Româneşti*, no. 148, from 8 December 1859, pp. 589-592; Grigore Chiriţă, "Din istoria legăturilor economice între Principatele Unite şi Transilvania între anii domniei lui A. I. Cuza," in *Studii şi materiale de istorie modernă*, no. 4, Bucharest, 1973, p. 10.

and after Vasile Alecsandri, Mihail Kogălniceanu, Costache Negri - also candidates to the reign - had voted in favour of A. I. Cuza.²

In the period we are focusing on, 12 periodicals were published in Transylvania, including 3 that were Romanian, 4 Hungarian and 5 German. In the second half of the nineteenth century, the most consecrated Romanian periodicals in Transylvania were *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, which appeared in Braşov, with the supplement *Foaie pentru minte, inimă şi literatură*, and *Telegraful Român*, published in Sibiu.

Gazeta Transilvaniei was a governmental periodical, having the Austrian coat of arms, representing the two-headed eagle, imprinted on its first page. *Gazeta Transilvaniei* published the official correspondence issued by the Austrian government. Despite the constraints imposed by the Austrian authorities on this periodical, *Gazeta Transilvaniei* advocated the Union of the Romanian Principalities, giving detailed information from the Conferences and Congresses organised by the Great European Powers for settling the Romanian matter. Some articles in this periodical were sent directly by the newspaper correspondents it had in Bucharest and Iaşi. Through their lenses, *Gazeta Transilvaniei* managed to capture in its columns the most diverse aspects concerning the reign of A. I. Cuza (1859-1866) and shaped the perception of the Romanians in Transylvania about it.³ This periodical appeared in Braşov on a weekly basis (12 March 1838 - 30 December 1842; 2 July 1858 - 30 December 1860; 13 October 1818 - 1 January 1945), as a biweekly (4 January 1843 - 17 March 1849; 1 December 1849 - July 1858; 7 January 1861 - 30 December 1879), three times a week (1 January 1880 - 1 April 1884), on a daily basis (4 April 1884 - 26 September 1917, 1938-1945; 1989). The most outstanding editors of this Transylvanian periodical were: George Bariţiu (1838-1849); Iacob Mureşianu (1850-1877); Aureliu Mureşianu (1878-1910); Gregoriu Maior (1890-1900); Traian H. Pop (1901-1907); Victor Branişte (1907-1937); Ion Brotea (1938-1939; Gavril Pop (1940-1941); Ioan Colan and Lucian Valea (1941-1945).⁴

Supplements were published too: *Foişoare pentru răspândirea cunoştinţelor folositoare şi a iubirii de carte*; *Foaie pentru minte, inimă şi literatură* (1838-1865). The periodicals were suspended by the Austrian authorities because of a series of articles signed by Bariţiu about the Revolution of 1848 and Avram Iancu's role in the revolution, and in February 1850 the management was taken over by Iacob Mureşan.

In the second half of the nineteenth century, *Telegraful Român* was a periodical publication publishing religious, social, political and cultural information, which appeared in Sibiu, as a biweekly⁵ (3 January 1853 - 30 December 1857; 4 January 1862 - 30 December 1872), as a weekly (2 January 1858 - 30 December 1861) and later as a bimonthly (4 January 1873 - 15 December 1989). Alongside *Telegraful Român*, the supplement *Foişoara Telegrafului Român* was published, a periodical printed in Cyrillic

² *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, no. 4, from 29 January, 1859, p. 15.

³ Aurelia Bunea, "Ecoul Unirii Ţării Româneşti şi Moldova în presa din Transilvania," in *Studia U.B.B., seria "Historia,"* no. IV, 1959, pp. 95-99.

⁴ Ion Hangiu, *Dicţionarul presei literare româneşti (1790-2000)*, Bucharest, Editura Institutului Cultural Român, 2004, p. 394.

⁵ *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, year XXVI, no. 120, from 28 December, 1863, p. 471.

in the years 1853-1859 and with Latin characters after 1860, with spelling uninfluenced by etymologisms.⁶ Launched at the initiative of Metropolitan Andrei Șaguna, as the official publication of the Orthodox Metropolitan See of Transylvania, *Telegraful Român* was, after *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, the most ancient Transylvanian publication, its first issue being published on 1 January 1853.⁷

In the second half of the nineteenth century, *Gazeta Transilvaniei* and *Telegraful Român* poignantly rendered events from both Transylvania and the Romanian Principalities. Through their pages, both periodicals boldly supported the Romanians' unionist projects. In this respect, we may mention that *Gazeta Transilvaniei* was present in the great turmoil of the struggle for the Union of the Romanian Principalities - the first step in the political unification of the Romanian state.⁸ The reproduction of rich material with information and comments from the Romanian Principalities and from abroad on the issue of the Unification of the Romanian Principalities was a reflection of the Transylvanian Romanians' vivid interest in the unity of the Moldovans and the Wallachians. The information from the periodicals in the Romanian Principalities was concisely but favourably commented on in *Gazeta Transilvaniei*. The election of A. I. Cuza as ruler of Moldova, as well as its twofold election in Wallachia drew the attention of the Romanian press. Thus, *Gazeta Transilvaniei* became the Transylvanian publication that was most favourable to the Union, being also the most informed periodical in Transylvania about the events across the Carpathians.⁹

Gazeta Transilvaniei was seconded by *Telegraful Român* in describing the events from 5/ 24 January 1859 in Bucharest, when the Elective Assembly adopted the only solution consistent with the interests of the Romanian nation, namely: the twofold election of A. I. Cuza as ruler of the Romanian Principalities.¹⁰ This act was seen by Austria as a violation of the Paris Convention from 1858. Austria and Turkey led the Great Powers to convene International Conferences with a view to debating A. I. Cuza's double election. Taking over information from the foreign press of those times, *Gazeta Transilvaniei* concluded that the events from the Romanian Principalities had to be related to the Romanians interests, both internally and externally, for maintaining peace in the East.¹¹

A. I. Cuza's double election in the Romanian Principalities was the starting point of social, economic, political and cultural reforms. These reforms were aimed at the unification and standardisation of Moldova and Wallachia, the organisation of the new state, its modernisation and the removal of the old traditional systems. The enforcement of these reforms was impeded by the incompleteness of the Union in early 1859 and by the subsequent restrictive provisions of electoral stipulations adopted by

⁶ Ion Hangiu, *op. cit.*, p. 395.

⁷ Constantin Diaconovich, *Enciclopedia Română*, Tome III, Sibiu, Editura și Tipografia lui W. Krafft, 1908, p. 1073.

⁸ Dan Berindei, "Gazeta Transilvaniei și Unirea Principatelor," in *130 de ani de la apariția Gazeta Transilvaniei*, Brașov, 1969, pp. 67-68.

⁹ Anton Mesrobeanu, "Ecoul Unirii Țărilor Române în presa transilvăneană," in *Studii și Cercetări Științifice-Istorie*, no. 1-2, Iași, 1959, p. 180.

¹⁰ *Telegraful Român*, year VII, no. 7, from 12 February, 1859, p. 26.

¹¹ *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, year XXI, no. 15, 9 April, 1859, pp. 59-60.

the Paris Convention of 1858, which limited the political power of the two Romanian Principalities. To these was added an economic factor, namely the consequences of the economic crisis of 1857-1858 and the commercial crisis.¹² *Telegraful Român* was not concerned to debate the economic situation of the Romanian Principalities at the beginning of A. I. Cuza's reign. By contrast, *Gazeta Transilvaniei* reported on the economic situation of the Romanian Principalities through the Foreign Chronicle column, which commented that the country had been facing a budget deficit since as early as 1856, amounting to 5,343,256 lei, which had been accrued during the reign of Barbu Știrbei. This was aggravated during the reign of Al. D. Ghica, reaching the amount of 6,195,827 lei¹³ in November 1858, according to the designated committee. The budget deficits from the years 1857-1858 were also felt in the economy of the Romanian Principalities in 1859, because the *trading houses*¹⁴ were constantly on the brink of insolvency.

Taking over information from the journal *Naționalul*, a moderate reformist newspaper, *Gazeta Transilvaniei* reproduced the outline the former had proposed towards solving the commercial crisis. It suggested that the Minister of Finance - D. Barbu Catargiu¹⁵ - should propose to the Chamber a project for granting financial support to the traders after the loan of 8 million lei was voted by the Chamber. The journal further suggested that the finance minister should request the amount of 200 thousand ducats from the government; 70,000 ducats of these should be taken from the public revenues and the rest up to 200,000 ducats should be borrowed. The commission accredited for the project should be composed of 5 merchant members and in order to obtain the loan, the money should be returned to the state with interest at 8 to 10% for covering the expenses. The loan guarantees should be issued policies and mortgages or the borrowers' mortgage-secured debts.¹⁶ The journal *Naționalul* wanted the aforementioned draft to become a bill of law, to be approved by the House and implicitly by A. I. Cuza. The project was a proof that the Romanian society was interested in the smooth running of the Romanian Principalities' economy, proposing various redressing projects, especially since it was necessary to recover from the economic crisis of the previous years.

The above was completed by the Message of the ruler, A. I. Cuza, from 6 December 1859, which I chose as the *motto* of this study. This outlined a vast program of reforms and measures aimed at all the fields of activity. This program that was so complex and ambitious required huge funds, and they could be procured only by attracting foreign capital through the adoption of free trade policies. All this was achieved only to a small extent, leading instead to the creation of a new political-economic framework, able to stimulate the development of all the sectors of economic life.¹⁷ According to

¹² Dan Berindei, *Constituirea României moderne*, Bucharest, Editura Enciclopedică, 2009, p. 276.

¹³ *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, year XXI, no. 2, from 15 January, 1859, p. 7.

¹⁴ *Idem*, year XXI, no. 13, from 26 March, 1859, p. 50.

¹⁵ *Idem*, year XXI, no. 6, from 5 February, 1859, p. 23.

¹⁶ *Idem*, year XXI, no. 12, from 19 March, 1859, p. 47.

¹⁷ Gheorghe Zane, "Politica economică a Principatelor în epoca Unirii și capitalul străin," in *Studii*, no. 1, year XII, 1959, pp. 223-258.

Telegraful Român, the goal of the message was to attract real capital in the Romanian Principalities and use it according to the needs of the domestic economy, while respecting the provisions of the Paris Convention from 1858. This periodical also noted that A. I. Cuza wanted to heal *the pathetic and painful past of the Romanian Principalities*¹⁸ by replacing the old feudal system with a new one, and the Chamber promised the ruler that it would debate, approve and implement laws and decrees for reorganising the country. Completing those stated in *Telegraful Român*, *Gazeta Transilvaniei* emphasised that through the message of the throne from 6 December 1859, A. I. Cuza envisaged the good of the country, requesting that the Chamber should join forces for developing and renewing all the economic and social sectors.

Thus, to revive the trade, the Romanian press in Transylvania, and especially *Gazeta Transilvaniei* took over information from *Naționalul*, claiming that for the economic recovery of the Romanian Principalities, a series of measures had to be taken, such as commercial laws on the dowry of a merchant, on policies, the bankruptcy, and that they should be enforced consistently in the Romanian Principalities. Although the boyars did not approve of the commercial reform, they had to be assimilated to the merchants who owned value goods justified, for instance, by holding one or more policies. Analysing the economic realities, *Gazeta Transilvaniei* commented that only by establishing a precise regulation and concrete commercial laws would the economic rehabilitation of the country be possible. It went on to say, taking over information from *Wiener Zeitung*, that a company in Paris financially supported the merchants from Iași, crediting the Romanian Principalities with the sum of 10 million francs.¹⁹ However, citing the same newspaper, *Gazeta Transilvaniei* stated that in 1859, for some Romanians, the rule was dead, unensured and unrecognised, distrust being extended, like a disease, in all the areas of the state, the trade declining, the credit being cancelled and the peasants' problem remaining unresolved.²⁰ These realities were the result of the restrictive provisions of the electoral stipulations reached by the Paris Convention from 1858, which limited political power both internally and externally, and, after all, the organisation of the new state. On the other hand, the Austrian press was really interested in rendering the unstable situation in the Romanian Principalities, to show Europe that they were not sufficiently prepared for achieving unity and independence. Besides Austria's hostile attitude towards the Romanians in the Principalities, there was social unrest, precarious economic conditions, all of these being coupled with the intertwined repercussions of the economic crisis from the years 1857-1858 and the commercial crisis.

For the country's financial recovery, projects had to be designed for capitalising on the foreign currency that represented another economic problem of the Romanian Principalities. In this regard, the Government proposed assessment programs of the state's general assets in order to redefine the national economy. Thus, at the beginning of 1860, the *law of patents* was decreed, whereby all the Romanians were forced to pay increased taxes and duties. This law was enacted at a financially unstable time, being

¹⁸ *Telegraful Român*, year VIII, no. 11, from 17 March, 1860, p. 43.

¹⁹ *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, year XXI, no. 11, from 12 March, 1859, p. 44.

²⁰ *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, year XXI, no. 43, from 17 September 1859, pp. 181-182.

complemented by a series of urban unrest and agitation,²¹ which made it impossible to enforce it.

However, *Telegraful Român* wrote that A. I. Cuza had received the *Draft Constitution* from the Central Committee, in which it was mentioned that the Romanian Principalities needed the reorganisation of finance, justice, culture, the military and the administration.²² In turn, the Ministries tackled projects for the Chambers, which targeted the introduction of road customs, of stamp duty, the request of a state loan from abroad and the improvement of transport routes. In this respect, the Romanian Principalities received a provisional customs law, which was published in the Official Gazette of the United Romanian Principalities,²³ but A. I. Cuza rejected it by a princely decree from the late 1859 and the early 1860. Even if the provisional customs law was rejected, customs offices were established in Bucharest and Iași to collect customs revenue and they were implicitly intended to preserve links between the General Directorate and the merchants.

According to *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, during that period, projects were proposed for the rehabilitation of the railways, roads and telegraph lines, and general projects for the economic development of the country were advanced.²⁴ Under the princely decree of 9/21 July 1860, a bill proposed by the Chambers was sanctioned, providing that the state revenues should include: customs revenues, the returns from the mines, the exports and imports of cereals, all kinds of cattle, the taxes on sheep- and cattle-breeding levied from the drovers. This law was not well regarded in the European political circles, a fact that was reported by the foreign press, which suggested, through various articles, subsequently taken over by the Transylvanian press, that the Romanian Principalities should build proper warehouses for the storage of clearance.²⁵

At the end of 1860, A. I. Cuza, in a message before the legislative Chamber, required the cooperation and mutual understanding between party members for drafting bills and laws that would be favourable to the farmers and landowners. He also stated that "if a nation quietly develops its powers, it is respected more abroad."²⁶ Alongside *Telegraful Român*, *Gazeta Transilvaniei* detailed in different issues the tensions that existed between the political groups and concluded that this state of things hindered the enforcement of the reforms. In issue 58 of 10 December 1860, *Gazeta Transilvaniei* reproduced the last throne speech that A. I. Cuza gave after his return from Constantinople, in which he had specified the importance of enforcing the electoral law in the Romanian Principalities. The newspaper reproduced that speech in full, without commenting on it too much; however, it was noted that the Romanian Principalities had to present Europe with a the image of a state that had completed the period of transition.

The beginning of 1861 fared no better because, as *Gazeta Transilvaniei* showed, taking over information from the journal *Naționalul*, the greatest desires of the

²¹ Constantin Giurescu, *Viața și opera lui Cuza Voda*, Bucharest, Editura Curtea Veche, 2000, p. 88.

²² *Telegraful Român*, year VII, no. 52, from 24 December 1859, p. 207.

²³ *Monitorul Oficial al Principatelor-Române-Unite*, no. 2, from 4 January 1860, p. 5

²⁴ *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, year XXIII, no. 9, from 1 March 1860, p. 36.

²⁵ *Idem*, year XXIII, no. 32, from 3 August 1860, p. 129.

²⁶ *Idem*, year XXIII, no. 58, from 10 December 1860, p. 241.

Romanian Principalities were to have a foreign prince for life, and the realisation and recognition of the Union by the Great Powers of Europe. These were possible if the two Chambers from Bucharest and Iași debated and voted the *rural law*.²⁷ To achieve and have the Union recognised, it was necessary to enforce the *rural law* in the Romanian Principalities, especially since it had also been mentioned in the revolutionary programs from 1848. Its application represented an important step towards independence, but the Chamber and the Government did not understand the significance of this national act and therefore delayed the enforcement of the reforms in the Principalities.

Throughout 1861, A. I. Cuza continued to advocate the *electoral law* proposed at the end of 1860.²⁸ Citing foreign media reports, *Gazeta Transilvaniei* noticed that “chaos prevailed in Moldova because the Romanians did not want to advance on the constitutional path shaped by the seven major European powers and for three years they had taken no steps for a new constitutional life. The majority of the legislature and the Chamber was composed of the privileged from the past who did not wish to broaden the electoral law, without which national happiness could not be achieved. These legislative state powers also counterbalance the third power to slow down the achievement of autonomy for the Romanian Principalities, and A. I. Cuza does not want to debate this progressive legislation in international conferences.”²⁹

However, in 1861 the tax reform was materialised through the introduction of personal tax and the contribution for the roads, generalised on all the men of age under the law of the patents. These and other measures taken at the end of 1861, with a view to ensuring the full administrative and political unification, were proof that the United Romanian Principalities needed a modern tax system whereby any contribution should serve the public. It was necessary that the Revenue Office should impose the direct contribution of all the inhabitants according to their income; it was also necessary that every asset the state took from and donated to the taxpayers should be done in compliance with the law.³⁰ In the Romanian Principalities, a modern tax system was needed to represent the interests of both the state and the Romanian citizens. The implementation of the tax reform brought the necessary money to the state budget for initiating other reforms and encouraging economic development. However, *Gazeta Transilvaniei* concluded in its columns that the year 1861 had brought about no political, national, cultural and socio-economic rights for the Romanians in the Romanian Principalities.

The Romanian historiography and the Transylvanian press from the second half of the nineteenth century attested that the beginning of 1863 was characterised by the reorganisation of the Romanian Principalities both internally and externally. Thus, in January 1862, Vasile Alecsandri achieved the recognition of the economic independence of the Romanian Principalities and, implicitly, the collapse of the economic Turkish suzerainty thereof,³¹ even though at the end of 1862, the economic situation of the

²⁷ *Idem*, year XXIV, no. 29, from 8 April 1861, p. 125.

²⁸ *Idem*, year XXIV, no. 93, from 23 November, 1861, p. 394.

²⁹ *Idem*, year XXIV, no. 99, from 15 December, 1861, p. 413.

³⁰ Gheorghe Zanc, *Obiectivele economice ale revoluției de la 1848 în Țările Române. Progresul economic în România*, Bucharest, Editura Polirom, 1977, p. 47.

³¹ Constantin Giurescu, *Viața și opera lui Cuza Vodă*, Bucharest, Editura Curtea Veche, 2000, p. 97.

Romanian Principalities was not much better than that of the previous years. In this sense, *Gazeta Transilvaniei* noted the interest of the foreign press, which highlighted in its columns the fact that the estates of the monasteries were obliged to support the treasury of the country because the country was ruled by parvenus who did not want the progress and welfare of the Romanian Countries.³² There were no funding sources because the material goods of the Romanian Principalities had been amortised. The economic realities clearly revealed that economic independence was directly linked to financial independence.

At the end of 1863, Cuza demanded once again that the Legislative Assembly should present projects and bill for the "Organisation and strengthening of Romania," encompassing the rural law, the election law, the law on the union of the Romanian Church, the law guaranteeing civil liberties, communal and municipal law, the law on free and compulsory basic public education, the law for the unification of the Civil, Criminal and Commercial Code of Romania.³³ *Telegraful Român* concluded that from the beginning of his reign, A. I. Cuza had presented to the country and the assemblies in Iași and Bucharest projects for improving and reorganising the Romanian Principalities. They were meant to balance the country morally and materially, but the projects were postponed from one session to another without any explanation and solution. The fact is that without the support of the Chamber and the government, A. I. Cuza was unable to enact and pass laws for the reorganisation of the Romanian Principalities at the end of 1863.

The Transylvanian Press and the Romanian historiography attested that the period from 24 January 1862 until 2 May 1864 represented the years of constitutional battle in the reign of the A. I. Cuza. Through constitutional means, he attempted to implement the Romanians' goals expressed in the 1848 Revolution, by proposing and passing political, economic and social reforms in the House and the government. The impossibility of enforcing them internally led to the *coup* of 2 May 1864.³⁴ A. I. Cuza concluded that by that act, the Chamber had been dissolved, and "the sympathy of Europe had been won because the latter also wanted the overthrow of the oligarchic constitution which had not allowed the Romanian nation to develop freely."³⁵ After the *coup*, the new cabinet was elected and thus were completed the projects for each ministry, the Ministry of Public Works merging with the Ministry of Interior under the name: the Ministry of Interior, Agriculture and Public Works.³⁶

Telegraful Român concluded that the *coup* of May 2 1864 was the result of the disputes and conflicts between the Government and the Chamber, or between the executive and the legislative powers of the country. The Chamber took no steps to settle them and, even more, it boycotted the voting on the bills proposed by the government for the reorganisation of the country. *Telegraful Român* stated that the dissolution of the Chamber meant saving the country, because after the Union it had become essentially

³² *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, year XXV, no. 99, from 19 December, 1862, p. 396.

³³ *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, year XXVI, no. 107, from 9 November, 1863, p. 419.

³⁴ Constantin Giurescu, *Viața și opera lui Cuza Vodă*, Bucharest, Editura Curtea Veche, 2000, p. 112.

³⁵ *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, year XXVII, no. 36, from 6 May, 1864, p. 144; *Concordia*, year IV, no. 39-239, 14/6 May, 1864, p. 155.

³⁶ *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, year XXVII, no. 60, from 7 August/20 July, 1864, p. 242.

worthless and illegal. This Chamber had been against the Romanians' freedom and equality before the law, as suggested by its attitude and actions. *Gazeta Transilvaniei* also noticed that A. I. Cuza had shown, both internally and externally, through several commendable actions, the possibility that the nation may progress, eclipsing the bad mouths of the Monstrous Coalition. As shown above, the two Romanian periodicals supported Cuza's cause and his *coup d'état*, considering the events of 2 May 1864 represented the salvation of the country.

During the years 1862-1864, lengthy debates were held for approving the *Rural Law*. This was eventually approved and adopted by the State Council in August 1864 and published in the *Official Gazette of the United Romanian Principalities*. This was taken over by *Gazeta Transilvaniei* and *Telegraful Român*, and the proclamation given by A. I. Cuza *To the Corvée Villagers* was immediately broadcast in all the Romanian villages.³⁷ This law abolished the feudal obligations of the peasants - who become free - to the boyars. What was abolished once and for all throughout the country were the tithes, cartage, *meremet* (corvée for repair works) days, cartloads of wood and other services rendered in kind or cash to the owners of estates.³⁸ Ownership monopolies were dismantled for the: butchery, bakery, beverages and other goods of the hearth. According to statistics, "the total number of corvée workers who were allotted land under the rural law of 1864 was 408,119; 59,721 became the owners of their own plots in the village, and by 1878 48,342 young spouses had been granted land ownership."³⁹ Although it had a limited character, the reform created favourable opportunities for the penetration of capitalist relations in agriculture, ending the regime and dependence of other feudal types of serfdom, the peasants becoming free citizens.

Initially, the space *Telegraful Român* allocated to debates on the *rural law* was on the last pages, later publishing them in a very limited space on the last page. The periodical debated the draft law taking information from *Convențiune* [Convention], noting that the Chamber had also not completed it by the end of it March 1864. In issue no. 33 of 26 April 1864, *Telegraful Român* stated that this law had not been passed by the deputies who wanted to overthrow the Ministry. In issue no. 66, of 23 August/ 4 September 1864 - taking over information from the journal *Buciumul*, signalled that the promulgation of the rural law had been printed in red in its pages. Further on, based on the article taken from *Buciumul*, *Telegraful Român* added that the Romanian ploughmen had been allotted land and taken out of serfdom. *Gazeta Transilvaniei* completed the information in *Telegraful Român*, concluding that the draft law had abolished any branch of serfdom in Romania and the peasants had received land ownership along with the corvée labourers. Practically, by enforcing the law, the State was bound to buy land for the allotment thereof to those who did not own any. *Gazeta Transilvaniei* commented that the enforcement of the law had bestowed happiness, life, and humanity upon the country and had strengthened the Romanian nation. Both periodicals regarded

³⁷ Diana-Mihaela Pociovălișteanu, *Liberalismul economic în România modernă (1859-1918)*, Craiova, Editura Universitaria, 2008, p. 35.

³⁸ *Telegraful Român*, year XII, no. 26, from 29 March, 1864, p. 104.

³⁹ Constantin Murgescu, *Mersul ideilor economice la români*, Bucharest, Editura Științifică și Enciclopedică, 1989, p. 101.

this reform as a breakthrough for the prosperity of the Romanian Principalities, supporting the actions of the Romanian ruler.

Gazeta Transilvaniei also presented in its columns the opinion of the Hungarian press regarding the enforcement of the rural law. Regarding the *rural law*, the Hungarian press concluded that the Moldovan-Wallachian peasants did not want land ownership under the law. The peasants did not need land because for 116 years they had been free to go on any estate they wanted and had the money to buy them, which meant implicitly that they could leave the country for the city whenever they wanted. It also noted the intention of the Plutocrats' Chamber *ever since 1859 to draft rural laws copied after that usurping and spoliating Transylvanian urbarium of 1847*. Further on, *Gazeta Transilvaniei* reported that thousands of peasants had been able to own land without state aid, through their own forces, and those who had money, cattle and others could live like the *farmierii* [farmers]⁴⁰ in England. In the concluding passages taken from the Hungarian press, it was concluded that the condition of the Moldovan-Wallachian peasants had been worse than slavery in Russia. *Gazeta Transilvaniei* took a firm stand towards the attitude of the Hungarian press in specific columns, defined as *Political Reforms in the United Principalities*, noting that the Hungarian press presented the events from neighbouring countries according to Austria's international interests. *Gazeta Transilvaniei* noticed that the Paris Convention of 1858 on the autonomy of the Romanian Principalities included several contradictory formulations: "Although the United Principalities may, in the future, alter or modify the laws concerning their internal administration with the legal contribution of all the statutory powers and without any intervention, it is nonetheless well understood that this faculty may not be extended to the links that unite the Principalities with the Ottoman Empire, or the treaties between the Sublime Porte and the other Powers, which are and remain binding for these Principalities."⁴¹ This quote clearly defined the internal autonomy and also the union of the Principalities in the true sense of the word; another important note of the quoted fragment was rendered through the fact that the Principalities had been closely related to Turkey because they were not allowed to negotiate and conclude treaties of commerce, navigation, postal and telegraph service, to wage war and conclude peace without the consent of the Ottoman Empire. The Convention and its stipulations entitled the Romanians to fight for their recognition before Europe.

The agrarian reform of 1864 had a significant economic impact, because it allowed there to be progress, including as regards the development of internal and external communication channels. Their development was a key factor of overall economic growth. In the mid-nineteenth century, land roads did not meet the economic needs. Postal connections were slow, railways were non-existent and transport costs were high.⁴² *Telegraful Român* captured through his columns the need for the railways in Transylvania to develop trade with the Romanian Principalities. In 1865, taking over information from *Hermanstädter Zeitung*, *Telegraful Român* reported that railroads in

⁴⁰ *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, year XXVII, no. 40, from 1 June/20 May, 1864, p. 162.

⁴¹ *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, year XXVII, no. 62, from 13/1 August, 1864, p. 250.

⁴² Dan Berindei, Nichita Adăniloie, Nicolae Bocșan, Liviu Maior, Simion Retegan, *Istoria românilor*, Vol. VII, Tome I, *Constituirea României moderne (1821-1878)*, Bucharest, Editura Enciclopedică, 2003, p. 614.

Romania had been leased to some English company. This promised the insurance, financing and development of railways from Moldova to Giurgiu, Varna, and Constantinople.⁴³ These details reflected the fact that the Romanian periodical from Transylvania was interested in the bills the Chamber proposed for railway development in Romania. During the reign of A. I. Cuza, numerous efforts were made to build communication routes. For this purpose, in 1864, in its issue no. 29, from 11 April, under the heading *Cronica externă* [Foreign Chronicle], *Gazeta Transilvaniei* stated that the Romanian Principalities had debated the bill of law on leasing the iron road on this side of the Milcov. The lease was awarded to Messrs W. H. Ward, Th. Bartlett and the company that would build and operate the roads under the terms stipulated by contract. The leased railroad line began in Giurgiu and passed through Bucharest, Ploiești, Buzău, Brăila and ended at the Siret line. Another line was designated for the route Bucharest - Vâlciorova via Craiova and Slatina. The two Romanian periodicals in Transylvania captured the realities of communication routes in the Principalities, but also in Transylvania, implicitly highlighting the need of leasing them and the state's benefits from contracts with foreign contractors.

An important step for the economic recovery of the Romanian Principalities was taken by applying the *Law on the secularisation* of monastic estates. Along with its supplement *Foaia pentru minte, inimă și literatură*, *Gazeta Transilvaniei* covered in its columns the bill on the secularisation of monastic assets. The enforcement of the law brought to the State patrimony assets such as arable land and forests, buildings, various companies, books, religious objects, sacred vessels and documents. In essence, the law increased the agricultural area destined to the agrarian class and thus reduced considerably the traditional material basis of the Romanian Orthodox Church. During Cuza's reign, some monasteries and convents were abolished completely or converted into parish churches,⁴⁴ thus establishing a 10% tax on the net revenues of monasteries, churches, certain seminaries and social care centres.⁴⁵ Taking over information from *Armonia* and other sources it did not mention, *Telegraful Român* stated that the secularisation of monastic assets had been the first direct step towards obtaining independence. However, from its point of view, in an article devoted to the law, it asked the question whether its enforcement included the compensation of the Greek monks, as the British and the French had done, since the enforcement of this law had been a heavy blow for the Orthodox Church, whose possessions had been confiscated. Still, it is interesting to see that the *Telegraful Român* covered, among others, the opinion of the Austrian liberal media on the secularisation of monasteries. Thus, the journal *Ost und West* said that the monasteries had been built in the fifteenth century for benefits and had in time become the asylums of poverty and squalor. Many of them were subordinated to Jerusalem and Constantinople, and their possessions were large estates, representing a fifth of the territory of the Romanian Principalities. Analysing the interests of the state and the economy, A. I. Cuza decreed and enforced the *Law on the secularisation* of monastic estates. From the point of view of the Austrian liberal press,

⁴³ *Telegraful Român*, year XIII, no. 9, from 31 January/ 12 February, 1865, p. 34.

⁴⁴ *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, year XXVII, no. 19, from 7 March, 1864, p. 74.

⁴⁵ *Foaia pentru minte, inimă și literatură*, no. 1, from 2 January, 1864, p. 2.

the law had been correctly applied, and it concluded that the major European powers had no right to interfere in the implementation of reforms in the Romanian Principalities. *Gazeta Transilvaniei* nonetheless wondered: *what will make our boyars do with the monasterial revenues?, what amount levied by this law was reimbursed to the state treasury and what amount into the pockets of individuals?*, adding that "great foulness" had been found in the dioceses. It further noted that neither the Porte, nor the major European powers were entitled to interfere in solving the internal affairs of Romania as they had done 20-30 years before. As for the millions earned through the enforcement of secularisation, *Gazeta Transilvaniei* concluded in an article dedicated to the law that its application would lead to a recovery of the country's national economy only if the monastic assets were not stolen, robbed or - worse - used by the nobles and the elected representatives of the country.

Although some laws were enforce, in its articles published in 1864, *Telegraful Român* presented the fact that Romania was still facing economic problems due to foreign currency. For example, Russian money was speculated as Russia bought good Austrian and French currency, and placed its own in Romania. In this context, the major European powers were wondering when Romania would beat its unique currency and when it would establish its budget. Financially, the critical state of Romanian finances could also be explained on account of the public treasury, compromised by a significant shortage because the state's expenses were higher than its revenues. The journal pointed out that the financial deficit had been caused by the poor administration of domestic assets, by the poor enforcement of laws and by the stagnation of trade; on the other hand, however, with a view to its economic development, Romania had entered into negotiations with the Austrian government as regards the conclusion of international postal agreements.⁴⁶

Still, completing *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, *Telegraful Român* concluded that "A nation secures its national economy, finances, its future and progress when it is reborn of itself, being helped by its mind and arms. Romania had better regulate its monetary course definitively by introducing perfect uniformity; theft and false oath should be punishable with bushel and imprisonment because public and private credit will thus increase, and the country will strengthen without foreign aid."⁴⁷ According to *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, the social, commercial and financial crisis in the Principalities had been caused by the country's precarious and insecure policy. Thus, the party struggle had compromised the public credit - the money no longer had circulation power - and determined the loss of gained capital; customs revenues had not been centralised; cash shortages in the country were caused by the different exchange rates in Moldova and Wallachia and, implicitly, by the resistance of the boyars, monks, Greeks, Jews and internal and external speculators to the standardising reforms. To overcome the crisis, *Gazeta Transilvaniei* suggested that the Principalities should avoid heavy foreign borrowing and foreign capital. However, at the end of 1864, A. I. Cuza presented in the

⁴⁶ *Telegraful Român*, year XIII, no. 40, from 23 May, 1864, p. 157.

⁴⁷ *Idem*, year XIII, no. 48, from 21 June 1864, p. 194; *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, year XXVII, no. 90, from 23/11 November, 1864, on page 362, presented and supported the importance of accounting rendered for that period by (*Condiții comerciale pentru reglarea comerțului din Principatele Române*).

throne speech the fact that the metric system had been adopted, that projects had been proposed for organising the Chamber of Commerce, and he talked about the importance of agriculture, adding that it was the sole strong source of a national economy. He went on to say that commercial and political needs required the building of a harbour by the Black Sea and he mentioned that as regards the building of railways, he expected external funds by leasing them, and that the financial crisis was also felt in Europe, not only in Romania.⁴⁸ Completing *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, *Telegraful Român* concluded that the development of communication routes would bring the country: trade, industry, economy, material and spiritual power, things that were necessary for an industrialised country. The development of the economy reduced the amount of theft, and public and private credit strengthened the country financially without the help of foreigners. With financial support, industry would bring profit to the state from its own production, doubling the internal capital.

Romanian historiography, seconded by the Transylvanian press of the second half of the nineteenth century, argued that after the *coup* of 1864, A. I. Cuza's personal reign began. At that time 33 laws were promulgated, and 40 decrees were implemented, of which mention should be made of: the Criminal, Civil Code; the agrarian Reform; the establishment of the Chamber of Commerce; the allotment of land to the peasants and the election law. In a letter to Emperor Napoleon III, A. I. Cuza wrote: "I was quite happy to achieve the union, the Romanians' century-old dream, to retrieve for my country one fifth of its territory usurped by foreign monks; I turned one million corvée labourers into one million owners and citizens. I promulgated codes copied after Napoleon's Code, which truly established the equality of all before the law and equal rights for all in the family, imposing civil marriage and staving off divorce."⁴⁹ In the lines above it was noticed that the reforms had encapsulated all the domains and that the Romanian society had gradually achieved the establishment of the modern Romanian state among the states in Western Europe.⁵⁰

In issue no. 49 of 1865, *Telegraful Român* remarked that the railroads advanced at a rapid pace, the Romanian government drawing the line from Giurgiu to Bucharest, the Bulgarian and the Romanian tracks being linked by a bridge across the Danube at Giurgiu. The development of communication routes between Transylvania and the Romanian Principalities was essential for the development of trade, for product distribution and the free exchange thereof. The establishment of economic schools, of schools for bridge and road constructors aimed to train people who would contribute to the development of projects for the consolidation of roads, highways and railways. In its issue no. 88 of 16/ 4 November 1864, *Gazeta Transilvaniei* stated that A. I. Cuza had granted an English company the lease to build 16 iron bridges across the larger rivers with a deadline of three years.

⁴⁸ *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, year XXVII, no. 99, from 25/13 December, 1864, p. 397.

⁴⁹ Mihail Oprețescu, "Economia românească între Orient și Occident 1859-1866," in *Studii de istoria economiei*, Bucharest, Editura ASE, 2005, p. 368.

⁵⁰ Mircea Gâlcă, "Reformele și politica externă din perioada domniei lui A. I. Cuza," in *Studii și Comunicări-seria Istorie*, no. 7, Pitești, 1995, p. 121.

The Transylvanian press also announced that as of 1/ 13 August 1865, the state monopoly on tobacco⁵¹ would come into force; the country was hit by another economic crisis, which accentuated the price increase, as well as the financial deficit, an acute lack of food products being registered on the market, but the modernisation and reorganisation of the country continuing.⁵² By royal decree, the new government of Romania empowered Cesar Liebrecht to conclude agreements and postal *regulations* with Austria, Russia and Serbia.⁵³ *Telegraful Român* stated in the various comments that the tobacco monopoly was a serious blow to the country's industry and that the government had not anticipated the effects of this law on trade.

At the end of 1865, A. I. Cuza presented before the Chamber and the Romanian Government House the treaties concluded with the European states. Among them was mentioned a Telegraph Convention between Romania and Russia in 1860. In 1865, Romania joined the International Telegraph Convention, asserting itself as a subject of international law together with the sovereign states.⁵⁴ Taking over information from *Trompeta Carpaților*, *Telegraful Român* showed the fact that by the royal decree of 7/19 April 1865, a loan of 616,680 lei had been promulgated for the establishment and maintenance of the international postal service as of 1 June 1865.⁵⁵ It had signed a Postal and Telegraph Convention with Serbia, accredited by an International Conference,⁵⁶ and it had finalised the Danube borders with Russia and Turkey, with the help of a commission;⁵⁷ there had also been meetings between the representatives of the governments of Romania, Austria and Russia for negotiations regarding navigation on the Prut.⁵⁸ A careful analysis of the above allows me to conclude that the Transylvanian press was involved in reporting all the steps taken by the new Romanian unitary state to enforce the economic reforms internally and externally.

In conclusion, Alexandru Ioan Cuza was a ruler who accomplished significant changes, through the reforms he promoted, in most economic sectors, allowing Romania to open towards the European economy.

In *Telegraful Român*, the space allocated to the Romanian Principalities was justified by the subject covered. Generally, the events from the Romanian Principalities were rendered on the last page of each issue. It should be noted that A. I. Cuza was not in amicable relations with the Orthodox Church from the moment when the Law on the secularisation of monastic estates was enforced, which influenced the attitude of the Transylvanian newspaper towards these issues. Thus, in March 1865, *Telegraful Român* justified the fact that it had not received information about the resolutions reached by the Chamber of Romania in their editorial correspondence.

⁵¹ *Telegraful Român*, year XIII, no. 41, from 27 May/8 June, 1865, p. 162.

⁵² Dan Berindei, *Constituirea României moderne*, Bucharest, Editura Enciclopedică, 2009, p. 282.

⁵³ *Telegraful Român*, year XIII, no. 2, from 7/19 January, 1865, p. 8.

⁵⁴ Iosif Adam, "Premise economice ale cuceririi independenței de stat a României," in *Muzeul Național*, no. 4, 1978, p. 154.

⁵⁵ *Telegraful Român*, year XIII, no. 31, from 22 April/4 May, 1865, p. 124.

⁵⁶ *Concordia*, year V, no. 15-374, from 21 February/5 March, 1865, p. 60.

⁵⁷ *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, year XXVIII, no. 27, 15 December, 1865, p. 405.

⁵⁸ *Telegraful Român*, year XIII, no. 51, from 1/13 June, 1865, p. 132.

Gazeta Transilvaniei covered in its columns all the events in the Romanian Principalities from the second half of the nineteenth century, under the heading of both *The Romanian Principalities* and *The Foreign Chronicle*, regardless of topic. *Gazeta Transilvaniei* also captured the attitude of the Hungarian press to the events from Moldova and Wallachia. The Hungarian press - including the periodical *Kolozsvár Közlöny* - and the liberal Austrian press watched with interest the double election of A. I. Cuza in the Romanian Principalities and its recognition by the great European powers; the enforcement of the political, social and economic reforms and, last but not least, the dispute between the political groups represented in the Chamber and the Government of the country. Thus, the Hungarian press, quoted by the Romanian periodicals in Transylvania, concluded in 1859 that the Romanian Principalities had violated through the national will the Treaty with the Porte, the Organic Statute of 1830, the Paris Peace Treaty of 30 March 1856, and the Paris Convention of 19 August 1858, which defined European diplomacy and regulated the position of the principalities in relation to Turkey. The double election of A. I. Cuza led to one ruler being sanctioned instead of two; gradually were established only one army, one minister, one legislative chamber, and the Central Committee in Iași was like a House of Lords imposed by the Convention. These - the comment went on to say - were completed by the reforms of Cuza's government, which was too *democratic*; Cuza adopted France as a model in organising the country and obtained a European Commission to finalise the issue from the mouth of the Danube, and Europe was tired of waiting for the Romanian Principalities to comply with the stipulations of the Paris Convention from 1858.

In conclusion, in the second half of the nineteenth century, the two major Romanian periodicals in Transylvania, namely *Gazeta Transilvaniei* and *Telegraful Român*, represented, regardless of their affiliation, the informative source of the political, socio-economic and cultural events from the Romanian Principalities for the Transylvanian Romanians. Both periodicals followed with interest the issuing, debate and enforcement of the laws and political, economic and cultural reforms from the Romanian Principalities and their effects on the Transylvanians.

ANDREI ȘAGUNA AND *TELEGRAFUL ROMÂN* DURING THE DECADE OF NEOABSOLUTISM (1853-1860). ECCLESIASTICAL, EDUCATIONAL AND CULTURAL ASPECTS

Abstract: The first issue of *Telegraful Român* [the *Romanian Telegraph*], which came out in January 1853, was linked to the name of an outstanding bishop of the Romanian Orthodox Church, Andrei Șaguna, whose program for the moral and material advancement of his Christians and for promoting the culture of Romanian expression included the publication of this newspaper. Our research focuses on the ecclesiastical, educational and cultural aspects that were reflected in the pages of the newspaper during the first years of its existence, under a very austere regime, leaving aside the political matters it approached because even though political articles prevailed in quantitative terms, the originality in addressing these issues was severely limited by censorship.

Keywords: Transylvania, neoabsolutism, Andrei Șaguna, *Telegraful Român*, the Orthodox Church

All of Șaguna's biographers and the historians interested in the Transylvanian Romanians' situation emphasise the particularly difficult times the Orthodox Church was facing when he arrived as an episcopal vicar in Transylvania, in 1846. After half a century when, following the religious Union with Rome, the Orthodox Church had not had an ecclesiastical leader, since the Court considered that this Church had disappeared, the same Court made the concession of placing it under the Serbian Metropolitan of Karlovci and of appointing Serbian bishops at the head of the Transylvanian eparchy. However, the tactic of delaying the appointment of a bishop did not cease, because the see was left vacant for more than a decade. In 1810, given the appointment of the Romanian Vasile Moga, after another fourteen-year *sedes vacantis*, the Transylvanian Romanians believed that a new era had begun for them. Instead - as a clear expression of the contempt in which the Orthodox Church was held - came the imposition of the humiliating terms (the so-called "Nineteen Points") under which Bishop Moga became a mere obedient civil servant, compelled to support the very Greek-Catholic proselytism promoted by the Court.

On reaching the episcopal residence in Sibiu, Șaguna was disappointed with the derelict state of the building and the disorder that prevailed in the administration of the diocese as a result of the conditions in which his predecessor, Moga, had been forced to lead the Church and also, undoubtedly, on account of his weaknesses. "The Consistory, the superior executive body of the eparchy, did not have a predetermined agenda; it kept random minutes of its meetings and left the vital issues, such as the financial and the educational matters, to mere chance, in abeyance from one year to another [...] the continuity of the administration had become downright impossible. Especially tangled were the finances of the eparchy that Moga had managed himself."¹ The state of the

¹ Keith Hitchins, *Ortodoxie și naționalitate. Andrei Șaguna și românii din Transilvania 1846-1873*, Bucharest, Editura Univers Enciclopedic, 1995, p. 41.

clergy was so wretched, in material and, above all, in cultural terms, that the disdain shown by the cohabiting nations to the priests was not without some foundation. Iorga describes the Church that Șaguna found as ignorant, with “priests of the tavern, the herd and the *hora* [folk dance]” who lived like the peasants or even worse; they were the spiritual shepherds who welcomed the recently appointed bishop on his canonical visitations to the “barbarian” villages. The hierarch, who was “aristocratic by education, - the grandson of an Aromanian merchant, a ‘Greek’ from Pest, a patron of culture, [...] who had also been raised in the capital of Hungary and in Vienna” - must have experienced a sense of horror at the sight of those shepherds, “soothsayers and charmers rather than enlightened servants of the Lord.”² The better-off peasants could become priests after six months of training in Sibiu, which meant that their theological knowledge could only be utterly insufficient. Șaguna turned the parish priests into the focus of his ambitious program of ecclesiastical reform, ensuring, immediately after his arrival in Transylvania, that theological training would become more serious not only in order to provide the future priests with more solid theological knowledge, but also to instil in them the awareness of their dignity as ministers of the Church.³ As Șaguna wrote in a report to the Minister of Religious Affairs in 1848, ever since his appointment as vicar, he had been convinced that the six-month course was insufficient, especially since it was offered to any young man, without any prior training being required of him. In addition to dogmatics and morals, the future priests learned basic skills, such as reading, writing and arithmetic. Șaguna was determined to impose a one-year theology course, to which only secondary school graduates would be admitted.⁴ Bishop and, later, Metropolitan Șaguna had to cope with the precarious financial situation of his Church and nation, since the institutions of social and religious life were either absent or in a severe state of lethargy. There were no or not enough elementary schools, church buildings and liturgical books; the situation was worsened by the Revolution of 1848-49, when many churches had to suffer. After the revolution, given that 41 churches had been burned down and 319 had been looted,⁵ Șaguna had to request the abbot of Neamț Monastery to send him worship books and priestly garments so that religious services could be held according to ritual.⁶

The decade of absolutism and confessional conflicts

The founding of the new broadsheet occurred in the age of neoabsolutism, which was zealously promoted by the central and the local authorities. These were also the years of “confessional friction” (in Barițiu’s words), due mainly to the rivalry between

² Nicolae Iorga, *Istoria românilor din Ardeal și Ungaria*, Bucharest, Editura Științifică și Enciclopedică, 1989, p. 403.

³ Keith Hitchins, *op. cit.*, p. 43.

⁴ Eusebiu R. Roșca, *Monografia Institutului seminarial teologic-pedagogic “Andreian” al arhiepiscopiei gr. or. Române din Transilvania*, Sibiu, Tiparul tipografiei arhiepiscopice, 1911, pp. 15-17.

⁵ Andrei Șaguna, *Correspondență*, vol. I, part I, Cluj-Napoca, Presa Universitară Clujeană, 2005, pp. 207-220. The letters no. 100-108 between Șaguna, Abbot Neonil and C. Hurmuzachi attest to Șaguna’s efforts to endow the churches affected by the civil war.

⁶ Circular letter no. Cons. 775/1850, of 27 August 1850, in Gheorghe Tulbure, *Mitropolitul Șaguna. Opera literară, scrisori pastorale, circuli școlare, diverse*, Sibiu, 1938, p. 250.

the two Romanian Churches, which were vying for the status of a metropolitan see in the aftermath of the revolution. In the pages of his unsurpassed history of Transylvania, Barițiu recounted extensively and bitterly the stifling atmosphere of the neoabsolutist decade, which was aggravated, for the Romanians, by the confessional conflict.

When Țaguna reached Sibiu in the autumn of 1849, he found that his residence had been requisitioned and filled with prisoners, and that the library and the documents of the eparchy had been destroyed, which meant that he was temporarily accommodated in Brukenthal Palace, where he stayed for three months until his residence was restored.⁷ There was a dire need for worship books and priestly vestments throughout the eparchy, and the churches had been destroyed in large numbers. The Greek-Catholic residence was in a similar condition, the difference being only “that there the revolution had found incomparably more to plunder, ruin and avenge.”⁸

The newspapers of the Transylvanian Romanians - *Gazeta de Transilvania* [the *Transylvanian Gazette*] and *Foaia pentru minte, inimă și literatură* [Broadsheet for *Mind, Heart and Literature*] had ceased to appear during the revolution. The situation of the press throughout the Empire was particularly difficult, as Barițiu wrote. Martial law reigned, as did financial uncertainty, so it was still rather difficult for people to risk several thousands of florins, which was the amount required for bail. Other circumstances that were unfavourable to the press included the possible outbreak of an Austro-Turkish war, because of the asylum the Turks had granted to a large number of revolutionaries, and of an Austro-German war, on account of the rivalry for the crown of Germany. A newspaper could only support itself *via* subscriptions. “But what could he publish under the rule of the sword so that the readers might be satiated [content]? Besides all those hardships, the government also wanted to know the personal character of the editors, the publishers and the printers.”⁹

After the defeat of the revolution, the trials and the executions of the Hungarian revolutionary leaders dominated the political scene in Transylvania for a few years. Weapons were seized from all the inhabitants of Transylvania, as was the coinage issued by the Hungarian revolutionary government, Barițiu wrote. The Romanians felt deeply aggrieved by the manner in which their former allies, the Saxons, had appropriated all merit of allegiance to the Ruling House and ignored the blood they had spilled at the time of the revolution. When Transylvania underwent an administrative re-division, the Saxons were favoured “in excessive measure”; moreover, in their press, they championed the German colonisation of the Romanian villages that had been ransacked by the Hungarian revolutionaries, while the Romanians retaliated by submitting protests in Vienna. “The method of arrests made under various pretexts was used to frighten and deter the Romanians.” Thus, Axente Sever was arrested on the ground that he had not surrendered all his weapons, while later Avram Iancu was taken into custody by mistake, as he was told, and released immediately. A large number of Romanian priests were arrested and taken to Sibiu. “In all those offensive cases, Bishop Andrei Țaguna

⁷ Andrei Țaguna, *Memorii din anii 1846-1871*, Sibiu, Tipografia arhiepiscopozană, 1923, p. 32.

⁸ George Bariț, *Părți alese din istoria Transilvaniei pe două sute de ani în urmă*, vol. II, Brașov, The Inspectorate for Culture of Brașov County, 1994, p. 588.

⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 592.

protested both in writing and by word of mouth to the governor for releasing the priests of both confessions, and Vienna was immediately informed in writing about the particular case of the prefects, for it was there that many magnates had done their utmost to destroy all the Romanians bearing the title of prefects and tribunes.”¹⁰ Because it had reported on these conflicts and, especially, because it had announced the publication of the report on the revolution and the civil war addressed by the prefect Avram Iancu to the Court, Barițiu’s newspaper, *Gazeta*, together with its supplement, *Foaia*, were once again banned by Governor Wohlgemuth in March 1850.¹¹ Not long afterwards, *Gazeta* came out again, but under the conditions imposed by the governor: the newspaper was exempt from bond payments, but became officious and Andrei Mureșanu was appointed as editor. After his departure to Sibiu, Iacob Mureșanu became editor and Barițiu and G. Munteanu served as contributors. The latter stayed with *Gazeta* until the end of 1852, when he was asked to leave, because *Telegraful Român* was about to come out in Sibiu, under the management of his cousin, Aron Florian.¹²

The political atmosphere did not clear out over the subsequent years, because the Italian turbulences and the attempt on the emperor’s life from February 1853 resulted in the reinstatement of very harsh measures in Transylvania too. In its issue no. 14 of 18 February 1853, *Telegraful Român* published the proclamation released by Governor Karl Schwarzenberg, in which he warned that revolutionary agitation would be punishable by death. In the following month, several issues of the newspaper reported extensively on the intelligence organisations and their ramifications in Transylvania, as well as on the progress of the trials of those arrested, who had plotted the Szeklers’ uprising against the Ruling House in 1851.¹³

Barițiu wrote that the Press Law of 1852 “often made you prefer preventive censorship instead. For anything that was published, the responsibility belonged not only to the author, but to all those who participated in the publication: the editors, the publishers, the printers, the booksellers, the dividers [distributors], all of them, jointly. And then, irrespective of whether the printer knew the language in which he printed or not, or whether the bookseller was familiar with the books he sold or not, they were still liable in person and with their property. After three admonitions or so-called warnings, issued by the police or by another public authority, any periodical sheet would have to cease.”¹⁴ The officials of the regime were extremely rough, as was, for instance, Weiss von Starkenfels, the Head of Police in Vienna. To end the agitation of the press, he suggested to his minister that twelve journalists from the capital should be executed by firing squad in the police courtyard. The same high official, who was part of the emperor’s entourage when the latter visited Transylvania in 1852, unequivocally told Iacob Mureșianu, the editor of *Gazeta Transilvaniei*: “Are you going to instruct and enlighten the people with that sort of sheets? I advise you to stop any Romanian

¹⁰ *Ibidem*, pp. 606–607.

¹¹ *Ibidem*, p. 608.

¹² *Ibidem*, p. 609.

¹³ *Telegraful Român*, year I, 1853, no. 18, 25, 26.

¹⁴ George Barițiu, *Părți alese din istoria Transilvaniei pe două sute de ani în urmă*, volume II, Brașov, The Inspectorate for Culture of Brașov County, 1994, p. 631.

propaganda. His Majesty's Government is well aware, more aware than all of you together, what teachings the Romanian people need to be given and will never have any need of your sheets."¹⁵

Police censorship envisaged not only the newspapers, but all literature; in Transylvania, the authorities reintroduced a measure issued by Maria Theresa during the time of the anti-Uniate troubles, under which literary works of any kind printed in Romanian abroad could only be admitted after they were sent from the border customs to the country's government, which submitted them to rigorous censorship. Barițiu considered that this measure was "tantamount to total prohibition." Given these starkly unfavourable auspices under which Țaguna's newspaper was about to come out, we consider that the warning issued by great journalist and historian was particularly justified: what was written then and the quality of the literary works must be assessed taking into account the lack of freedom imposed by the neoabsolutist political regime. The Romanians' newspapers had to subsist *via* subscriptions, but a part of the potential subscribers, the Romanian officials - who occupied, at the time, a great number of public service positions compared to the past eras - were afraid, as Barițiu wrote, to read the Romanian newspapers, for they risked receiving the qualification of "*zu sehr Romäne*, far too Romanian." Therefore, the language of the Romanian officials that was reflected in the documents that were either translated into or directly written in Romanian "could be anything but Romanian."¹⁶

The historian Ioan Lupaș wrote about the consequences of post-revolutionary policies on the relations between the two Romanian confessions: "The fair onset of brotherhood and national solidarity, which had muffled denominational hatred in the years 1848-9, would unfortunately falter now, in the time of oppression and armed peace that absolutism brought about."¹⁷ The confessional rifts of the Transylvanian Romanians, due primarily to their rivalry for the metropolitan status, witnessed several tense moments during this decade; the relations between the two bishops only improved in 1860, when a new political regime was inaugurated and when, once again, they were together at the helm of the Romanian political movement.

Even before he became a bishop, while he was vicar of Sălaj, Alexandru Șterca Țuluțiu had the uninspired idea of writing to Țaguna, on 14 July 1850, inviting him to convert to the Union, in which case the metropolitan see would be offered to him, while he would settle for the episcopal see.¹⁸ Țaguna was vexed not only by that gesture, but also by other measures of spreading the Union supported by the central and the local authorities and, above all, by the conference of Hungary's Roman-Catholic bishops, which had been convened by Scitovsky, the Primate of Hungary, in Esztergom in 1850. Of all the Romanian Greek-Catholic bishops, only Vasile Erdeli, the bishop of Oradea, had participated in it. The conference debated, among other issues, the propagation of the Union and the establishment of two more Romanian dioceses, of Gherla and of

¹⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 632.

¹⁶ *Ibidem* pp. 631-632.

¹⁷ Ioan Lupaș, *Mitropolitul Andrei Țaguna. Monografie istorică*, Sibiu, Tiparul tipografiei arhiepiscopale, 1911, p. 115.

¹⁸ Andrei Țaguna, *Memorii...*, p. 45.

Lugoj. In his *Memories*, Bishop Șaguna quoted an excerpt from the protocol of that conference, which contained unjust accusations against him and the claim that all the losses of the Greek-Catholic Church in Transylvania and Vojvodina between 1848 and 1849 had been caused by the non-Uniates, who had allegedly killed three hundred priests and destroyed the churches and the schools.¹⁹ Barițiu considered these allegations as outrageous fabrications, and as for the steps Șterca Șuluțiu had taken to attract Șaguna to the Union, this is how he commented on their consequences: “Șuluțiu had chosen the wrong man, for Șaguna replied to him curtly: for no dignity in the world will I become an ‘apostate.’ From then on, the two bishops never saw eye to eye until the y[ear] 1860.”²⁰ In Barițiu’s opinion, the imperial decision to elevate the Greek-Catholic diocese to the rank of a metropolitan see and to establish two more Greek-Catholic dioceses, of Lugoj and of Gherla, had the effect of a bomb.²¹ The aggravation of all the denominations in Transylvania was amplified in 1855, after the ratification of the Concordat, which granted vast prerogatives to the Catholic Church. According to Barițiu, the leaders in Vienna had a fixed idea: that they could annihilate or, at least, limit the political and religious influence Russia exerted by Catholicising all the inhabitants of the Monarchy. In those years, he went on to write, even the Transylvanian Saxons were invited, with great promises, to return to Catholicism. “Of all the peoples, however, the Cabinet in Vienna had its eyes set, like 150 years before that, on the Romanian people [...] Here are so many reasons that persuaded the Cabinet and the monarch to accelerate the decision regarding the establishment of the metropolitan see and of the two new dioceses. In particular, it is known that His Majesty had personally favoured the establishment of the Diocese of Lugoj.”²²

In his turn, under episcopal circular no. Cons. 1090/1855 of 5 December 1855, Șaguna prohibited the Orthodox Romanians from reading *Gazeta de Transilvania*.²³ In his *Memories*, the bishop described the circular as a response to the attacks of the Greek Catholics. He listed a series of gestures made by Metropolitan Șuluțiu and of statements printed in the newspaper from Brașov, which he perceived as attacks against his Church; in fact, he said, he had consulted with Governor Schwarzenberg about how to stop those attacks, and the governor had approved the idea of a circular.²⁴ The quarrel between the two Churches and their hierarchs went beyond the borders of Transylvania. *Religio*, an ecclesiastical and literary magazine from Pest, wrote that Șaguna had anathemised Mureșanu and Barițiu because they were Catholics; Șaguna replied, rectifying the statements about the anathema.²⁵ At stake was not at all the alleged anathema issued against the aforementioned two men, but the order the hierarchy had given to his believers. After enumerating all the sins of the *Gazeta*’s editorial staff and of Barițiu’s almanac, he concluded that he, as a spiritual shepherd, was obliged to protect his

¹⁹ *Ibidem*, pp. 46–48.

²⁰ G. Barițiu, *Părți alese din istoria Transilvaniei ...*, vol. III, p. 641.

²¹ *Ibidem*, vol. II, p. 667.

²² *Ibidem*, p. 668.

²³ *Ibidem*, vol. II, p. 670.

²⁴ Andrei Șaguna, *Memorii ...* p. 85–86.

²⁵ Ioan Lupaș, *Mitropolitul Andreiu baron de Șaguna...*, p. 119.

believers against deceitful gazettes and books. "I [therefore] advise and entreat you not to purchase or read, any of you, *Gazeta de Transilvania* that comes out of Iacob Murășan's editorial office or George Barițiu's almanac, because as you could see [...] they are full of lies, deception and fraud"; at the end, he warned the protopopes and the priests that they had a duty to ensure that this episcopal counsel was heeded, and that they "should point out to him anyone who did otherwise."²⁶

The Romanian officials from the capital of the empire did not remain indifferent to the circular the hierarch had issued, one of the most vehement reactions coming from Ioan Maiorescu. He wrote to Barițiu in extremely harsh terms against Șaguna, stating that the Moldavians were outraged by his circular against reading the *Gazette* and urging the Greek Catholics to take the matter of that pamphlet - as he referred to the circular of the Orthodox bishop - to court.²⁷ Maiorescu, who was a Transylvanian by birth, trained in the Greek-Catholic schools, and who had become a professor in the Principalities, advocated an anti-confessional viewpoint, "considering that the national problems represented a priority and that any dispute related to matters of faith was likely to endanger the gradual realisation of the objectives outlined in 1848."²⁸ Șaguna's reaction against the *Gazette* and against Barițiu appeared to have been "rather harsh and unusual" to Ioan Lupaș too, but it was characteristic of Șaguna's authoritarian style, who took "very energetic and severe" measures against the acts of indiscipline committed by the Orthodox priests, for they had become accustomed to lax discipline during the time of Bishop Moga; as Ioan Lupaș showed, Șaguna was forced to take disciplinary action even against his own collaborators.²⁹

Significant for the atmosphere of friction between the Greek Catholics and the Orthodox during that decade was scene recounted by Pavel Vasici in a letter to Barițiu. Vasici, Barițiu's lifelong friend and wedding godfather,³⁰ was, together with Ioan Maiorescu and other patriotic intellectuals, among those who had decided to put "national brotherhood" above confessional squabble, showing that they did not care about "popish accursedness." Thus, on the Monday of the Holy Week in 1851, he went with a group of Orthodox men, "canny, dressed up, with wives and all" to the church where the Greek-Catholic protopope of Sibiu served. They liked the service, but the protopope's sermon deeply offended them. Vasici concluded that "here we are, on the brink of utter national schism, and all we will shortly ask ourselves is not whether we are Romanian, but whether we are Uniate or non-Uniate."³¹

There were also other moments of discord like this, which Barițiu recorded bitterly and judged harshly. Besides the moments when the tension was aggravated, a constant source of discord between the two Churches was related to the conversions from one confession to the other and to mixed marriages.

²⁶ The circular letter has been published in its entirety by Gheorghe Tulbure, *op. cit.*, pp. 195-201.

²⁷ *George Bariț și contemporanii săi*. Vol. 1: *Correspondența primită de la Aron Florian, August Treboniu Laurian și Ioan Maiorescu*, Bucharest, Editura Minerva, 1973, vol. I, p. 393-394.

²⁸ Remus Câmpeanu, *Biserica Română Unită între istorie și istoriografie*, Cluj-Napoca, Presa Universitară Clujeană, 2003, p. 15.

²⁹ Ioan Lupaș, *Mitropolitul Andrei baron de Șaguna*..., pp. 120-121.

³⁰ *George Bariț și contemporanii săi*, vol. 2, "Studiu introductiv," Bucharest, Editura Minerva, 1975, p. 2.

³¹ *Ibidem*, "Correspondența primită de la Pavel Vasici, Alexandru Roman și Atanasie Șandor," pp. 31-32.

The orientation of the newspaper and its editors

Ever since the end of the eighteenth century, the worship books necessary to the Orthodox Transylvanians had been printed in the Sibiu printing presses belonging to Johann Barth, Martin von Hochmeister and Georg Cloesius.³² Taking advantage of the liberalisation of the guild regime, Șaguna started a printing press based in Sibiu, on his own expense, in 1850. He quickly obtained Governor Wohlgemuth's approval, to whom he had emphasised that the lack of a printing press for church and school books seriously impinged upon the religiosity and culture of his people and had stressed the availability of the future press to carry out printing activities that would also cater for the needs of the regime.³³

The idea of a newspaper that would represent the interests of the Romanians had already appeared in a petition Șaguna addressed to the emperor in February 1849. After the 1848 Revolution, Andrei Șaguna resumed these plans, opting for the establishment of a Romanian newspaper in Vienna, which was to be published in Romanian and German. The correspondence between Aron Florian and Ioan Maiorescu reflected these plans of the bishop. Șaguna was convinced that in Transylvania 300 subscribers could be counted on and that several hundred Romanians from the other provinces could be added to them. His arguments were the following: a newspaper appearing in Vienna would enjoy the same freedom as the other papers there; furthermore, shipping was facilitated by the good communication channels between the capital and the provinces. As Aron wrote to Maiorescu, "the bishop tells me to write about this subject, so that you will think about it."³⁴ The details regarding the relinquishment of these intentions have not been preserved.

In 1852 the newspaper project was resumed and his request received a favourable resolution from Governor Karl Schwarzenberg, with whom he had relations of friendship.³⁵ The guidelines of the future gazette stood out in stark relief in his petition to Schwarzenberg. In Transylvania, the need was felt for a new broadsheet, because, according to the hierarch, *Gazeta de Transilvania* no longer had any charm and the Romanian people needed a press organ through which they could have access to a culture that was in tune with the times and in harmony with the state's interests.³⁶ A second petition, with almost the same content, was sent to the supreme police authority, but here he emphasised the pro-monarchical orientation of the gazette: "the drive behind this enterprise is solely to spread modern ideas amongst the Romanian people [...] in the interest of the high government, to enlighten them in decorous manner as to their true spiritual and material necessities, and to strengthen them forever in their unshaken faith to the holy throne and the all-high dynasty." The address ended with the conviction that his name was sufficient guarantee for this request being granted approval.³⁷

³² Vasile Popp, *Disertație despre tipografiile românești în Transilvania și învecinatele țări de la începutul lor până la vremile noastre*. Sibiu, 1838, Cluj-Napoca, Editura Dacia, 1995, p.124.

³³ Ioan Lupaș, *Mitropolitul Andrei Șaguna* ..., pp. 149-150.

³⁴ The letter is published in *Convorbiri literare*, year 33, 1899, p. 705. Apud I. Lupaș, *Mitropolitul Andrei Șaguna*, p. 164, note 2.

³⁵ Ioan Lupaș, *Mitropolitul Andrei Șaguna*..., p. 165.

³⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 164.

³⁷ Ioan Lupaș, *Contribuțiuni la istoria ziaristiceii românești ardeleni*, Sibiu, 1926, pp.78-79.

Telegraful Român represented the competition for *Gazeta de Transilvania* and for *Foaia pentru minte, inimă și literatură*. In 1856, Barițiu complained about the losses of the *Gazette*, as suggested by Maiorescu his letter, in which he encouraged Barițiu by assuring him he would request financial aid from the Principalities, and especially from Moldova, for the *Gazette* and for its editor Iacob Mureșanu. The losses would be temporary, as Maiorescu wrote; Barițiu should not abandon its publication, for this was exactly what Șaguna ("the evil," as he called him in the two letters to Barițiu from January 1856) was after.³⁸ Maiorescu was right, for after the particularly difficult period due mainly to the harshness of the neoabsolutist regime, the Romanian press in Transylvania experienced a period of prosperity, whose expression was not only the increased number of subscribers, but also the emergence of new broadsheets and of a specialised press that catered for the needs of professionals, such as teachers, priests, etc.³⁹

Onisifor Ghibu, the author of a study about the Romanians' ecclesiastical press, considered that *Telegraful Român* belonged, "despite its multilateral character," to the ecclesiastical press, being "the first political-ecclesiastical broadsheet."⁴⁰ The fact that the newspaper was dominated by his ideas or, as his opponents claimed, that *Telegraful Român* lay under Șaguna's censorship⁴¹ had been clear from the beginning. A contract that was concluded between the first editor in charge, Aron Florian, and the bishop, the patron of the broadsheet, obliged the former to accept the conditions set by the bishop. The contract of 8 December 1852 clearly stated: "The editor shall hand me a Copy of each issue of the journal, at least one hour before publication, so that I may view and approve it, while the most momentous articles shall be brought to my awareness before being printed, since it goes without saying that, randomly, whenever an issue does not meet my approval, it shall not be published."⁴² Only the first eight issues had Aron, "a rather haughty and intractable man" as their "responsible editor"; afterwards, Aron worked in Vienna, together with his good friend Ioan Maiorescu, on the translation into Romanian of the *Bulletin of Imperial Laws*.⁴³

The next editor, Pavel Vasici, appears to have been a more flexible contributor. While Aron Florian became an editor after a beautiful career as a professor and a reporter for the daily newspaper *România* in Wallachia, between 1837 and 1838,⁴⁴ Vasici was a doctor in Timișoara, then a quarantine physician and, finally, the director of the quarantine from Timișul de Sus, near Brașov. He was a physician with advanced ideas, the author of two medical textbooks which circulated throughout the Romanian territories and, as a government counsellor and, then, inspector of the Orthodox

³⁸ George Bariț și contemporanii săi, vol. 1, p. 396.

³⁹ George Em. Marica, *Studii de istoria și sociologia culturii române ardeleni din secolul al XIX-lea*, vol. I, Cluj-Napoca, Editura Dacia, 1977, pp. 109-110.

⁴⁰ Onisifor Ghibu, *Ziaristica bisericească la români. Studiu istoric*, Sibiu, Tiparul tipografiei dieceane, 1910, p. 16.

⁴¹ Cipariu in his letter to Barițiu of 8 January 1861, in Timotei Cipariu, *Epistolar 1836-1877*, Bucharest, Editura Academiei Române, 2005, p. 281.

⁴² Ioan Lupaș, *Contribuțiuni la istoria ziaristicii românești ardeleni*, p. 80, note 2.

⁴³ Onisifor Ghibu, *op. cit.*, p.17-18.

⁴⁴ Ioan Lupaș, "Începuturile și epocile istorice ale ziaristicii românești-transilvane," in Ioan Lupaș, *Din istoria Transilvaniei*, Bucharest, Editura Eminescu, 1988, p. 210.

denominational schools, he worked with a commitment comparable to that of Șincai for the development of Greek-Catholic schools.⁴⁵ At one point, as editor-in-chief of *Telegraful*, Vasici entered a conflict with *Gazeta de Transilvania*. The argument was, however, fleeting, for Vasici was one of those intellectuals who were completely averse to the confessional dissensions between the Romanians, to the extent that “no other man strove more than he did in order to reconcile, bring together, appease, in short, to put out the flames of reckless hatred.”⁴⁶ But he was also a man who had moments of irritability, as proved by his outburst against Șaguna, against whom he wrote, in 1868, a pamphlet that Barițiu considered too vehement to be published;⁴⁷ however, he was deeply saddened by the metropolitan’s death, as he confessed in his letter of 29 June 1873 to Barițiu.⁴⁸ He expressed himself with similar virulence against Visarion Roman, when the latter refused to publish Vasici’s article about correct nutrition in his almanac entitled *Amicul poporului* [*The People’s Pal*]. Although Visarion Roman had recommended it to the journal *Transilvania* [*Transylvania*], which had a more intelligent readership, more prone to accept Vasici’s advanced ideas about the vegetarian diet, Vasici expressed his anger against Roman in harsh words in a letter to Barițiu.⁴⁹

In the spring of 1856, Vasici gave up running the newspaper in order to focus exclusively on inspecting the primary schools in the Orthodox eparchy; his departure meant a considerable loss for *Telegraful Român*, but education gained a zealous inspector, on whose activity the newspaper reported frequently. On 28 April 1856, Ioan Bădilă was appointed editor, but there are few studies on him in the specialised literature. Shortly thereafter, on 14 December 1857, the newspaper was taken over by Visarion Roman, another great founder of Romanian institutions in the second half of the nineteenth century. Still, his stay was short, until 19 June 1858. During the period under examination here, the last editor was Ioan Rațiu, who headed the newspaper until December 1862.

The succession of editors working for *Telegraful Român* led the editor of *Gazeta de Transilvania* to write a short comment that vexed the editorial board of the Orthodox newspaper. This is what the *Gazette* wrote: “*Telegraful Român* has once again launched a contest for an Editor, who would be the fifth since its founding in 1853. No Romanian Journall of all those in Existence today could boast about its brilliant Sytuacion, and even the *Gazette* has describ’d its entire State and Cyrcumstaunces; but *Telegraful* caps it all! It makes one wonder with what Apathy and Indyfferens the Publick still treats that Journall. Now, besides all the other needs, it lacks an Editor too. - Let alone that a good editor, and not just any Ladde, cannot be supported with a lower Income than 1,200 to 2,000 florins mc, but then where can one get such Amounts from, if the Publick turns a cold shoulder to Journalism.” After reproducing these lines, the editorial staff of *Telegraful Român* attempted to refute these statements in a long and uninspired article. The author of these lines was called “that atrocious Correspondent” and his gesture was

⁴⁵ George Bariț și contemporanii săi, vol. 2, “Studiu introductiv,” p. 38.

⁴⁶ George Barițiu in *Observatoriul*, IV, 1881, no. 80, p. 321.

⁴⁷ George Bariț și contemporanii săi, vol. 2, p. 161.

⁴⁸ *Ibidem*, pp. 184-185.

⁴⁹ *Ibidem*, pp. 170-172.

“an atrociousness” compared to gesture of the enemy from the evangelical parable, who secretly sowed tares among the wheat. The previous editors had left because, for instance, Aron Florian and Pavel Vasici “got promoted in the State’s service,” while the third “left the editorial staff to ensure a safer future” and Visarion Roman had “fallen sick.”⁵⁰

The awkwardness of this retort confirmed what the editorial staff of *Gazeta Transilvaniei* had written when it pointed out the plight of the Romanian press, deprived, as it was, of the support that a broad readership might have granted it. At one point in 1856, Șaguna had attempted to demand that the priests and the teachers should subscribe to *Telegraful*, insisting that everyone must have their own copy of the newspaper so they could read the useful articles several times and that they should not associate themselves in twos or threes when making such subscriptions.⁵¹ As if the situation was not sufficiently difficult, at the beginning of 1858, Austria introduced a stamp tax on all the publications that were subject to bail conditions, that is, on the political periodicals. *Telegraful* expressed its concern, relying on the opinions of two prestigious newspapers, one Hungarian and the other German, concluding: “So if the big Journalls waile about it, what can we say since we have also had plenty of Reasones to complaine about and plenty of Obstacles to fight against? In fact, the Hardshippes of the printing Business will multiply because of this Stampe and the very Existance of many Journalls will be jeopardis’d on that Accounte.”⁵² Several days later, the editorial board came up with a solution to the financial problem created by this new tax. It made public the great expenses for editing the paper: a bail of 2500 fl., an annual fee for the mail, of 1 fl. for each subscriber, to which was added, as of 1 January 1858, the stamp tax of 1.48 fl./ year for each subscriber. This simple reckoning revealed that the expenditures were almost higher than the revenues, so the editorial board was forced to make changes: the newspaper, which had appeared on a biweekly basis so far, was to come out only once a week, on Thursdays, in a slightly larger format. Another change related to the lower price of the subscription. As for the tendency and tone of the newspaper, they would remain the same as before. The newspaper was not conceived as an enterprise that would bring profits to an individual, for the little income that was made went into the treasury of the printing press, from which aid was granted to the clergy. The readers who chose from the beginning to make a full year subscription would receive a brochure by Atanasie Marian Marienescu as a gift.⁵³ The price reduction measure was probably taken in order to increase the number of subscribers and to avoid the danger of the newspaper ceasing its activity.

The comment of *Gazeta de Transilvania* referring to the editors of *Telegraful Român* was fully justified. After the initial editors, Florian Aron and Pavel Vasici, mature individuals (Vasici was 47 years old and Aron 48), with experience, with a successful career and the ability to steer through the political and cultural matters of the

⁵⁰ *Telegraful Român*, year VI, no. 15, 10 April 1858, p. 60.

⁵¹ Circular no. Consist. 974/1856 in *Mitropolitul Andrei Șaguna în documentele din Șcheii Brașovului, creator de epocă în istoria Bisericii Ortodoxe din Transilvania*, vol. II, Sibiu, Editura Andreiană, 2008, pp. 406–407.

⁵² *Telegraful Român*, year V, no. 85, 26 October 1857, p. 337.

⁵³ *Telegraful Român*, year V, no. 89, 9 November 1857, p. 353.

time, young and inexperienced editors were appointed, lacking the intellectual maturity required for such a position, even though they had demonstrated above-average intelligence and had contributed articles to the newspaper. The editors who came after Pavel Vasici were young men at the beginning of their careers. Visarion Roman was a fresh graduate from the Theological-Pedagogical Institute in Sibiu when Șaguna appointed him a substitute teacher with the department of pedagogy, and then a teacher at the school in Rășinari, while two years later, in December 1857 (when Roman was 24!) he entrusted him with leading the newspaper. He only held this position for a few months; the reason why Roman gave up that position was probably the excessively severe guidelines Șaguna had contractually imposed on him, and not his ailments, as the ad for the post of editor alleged. Moreover, V. Roman stayed for six more months at the helm of the newspaper, until Ioan Rațiu was hired.⁵⁴ The conflict with Șaguna affected him for many years after leaving *Telegraful Român*, because thereafter he constantly refused any job related to the sphere of ecclesiastical activity.⁵⁵ Then it was difficult to ascertain the pioneering work V. Roman conducted in various fields throughout his life: culture (the first librarian of *Astra* and its founding member), the editor of the first Romanian pedagogical journal (*Amicul Școalei; The Friend of the School*), the editor of the almanac *Amicul poporului*, a contributor to several periodicals, a founding member of the first Romanian bank in Transylvania, *Albina*, etc.⁵⁶

The other editors, Ioan Bădilă and Ioan Rațiu, were not more experienced either: both were barely past the age of 30, and had been professors at Șaguna's Institute before running *Telegraful Român*. Ioan Bădilă, a teacher in Abrud, drew Șaguna's attention through his work; the latter called him to Sibiu, where he worked as a professor with the pedagogical department of his Institute, and in May 1856 he also made him editor-in-chief of the newspaper. After his collaboration with Șaguna came to an end, he crossed over to Romania, working there as a teacher and as an author of textbooks, of which the Latin textbook was long used in the Romanian schools.⁵⁷ Ioan Rațiu graduated the pedagogical course at Șaguna's Institute, and then studied law at Cluj; in 1852, he became a priest in Alba Iulia. He was an editor of *Telegraful Român* between 1858 and 1862, and between 1859 and 1861 he was also a professor with the pedagogical department of the Institute; from 1861 until his death, in 1891, he was the protopope of Hațeg.⁵⁸ The editors' lack of experience was reflected in the less inspired rhetoric of the articles and in the priority shown to school-related and pedagogical subjects, which were less difficult to approach and with which Visarion Roman and Ioan Bădilă were familiar.

Until 1858, the newspaper was printed in the Cyrillic transition alphabet, only Șaguna's circulars and the imperial ordinances and patents being published in Slavonic characters. Like in the other newspapers of the time, the articles had headlines only in exceptional cases and were rarely signed. By 1855, the readers had more and more insistently demanded that the newspaper should be printed with Latin letters instead of

⁵⁴ Bujor Surdu, *Visarion Roman (1833-1885)*, Cluj-Napoca, Presa Universitară Clujeană, 2008, p. 154.

⁵⁵ Alexandru Onojescu, "Visarion Roman. O viață între succese și iluzii," in Bujor Surdu, *op. cit.*, pp. 24-25.

⁵⁶ *Ibidem*, pp. 33-34.

⁵⁷ Eusebiu R. Roșca, *op. cit.*, pp. 93-94.

⁵⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 97.

Cyrillic characters. The editorial staff joined the opinion of those who believed that adopting the Latin alphabet was inevitable, but emphasised that most readers knew only the Cyrillic script and that the Latin writing system was not yet taught in schools.⁵⁹ In the following issue, the editorial staff replied by redefining its program, in response to the dissatisfaction with the direction and tone of the paper. Even here one can see the modest attention given to the ecclesiastical and theological issues. The newspaper, it is stated in the article, will continue to report on political events based on articles published in the foreign press, will tackle literary matters within the limits of the available space and will not overlook trade- and industry-related issues. "Based on the grounds of order and legality, we shall praise what is good and beautiful and we shall recommend all that is worth knowing and grasping from the sphere of truth, in the interest of well-understood good progress. To the extent that we may represent the rights and interests of the Romanian people, we shall deal with their churches and schools, with their institutes and whatsoever may contribute to their highest material and moral development."⁶⁰ When Pavel Vasici was replaced with Ioan Bădilă, the orientation of the broadsheet was once again specified in a short article entitled *Declarație: Telegraful va rămâne și pe viitor credincios misiunii sale* [*Declaration: Telegraful will remain faithful to its mission in the future*], "forever holding the interests of the State before its eyes, and endeavouring to satisfy the reading public" with fresh news about the most interesting events.⁶¹ The program of the newspaper was similarly defined by Țaguna in a letter to Filotei, the Bishop of Buzău: "The direction and purpose of this journal is to defend our church against the foreigners' assaults, to impart to the Christians an overview of the political and ecclesiastical ordinances aiming for the public good, to give diverse teachings useful for the social life, to raise awareness of the most momentous events of the political and religious world, etc."⁶²

The fact that the newspaper was founded in a period when martial law still prevailed was reflected in its orientation, since it could only serve as the defender of legality and as the promoter of allegiance to the Ruling House. The ample accounts of the main events in the life of the imperial family, the news about the health of the emperor after the attempt on his life from February 1853, and Țaguna's circulars urging the faithful in his eparchy to participate in the state loans or to do their duty as soldiers in the 1859 war against France and Sardinia were inevitable.⁶³

We shall endorse Onisifor Ghibu's opinion, who considered that the newspaper may indeed have been founded by a bishop for his clergy, who represented almost the sole intelligentsia of the nation, but it "could not confine itself to covering only to a part of the church necessities, in the sense of providing the priests with religious literature, with news of a purely ecclesiastical character and with theological works. [...] At the beginning of this new phase of development, the Gr[ee]k Oriental Church in

⁵⁹ *Telegraful Român*, year III, no. 4, 12 January 1855, p. 14.

⁶⁰ *Ibidem*, no. 5, 15 January 1855, p. 18.

⁶¹ *Ibidem*, year IV, no. 34, 2 May 1856, p. 136.

⁶² Andrei Țaguna, *Correspondență*, vol. I, part 1, p. 231.

⁶³ *Gazeta de Transilvania* also dedicated long articles to the emperor's wedding, recounting the solemn proceedings in detail in its issues of 21 and 24 April 1854.

Transylvania needed a wider field of vision: the priests with meagre training had to be enlightened for the entire field of their duties, from a twofold perspective: religious and national; they had to be equally worthy as Romanians and as Orthodox believers, to fight with equal amounts of determination both for the Romanian and for the Orthodox life.... This is, among others, what *Telegraful Român* also had to do.”⁶⁴

Ioan Lupaș, a connoisseur of Șaguna's epoch, was convinced that many of the orientation articles, “some of the most thorough that our journalism published in those decades,” were written by the bishop. For two decades, Șaguna represented for *Telegraful Român* what George Barițiu was for *Gazeta de Transilvania*, epitomising two opposite directions in Romanian politics; a verisimilar canvas of the times could only be arrived at by counterbalancing what Barițiu wrote in his newspapers and in his monumental history with the opinions Șaguna and his adherents expressed in the columns of this newspaper.⁶⁵

Nicolae Iorga considered that Șaguna was a politician and a hierarch with exceptional qualities, who, knowing the politicians in Vienna and Pest only too well, chose to fight with their weapons and obtain so many achievements on behalf of his parishioners. According to Iorga, having the Metropolitan of Karlovci as his model, Șaguna led a Church in whose name he was entitled to address himself to Vienna, to engage in politics. Characteristic of the hierarch was “a certain formalism of Austrian origin, a certain chancellery spirit,” which made him little accepted by the priests and even by his collaborators; this was due to his education in foreign milieus, to his close contact with the political elite of his time and to his superficial knowledge of monastery life. “The bishops who were monks are always distinguished by a kind of deep intimacy, by the touching, moving, contagious humility, we might say, of their spirit. Not even the greatest theologian has this note. This is something one cannot learn, it can only be acquired during those long years of solitude, through that daily presentment of the soul before God. Șaguna was not a man of the monastery. He only passed through a luxury monastery.”⁶⁶

George Barițiu seems to have been closer to the truth: his contemporary and collaborator and, for a while, his opponent in the field of national politics, Barițiu saw Șaguna as a providential personality; under his leadership, the Orthodox Church of the Transylvanian Romanians made very great progress, the supreme achievement being, from his point of view, its separation from the Serbian hierarchy. “Everything was to be done and he at once, after the trampling [suppression] of the revolution, took on everything. In addition to the rather difficult administration of the diocese, he set out to raise funds with which he set up the residence, an institute for the alumni [theology students] and the *preparandia* [a pedagogical institute], a printing press, a publicity body, and he reviewed and amended 37 religious, theological and ecclesiastical books. He also wrote and, in part, translated some, he printed books written by others, all in all 26. [...] Șaguna outlined, during his lifetime, so grandiose a plan that his successors

⁶⁴ Onisifor Ghibu, *op. cit.*, p. 18.

⁶⁵ Ioan Lupaș, *Contribuțiuni la istoria ziaristiceii românești ardeleni*, pp. 80-82.

⁶⁶ Nicolae Iorga, *Istoria Românilor din Ardeal și Ungaria*, pp. 407-408.

would have to work for at least 100 years to have it all completed.”⁶⁷ It was not Țaguna who used his position as church bishop to get politically engaged: the historical moment imposed such a hierarch and Andrei Țaguna embodied perfectly the character that was needed.

Ecclesiastical and theological issues

Right from the very first issues, the newspaper reflected the concern of the ecclesiastical hierarchy to guide the Orthodox clergy to higher levels of culture, which would make the elites of the cohabiting nations and the representatives of political power respect it. If the Romanian priests complained about being disrespected, the blame lay entirely with them, it was written in the article of 7 January 1853, for they went to no lengths to earn the respect due a servant of the Lord through “practical and sound knowledge” and through exemplary behaviour. A priest should acquire that amount of learning that would enable him, both in Church and outside it, to act with tact and be worthy of consideration. But there were too many sad examples, the author added.⁶⁸ In the next issue, he returned with the direction that the priests should wear the priestly robe, which, together with the beard, was a distinctive mark of their standing. Why should they keep the cassock in a case? Priests were not required to wear a cassock when working in the field, but they must wear it when going on business to the city, to the authorities at all levels, in short, in the public space. “We are aware of their Indigence, their Dearth and their Poverty, which prevent them from having more Cassocks made to wear all the tyme, as they should,”⁶⁹ the author, Țaguna most likely, added. However, not all of them abided by the orders, for some, he stated in a circular from 1853, did not even teach catechesis on Sunday afternoons and holidays, as he had commanded them in as early as 1850,⁷⁰ while others did not wear a cassock when teaching catechesis. He therefore reissued the order and the protopopes were bound to report to him both the positive and the negative examples, so that “I may know how to reward every man according to his conduct.”⁷¹

During the early years of neoabsolutism, the newspaper discussed, in its columns, general ecclesiastical matters that did not directly concern the Romanian Orthodox Church in Transylvania. Regarding this subject, up until the end of 1859, *Telegraful Român* had limited itself to publishing only a small number of Țaguna’s circular letters on church- and school-related problems, most of them focusing on the establishment of various foundations. After Emperor Franz Joseph was the victim of an attack, in 1853, the newspaper demonstrated its commitment to the throne in each and every issue, often publishing information about his state of health; countless letters from subjects throughout the empire, who were eager to show their “attachment to the Trone,” occupied the pages of *Telegraful Român*. To honour the blessed recovery of the August character, Țaguna established the *Franz-Joseph Foundation* with a view to supporting

⁶⁷ George Barițiu, *Părți alese din istoria Transilvaniei* ..., vol. III, p. 505.

⁶⁸ *Telegraful Român*, year I, no. 2, 7 January 1853, p. 6.

⁶⁹ *Telegraful Român*, year I, no. 3, 10 January 1853, p. 10.

⁷⁰ Circular letter no. 193/1850, of 23 March 1850, in Gheorghe Tulbure, *op. cit.*, pp. 243-247.

⁷¹ Circular letter no. 492/1853, din 19 May 1853, in Gheorghe Tulbure, *op. cit.*, pp. 259-260.

the studious youth in his eparchy. In the circular calling on the clergy and the people to support this establishment, fragments of which were published on the front page of the issue of 25 April 1853, he strove to demonstrate the commitment of his Church members to the Monarchy; in a long and excessively formal introduction, he described the joy the subjects had experienced at hearing the news that the emperor had recovered. In the second part, when he stated the purpose of the foundation, namely aiding the studious young men, his style was more convincing and the sincerity of his concern for the cultural progress of the Romanian youth was beyond doubt.

In 1855, an article in two parts was published about the situation of the Transylvanian Orthodox Church from 1700 to the present day. The article carefully eschewed the reason why the Orthodox Church had been left without hierarchical leaders ("some Circumstances we would not be permitted to reveal"). The priests from Transylvania, the article went on to say, had to travel to be ordained by the Orthodox bishops in the Banat and Hungary; Wallachia was not mentioned here, since the Transylvanian Romanians' relations with it were strictly controlled. The tone of the article was optimistic, focusing on achievements. Despite these serious political circumstances, the author said, the Church had endured, and the more unfavourable the conditions, the more devoted its believers were. "One might say that if this Church ever experience'd Beautifull Tymes, they were the Tymes when finding itself waylaid and beset, it stout-heart'dly fought for its own Existens."⁷²

During these years, the pages of the newspaper included few articles on theological subjects that provided the readers with knowledge about the significance of the great religious holidays from the cycle of the liturgical year.⁷³ In 1853, there were only two articles that appeared, in April, discussing the significance of the Holy Week and of Easter, entitled *O contemplațiune în septemăna patimilor* [*A Meditation during the Week of the Passions*].⁷⁴

In the following year, 1854, Șaguna issued a circular letter occasioned by the Easter holiday and the emperor's wedding. Here he also dealt extensively with the imperial ceremony, while in the second part, he informed the faithful that the *Franz-Joseph Foundation*, which he had started, had raised over 9,000 florins and urged them to be generous again at the collection for this fund that would be organised on Easter Monday. He invited them to sacrifice at least a kreutzer from their wealth, which would be received like the widow's farthing in the Bible. One of Șaguna's chief concerns - raising the clergy and his people from the state of poverty - was expressed here in few albeit convincing words: "A handsome Amount" - he wrote about the money raised so far - "if we looke at it and at our Povertee, from which it has been gather'd; but dearly belov'd!, meagre is this Amount if we compare it with the host of our young destitute Men, who are in want of schooling, and with the Host of our dire Needs." All those

⁷² *Telegraful Român*, year III, no. 21, 12 March 1855, pp. 81-82. The article is continued in no. 22, of 16 March 1855, p. 85.

⁷³ However, in his 1855 volume, he published 26 *de cuventări la serbători mari, ca adaus la Chiriadodromion*, cf. Nicolau Popca, *Archiepiscopul și metropolitul Andrei baron de Șaguna*, Sibiu, Tipariul tipografiei arhiepiscopale, 1879, p. 322.

⁷⁴ *Telegraful Român*, year I, 1853, no. 30, 16 April 1853, p. 118 and no. 31, 18 April 1853, p. 122.

who gave more than 10 kreutzers would be recorded and their names would be published in *Telegraful Român*, the bishop also said.⁷⁵ Indeed, the last page of the newspaper permanently published the names of those who donated money to the numerous foundations Țaguna and other personalities had initiated.

On the death of the young protosyngellos Grigore Pantazi, Țaguna established a foundation bearing his name and bestowed it with 2,000 florins. In the issue of 26 January 1855, the circular that announced the establishment of this foundation was published on the front page, under the title *Monument al Protosinghelului Grigorie Pantasi, Andreiu cu mila lui Dumnezeu Episcop al Bisericei greco-resăritene...* [*Monument of the Protosyngellos Grigorie Pantasi, Andreiu, with the mercy of God, Bishop of the Greek-Eastern Church...*]. What he wanted was that after the foundation had reached a hundred years, its income should be used to support the priests and the protopopes. He once again voiced his concern for the material situation of the clergy, which he considered to be “the capital lack” among the many deprivations the people he shepherded had to endure. He lamented in touching words the pain he had experienced at the death of this young man and talented collaborator. “Bitter were Jacob’s tears when his Sonnes brought him the sadde News that the Beaste had taken Joseph, his belov’d Sonne; but his Grief and Sorrow were soon turn’d into Joye when his Sons then [..] came back from there with that joyefull news that Joseph, his Sonne, was alive and was second in Honnoure to the Pharaoh. Bitter are my Tears too and my Eyes will not dry, wailing as I am when I remember the passing of my belov’d spiritual Sonne and Protosyngellos Grigorie.”⁷⁶ He wrote with equal sorrow about this precious collaborator in his *Memories*: “He was my right Hande; he penetrat’d with the Sharpness of his grasp the deep Core of my Ideas and knew how to putte them down on paper just as I thought those Thoughts to my own self. For this irreparable Losse, I was and I am sadden’d to Death.”⁷⁷

During the period 1853-1856, only six of Țaguna’s sermons were printed in the newspaper, five in the 1855 issues and one in issue number 11 of 8 February, all in Cyrillic, rather than in the transition script, in which the other articles were written. A very small number of circulars were added to them. Pastoral no. Cons. 1050/1858 of 10 December 1858, on the occasion of Christmas, the Circumcision of Our Lord and the Theophany, was published piecemeal at the beginning of 1859. It was an opportunity for the hierarch to express his concern about the spread of alcoholism among the faithful of his eparchy and to urge them to live a life more worthy of a Christian.⁷⁸ The problem of alcoholism had also appeared in a circular in May 1858, which was not published by the newspaper.⁷⁹ The same issue had been the subject of a long article published in the issues of in November and December in 1858, entitled: *Păcatul beuterei de vinars* [*The Sin of the Brandy Brew*].

Onisifor Ghibu regarded Vasici as responsible for the fact that ecclesiastical literature was given “not so great” importance during the first three years, when he was

⁷⁵ *Telegraful Român*, year II, no. 29, 10 April 1854, pp. 112-113.

⁷⁶ *Telegraful Român*, year III, no. 8, 26 January 1855, pp. 29-30.

⁷⁷ Andrei Țaguna, *Memorii* ..., p. 77.

⁷⁸ *Telegraful Român*, year VII, no. 2, 8 January 1859, p. 5.

⁷⁹ Circular letter no. Cons. 518/1858, of 22 May 1858. It has been published by Gh. Tulbure, *op. cit.*, pp. 207-209.

the editor in charge,⁸⁰ but the outlook of the newspaper did not change with Vasici's departure and, besides, the control Șaguna had exerted did not cease. In December 1857, Visarion Roman, the new editor in chief was faced with the same kind of contract that the bishop drafted and had him sign.⁸¹

Another category was that of articles with a Christian moral character, although their number was also not high. Among the examples worth mentioning there were, though, a few articles about marriage, family life and the (Christian and patriotic) education of the children. Of these, the largest in stretch and importance was *O scurtă privire asupra căsătoriei și a împrejurărilor, sub care se încheie cele mai multe legături matrimoniale* [*A Brief Overview of Marriage and the Circumstances under which Most Matrimonial Knots Are Tied*], published in January-February and July-August 1857. The main topics it addressed were: the decreasing number of marriages, which was allegedly caused by the spreading of luxury in the Romanian villages; the haste with which marriages were concluded "in the first gush of Passion" and which almost always "entail'd the saddest of Consequences;"⁸² the iniquity of marriages contracted by the young couple's parents for economic reasons; the mistakes parents made in educating their daughters, who were taught only how to behave in society, to dress nicely, to dance and play the piano, without being shown what their duties as future housewives would be.⁸³ In the relations between the spouses, the author advised them to be sympathetic towards the negative traits of their partners, reminding them that everyone had flaws that could ruin domestic happiness. Their living in common should exclude vulgar words, "Profanities," swearwords; still, on this last point, he was forced to admit, "with Grief," that situations of this type were not few, being the "Source of many years of Sufferynnge."⁸⁴

The newspaper dealt less with the major Christian holidays, covering the manner in which they were celebrated across the mountains, in the Principalities, rather than the way were kept by the Orthodox Romanians in Transylvania.

In 1856, the Diocesan Printing Press worked on Șaguna's illustrated *Bible* and in its January and February issues, the newspaper frequently returned with information about the course of this work, the quality of the paper and the price of the book, urging the believers to buy and read this holy book. In an article whose author was probably the bishop himself, dedicated to the history of the translation and circulation of the Bible in the Romanian space, it was reported that the *Holy Scripture* was now being printed because Șerban Cantacuzino's *Bible* and its second edition, from St. Petersburg (1819), either cost too much, 50-70 florins, or could simply no longer be found.⁸⁵ Not a word was said about the *Bible* that Samuil Micu had printed in Blaj in 1795.

Micu's *Bible* had appeared with illustrations that were foreign to the iconographic tradition of the Orthodox Church, as an expression of a stage of crisis not

⁸⁰ Onisifor Ghibu, *op. cit.*, p. 19.

⁸¹ Ioan N. Ciolan and Victor V. Grecu, *Visarion Roman pedagog social. Studiu introductiv, texte alese, bibliografie*, Bucharest, Editura didactică și pedagogică, 1971, p. 44.

⁸² *Telegraful Român*, year V, no. 8, 26 January 1857, p. 29.

⁸³ *Telegraful Român*, year V, no. 13, 13 February 1857, p. 50.

⁸⁴ *Telegraful Român*, year V, no. 61, 3 August 1857, p. 241.

⁸⁵ *Telegraful Român*, year IV, no. 12, 11 February 1856, p. 45.

only insofar as Transylvanian Orthodoxy was concerned, but also as regards Orthodoxy in South-Eastern Europe, in a century dominated by politics. The famous libraries of the monasteries from the Principalities had disappeared, the monks were generally ignorant,⁸⁶ and in a report of the Ottoman Porte, cited by Iorga, it was written that the monasteries were in such a state of decay that monastic life was a thing of the past.⁸⁷

The Lutheran theologian Johann Schneider, who has dedicated his doctoral thesis to Țaguna, clarifies the origin of the illustrations the bishop used: these are images in Catholic “Nazarene” style, reproduced after the Alliolli *Bible* from Cotta. Țaguna opted for this type of illustration because for him, the “standard was the canonical form of the biblical text in dogmatic interpretation, while the images were meant to foster intuitive reading and were not understood in a specifically Orthodox iconographic sense.”⁸⁸ This was not the only case in which the Orthodox world resorted to borrowing these western models: the influence of the “Nazarene” models was also felt in the Russian iconography, as well as in the case of other Orthodox peoples.⁸⁹

The illustrations of Țaguna’s *Bible* were also successful in Râmnic; Bishop Calinic requested him, in 1865, to lend him the plates with the evangelists’ figures so that they could be reproduced exactly in the *Gospel* that was under print then,⁹⁰ and in 1858, Țaguna sent 20 copies of the *Bible* to Bishop Filotei from Buzău.⁹¹ However, Țaguna endeavoured to defend the purity of the Orthodox tradition from the Greek-Catholic contagion, rejecting, among others, the 1855 *Bible* from Buzău,⁹² on account that it reproduced the 1795 *Bible* from Blaj. Bishop Filotei from Buzău replied to Țaguna that he had relied on the fact that the Metropolitan of Moldova, Veniamin, recommended the *Bible* from Blaj to the Biblical Society from St. Petersburg, when - in 1819 - this society wanted to print the *Bible* in several European languages, including Romanian. On receiving this answer, Țaguna wondered: “Had anyone else told me this, that Veniamin, the late Metropolitan of Moldova, had describ’d the *Bible* from Blaj as a model [...] I would not have believ’d them, but learning it from Thee, Brother, I shall not question its Truth”; he only insisted on having the *Foreword* from the Blaj *Bible* removed, putting the one from his *Bible* in its stead.⁹³

The bishop from Sibiu considered it totally inappropriate for the laity to claim that they were entitled to translate the *Holy Scripture*. This was the case of Ion Heliade-Rădulescu, who ventured to produce such a translation, entering into a conflict with Țaguna. From Paris, Heliade sent the bishop what he had managed to print: the first two books of the *Pentateuch* and some comments on the *Bible*.⁹⁴ In the short circular no.

⁸⁶ Onisifor Ghibu, *op. cit.* p. 23-24.

⁸⁷ Apud Onisifor Ghibu, *op. cit.*, p. 24.

⁸⁸ Johan Schneider, *Ecleziologia organică a mitropolitului Andrei Țaguna și fundamentele ei biblice, canonice și moderne*, Sibiu, române Deisis, 2008, pp. 147-149.

⁸⁹ *Ibidem*, pp. 150-151.

⁹⁰ This is the letter of 20 June 1865 that Calinic addressed to the Transylvanian metropolitan. In Andrei Țaguna, *Correspondență*, vol. I, part 1, p. 276.

⁹¹ *Ibidem*, p. 39.

⁹² *Ibidem*, p. 237.

⁹³ *Ibidem*, pp. 235-237.

⁹⁴ The title of this writing is *Biblice sau notiții historice, filosofice, religioase și politice asupra Bibliei*, Paris, 1858.

Cons. 518/1858 of 24 May 1858, Șaguna warned his flock that according to Canon 64 of the Sixth Ecumenical Council, laymen were forbidden “to teach others in matter of the Lord and of the church,” and he, with his authority as an arch-hierarchy, condemned and anathemised “this book of the Bible and its comment.” The believers were warned against buying this book, and those who ignored his command were to be excluded from the Church. The clergy would read out and explain this pastoral on the first Sunday after the Divine Liturgy.⁹⁵ In the *Telegraful Român* issue of 29 May 1858, the hierarchy from Sibiu published a long and severely critical review of this translation, contesting Heliade’s competence to make such translations, admonishing him for his fallacious interpretation of the Christian teachings, and accusing him of infidelity and paganism. Șaguna reproached Heliade - a supporter of phonetic spelling and of neologisms borrowed from Latin and the Romance languages - for his broken Latinised language that no one could understand. “The hierarchies cannot and dare not look upon such an Enterprise with Coldness and Contempt, for then they would be to blame if Evil were to gain roots in the Church, spread and, with its Volcano, ruin the Holiest and most dear, and upset our Calmness and the Peace of mind we have enjoy’d so far, and if the Body of the Church will weaken,” as Șaguna wrote in his critique.⁹⁶ Heliade replied in the newspaper *Naționalul* [*The National*], ignoring the bishop’s circular and directing his criticism against *Telegraful Român* with “raucous and incoherent attacks against Șaguna.”⁹⁷ Then he printed these pages in a separate pamphlet and, in response, the bishop from Sibiu also printed a pamphlet. Twenty copies of this booklet entitled *Respingerea unor atacuri în privința unei traduceri nouă a Bibliei* [*Rebutting Some Attacks on a New Translation of the Bible*] were sent to Filotei of Buzău,⁹⁸ urging him to be a bold and wise defender of evangelical truth against Eliad, the “heretic” and “Parisian Beelzebub.”⁹⁹ He did not limit himself to sending his trusted people to the hierarchs and the monasteries in the Principalities with his brochure and the exhortation that the higher clergy should take action against Eliade’s translation, but he also made similar efforts with the Serbian Patriarch of Karlovci.¹⁰⁰ Heliade had his supporters at *Naționalul*, including N. Filimon, C. Bolliac, C. D. Aricescu and Al. Petrescu, who wrote a virulent article against the hierarchy from Sibiu; other opinions in Heliade’s favour were expressed in *Foaia pentru minte, inimă și literatură*.¹⁰¹

In the pages of Șaguna’s brochure,¹⁰² one may have the pleasure of admiring the language in which it is written, as well as the irony with which he attacked the “Parisian Biblicalist” and his “Biblical error.” The bishop refuted, point by point, all the claims Heliade-Rădulescu had made in the newspaper *Naționalul*, managing, based on his

⁹⁵ Gh. Tulbure, *op. cit.*, pp. 209-212.

⁹⁶ *Telegraful Român*, year VI, no. 22, 29 May 1858, p. 85. The article was reprinted by the ecclesiastical journal *Predicatorul* from Bucharest, with a eulogy to Șaguna. Cf. Gheorghe Tulbure, *op. cit.*, p. 38.

⁹⁷ The commentary belongs to I. Chindriș. In Timotei Cipariu, *Epistolar...*, p. 270.

⁹⁸ Andrei Șaguna, *Correspondență*, vol. I, part I, pp. 234-235.

⁹⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 237.

¹⁰⁰ Nicolae Boșcan and Gabriel-Viorel Gărdan, “Andrei Șaguna și tipărirea Bibliei,” in *Tabor. Revista de cultură și spiritualitate românească*, year II, no. 11, February 2009, p. 18.

¹⁰¹ Ovidiu Moceanu, *Teologie și filologie. Andrei Șaguna vs. Ion Heliade Rădulescu*, Editura Paralela 45, 2003, p. 93.

¹⁰² In O. Moceanu’s book, its title is *Respingerea unor atacuri în treaba unei traduceri nouă a Bibliei*.

arguments, to ridicule the latter, and making him appear as ignorant in theological matters and inconsistent in his ratiocination. Rejecting Heliade's contention that the Romanians had never had, to that date, a *Bible* in their language, "except for the Bible given by the Vatican," Țaguna showed him that he had recklessly ignored the Romanian translation of the *New Testament* from the time of Simion Ștefan and, above all, Șerban Cantacuzino's *Bible*.¹⁰³ For him, Heliade was nothing but the "Parisian" who "like a Thyeffe, came among the Romanians with his profane *Bible* in Hande through the back door and gate,"¹⁰⁴ and after a few pages, he asked himself rhetorically: "Does the Parisian knows what his duties are to the *Bible*? Is he aware of the Prince of Romania, Ioann Șerban Cantacusino Besarabă's God-fearing and pious at the time of the very first Translatioun of the entire *Bible* into our Language? Is the Parisian now unable to see that Errour in which he fell when saying that he would not be judg'd for the Language into which he translat'd?" Only the Church hierarchy could supervise a new translation, but until then the old translation would be the only canonical translation, he went on to say.¹⁰⁵ Compared to Țaguna's pages, Heliade's response seems far more incoherent, with an excessively long introduction and without direct bearing on the subject of controversy, in a tone devoid of elegance and sobriety and in an unduly aggressive language. "They vied with one another in using foul words," as Pavel Vasici wrote to G. Barițiu, with reference to the feud between the two.¹⁰⁶

As for the opinions of posterity, there were voices even among the Orthodox theologians who felt that Țaguna's booklet was "overly drastic," because it attacked Heliade, a leading figure of the era who was "deeply imbued with the zeal to see the Romanian people enjoying the lights of the national culture."¹⁰⁷ This statement was gradually offset until fully refuted in the ensuing lines. The author explained the circumstances that had led to the conflict escalating, namely the fact that Eliade, with all his good intentions, had made two serious mistakes. One was linguistic: the famous poet and freedom fighter had eliminated the Greek and Slavonic terms from the language of the *Bible*, replacing them with words of Latin or even Italian origin. Moreover, Țaguna had already made his position against the forced Latinisation of the language known. The second mistake was that he had embarked on this work without having been invested by the Church leadership with this mission, anarchically arrogating teaching prerogatives. The hierarch thundered out against his gesture because the poet, "being possessed by the spirit of vanity, engaged in personal attacks against the Transylvanian metropolitan instead of composing himself and leaving the realm of enterprises in which he had infiltrated with vast pretences that he was a connoisseur."¹⁰⁸ In 1984, the researcher Dan Manucă wrote an article entitled "*Bonus pastor*" și blasfemia heliadescă ["*Bonus pastor*" and Heliade's Blasphemy], dedicated to Heliade's *Biblicele* [Biblical

¹⁰³ Andrei Țaguna, *Respingerea unor atacuri în privința unei traduceri nouă a Bibliei*, Sibiu, Tipografia diecezană, 1858, pp. 2-3.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 9.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 11.

¹⁰⁶ In the letter addressed to Bariț, on 9 October 1858. In *George Bariț și contemporanii săi*, vol. II, p. 36.

¹⁰⁷ Grigorie Marcu, "Sfânta Scriptură în 'pom românesc'," in *Mitropolia Ardealului*, 1958, no. 11-12, p. 808.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibidem*, pp. 808-810.

Studies], in which he finds that the latter's interpretation was in obvious opposition against the traditional interpretation of the Church, concluding: "A greater heresy could hardly have been imagined at that time."¹⁰⁹ More recently, the researcher Ovidiu Moceanu has shown that Șaguna's intervention was justified precisely because Ion Heliade Rădulescu was a figure of such standing that he was likely to encourage other similar translations and interpretations of the Holy Scripture.¹¹⁰

On this point, *Telegraful Român* returned during the following year, reminding the readers that the newspaper *Naționalul* had refused to publish Bishop Șaguna's reply to the encomium of Heliade and reproducing an article from *Românul*, in which I. Heliade Rădulescu had been relentlessly attacked by C. A. Rosetti.¹¹¹

Circulars and pastoral letters were disseminated more efficiently if they were read out and explained in church by the protopopes and the priests, which is why so few of them were printed in the newspaper. *Telegraful Român* was reserved for articles that popularised political, cultural, and scientific issues, and last but not least, the ecclesiastical matters of the time. The theological training of the clergy was by no means neglected; on the contrary, Șaguna printed the *Bible*, the ritual books, the textbooks of the theology students in his Institute, a work of Canon Law, a history of the Orthodox Church, and homiletic literature, urging the priests, first and foremost, to buy them and read them for their and their parishioners' benefit. Special attention was given to the sermons of his priests, who were deficient in this regard. In 1855, he printed a collection of sermons for every Sunday of the year, entitled *Chiriadromion*, by Nikephoros Theotokis, the Archbishop of Astrakhan, to which he added a number 26 of his own sermons for the Great Feasts. The volume therefore contained sermons for all the Sundays and the feasts of the liturgical year, and the priests or the cantors were to read the sermon to the Gospel of the day from there. With this volume, the bishop wanted to provide a sermon model. Having been strongly recommended for purchase, the book was not found in all the parishes two years after its publication, as Șaguna observed in one of his circulars. He ordered the protopopes to buy the book for those parishes that did not have it and "to point out all those Priests who are indifferent to the purchase of this book." The sermons should be read by the priests dressed in priestly attire, from the pulpit, and not from the pew, as some did. In every parish, the protopope should appoint a Christian who would oversee the enforcement of this order and should admonish and withdraw the parish of all those who slackened in carrying it out, since they were "no longer worthy of pastoring God's people."¹¹² His 26 sermons were reprinted in 1945 by Father Florea Mureșan,¹¹³ an enthusiastic admirer of Șaguna's

¹⁰⁹ An article published in *Revista de istorie și teorie literară*, year XXXII, no. 4, 1984, p. 11.

¹¹⁰ Ovidiu Moceanu, *op. cit.* p. 97.

¹¹¹ *Telegraful Român*, year VII, no. 21, 21 May 1859, p. 82.

¹¹² Circular letter no. Cons. 626/1857, of 2 August 1857, in Gheorghe Tulbure, *op. cit.*, pp. 201-203.

¹¹³ Valeriu Anania met him and depicted him in flattering terms: "a priest of exceptional standing, a scholar, the author of a presentation of Barlaam, the owner of a rich library of general culture." His wife, who was also a writer and published a volume of short stories at the time of the Hungarian occupation, "was also endowed with the skills of a superb hostess, like those who created the 'French salon' must have been in days of yore." During the years that followed World War II the writers from Cluj met in their home, where V. Anania encountered L. Blaga. Cf. *Memorii*, Iași, Editura Polirom, 2008, pp. 106-107. The

oratorical art, who was convinced that “he has left us a few pages of rare beauty that would fit into an anthology of Romanian writing.”¹¹⁴

Education and its problems

The historian Simion Retegan, the author of substantial studies on Transylvanian schools in the second half of the nineteenth century, considers that the period between the 1848 Revolution and 1867 was “the heroic age of the Romanian schools, a period in which hundreds of villages raised their own modest school institutions through their efforts.”¹¹⁵ Șaguna issued a lot of circulars on school matters, because he regarded education as a priority of his activity as a hierarch and considered that the Romanian people would be able to rise to a higher level of moral and material culture through education. He never abandoned this conviction, which led him to carry on the activity of organising and supporting the schools at all levels. Șaguna’s pragmatic and realistic spirit was attested by his attempts not only to found good schools - his greatest achievements including the Theological-Pedagogical Institute, with a two-year course for the training of priests and teachers, the gymnasia in Brașov and Brad - but also to print the textbooks that were necessary for his Institute and the schools in the diocese. In this field too, he had to fight against prejudices and old habits, but he was determined to overcome them, having many protopopes, priests and teachers on his side, including Pavel Vasici, the assiduous inspector of the Orthodox schools appointed by the government. He was also forced to resort to coercion, as shown by circular 1857, no. cons. 493 of 14 July 1857: the teachers who ignored the repeated hierarchical directives on the use of the prescribed textbooks were liable to a fine of 5 florins for the first offence, 10 florins for the second, and third-time offenders “shall be deposed from their teaching positions.” The money resulting from these fines were to enter the account of the *Franz-Joseph Foundation*.¹¹⁶

Ever since its first issues, *Telegraful Român* published frequent reports on the progress of the construction works for the Romanian gymnasium in Brașov and lists with the financial contributions of the merchants and the wealthier Romanians.¹¹⁷

A major problem was the lack of appropriate buildings for the primary schools. Every school built by a parish community was praised in the newspaper as a victory over the Romanians’ poverty and cultural backwardness. Building these schools and supporting the teachers were the responsibility of the ecclesiastical communities led by the priest, who was the teacher’s direct hierarchical superior. The teachers’ wages were, therefore, more modest than the priests’. The synod Șaguna convened in 1850 provided

journal *Rost* dedicated to him its issue no. IX, of March 2011, the articles including the one authored by the hieromonk Grigore Benea, *Părintele Florea Mureșan în dosarele Securității*, pp. 28-43. According to this article, Mureșan died in the Aiud prison, in 1963.

¹¹⁴ Mitropolitul Andrei Șaguna, *Predici*. With an introductory study by Father Florea Mureșan, Cluj, Editura Episcopiei Ortodoxe Române, 1945, p. CI.

¹¹⁵ Simion Retegan, “Elevii români ai Liceului Piarist din Cluj între 1850-1910,” in *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie Cluj-Napoca*, XXXII, 1993, p. 122.

¹¹⁶ Gheorghe Tulbure, *op. cit.*, pp. 300-301.

¹¹⁷ *Telegraful Român*, year I, no. 3, 4, of 10 and 14 January 1853, pp. 10 and 14.

that every cleric should be a teacher before ordination, and this custom was maintained in the primary schools of the diocese for a long time.¹¹⁸ The priority Şaguna gave to the priestly mission over that of the teacher was reflected in the *Organic Statute*: paragraph 13 stipulated that the future priests should also be qualified for teaching positions. In Şaguna's period, it had become almost a rule that the young people who wanted to attend the training course for priests should be admitted only after completing the training course for teachers. Even after better prepared candidates - secondary school graduates - started applying for the theology courses, the main subjects of study from the pedagogical department were also introduced to students from the theological department in the school year 1863-1864, a practice that was maintained until the beginning of the twentieth century.¹¹⁹ In 1854, the two-year training courses for priests and for teachers - which had hitherto not been separated¹²⁰ - became different sections within the same Theological-Pedagogical Institute, which was headed by Bishop Şaguna directly.¹²¹ This explains the regularity with which at the end of each semester, *Telegraful Român* reported on the manner of conducting examinations at the Institute, under the presidency of Şaguna. Circular no. Cons. 203 of 3 March 1855, which was also not published in the newspaper, was addressed to the archbishops in this respect. Şaguna shared to them, first of all, the joy that he had been able to buy a stately building in Sibiu, which was necessary for the activity of the Theological-Pedagogical Institute to be carried out in good conditions and contribute to raising the priests' and the teachers' level of training. As their leader, he needed their help. He urged that they "should always have more young people from your protopresbyterates in the Theological-Pedagogical Institute, who should train for the priestly and the teaching ministry." The parishes would thus have better qualified priests and teachers, diligent workers for the comfort of the faithful in the diocese "who have contributed to the establishment of the above-mentioned Institute and who, seeing the honest and well-trained Priests and Teachers graduating from this Institute, will happily contribute to other public needs of the Eparchy."¹²² Those are the words of a bishop who built schools and churches with the meagre contributions of the poor Romanians and without any support from the state and who sent the most outstanding graduates from the schools in his diocese to study, with scholarships, in the universities abroad.

Another category of regularly published news focused on the foundations Şaguna had established, on the amounts collected for their funds and the relief offered by these foundations. There were numerous stories about the *Franz-Joseph Foundation*, about the scholarships given to the young students and the conditions of eligibility for such scholarships. To support the priests with a low income, Şaguna founded, on the death of his beloved spiritual son, Grigore Pantazi, a foundation bearing his name. Three years after his death, a circular that was partially published in the newspaper informed

¹¹⁸ Eusebiu R. Roşca, *op. cit.*, p. 29.

¹¹⁹ *Ibidem*, pp. 29-30.

¹²⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 28.

¹²¹ *Ibidem*, p. 31.

¹²² *Ibidem*, p. 34.

the public that over 4,800 florins had been gathered,¹²³ the bishop contributing with 2,000 florins, and his Gr. Pantazi's father, a merchant from Braşov, with 500 florins.¹²⁴

After Pavel Vasici's departure from the leadership of *Telegraful Român*, the newspaper reported quite frequently on his activity as an inspector of the schools from the Transylvanian Orthodox diocese. School inspections were held in the company of the local protopopes. The schoolchildren and the condition of the edifice where the classes were held were examined, Vasici often attempting to convince the villagers to contribute to building a sufficiently large school. For instance, he arrived in Apahida in 1858, on the morning of Pentecost. He attended, together with the protopope, the Liturgy, and then delivered a "very insightful" speech to the people. After inspecting the school, they headed towards Dej, to inspect the schools in the Bârgău area, participating in the exams.¹²⁵ In Alba Iulia, where he went in 1856, there were two schools, one of them being small, ramshackle, and entirely inappropriate, and the number of children attending school was small. Vasici met with the priests and the church trustees and persuaded them to start building other schools; on the same occasion, a wealthy Romanian promised to donate bricks and other construction materials. During the following days he visited other schools in the area. At the school in Ighiu, he found a hardworking teacher, who had over 100 pupils, but a school was needed because classes were held in a rented house. Vasici was pleased with the way children answered his questions and the protopope provided them with a house where classes could be held; the same happened in Ampoiţa, near Zlatna, where a cantor donated a house for the school.¹²⁶ The news on Vasici's inspection activities were so frequent, that the newspaper's editorial board felt the need to clarify that it did not seek to flatter the former editor, but only to awaken the Romanian people's interest in education.¹²⁷ However, things did not always occur in an atmosphere of enthusiasm and a spirit of sacrifice for the common good. From the beginning of 1857 on, Vasici published - starting with the very first issue - a series of articles entitled *Împărtăşiri pedagogice* [*Pedagogical Impartments*], in which he summarised the problems primary schools had been facing ever since the period from before 1848. This was a realistic presentation, which relinquished the laudatory style, its purpose being to "show the situation of our schools as it is, with all its defects, to give counsel to the teachers [...] to debate the confessional principle, which, having been misunderstood by many, has given free rein to the clumsiest opinions etc."¹²⁸ In the next issue, he succinctly enumerated the most serious problems of education: the teachers' poor pedagogical training, their insufficient remuneration, which was very different from one community to another, the lack of textbooks, the priests' and protopopes' disregard for education, the attendance of school by few children, the lack of funds to support the school, the mismanagement of church and school property.¹²⁹ He particularly insisted that parents should make the effort to

¹²³ *Telegraful Român*, year VI, no. 5, 30 January 1858, p. 17.

¹²⁴ *Telegraful Român*, year III, no. 14, 16 February 1855, pp. 53-54.

¹²⁵ *Telegraful Român*, year VI, no. 21 and 22, 1858, pp. 82 and 91.

¹²⁶ *Telegraful Român*, year IV, no. 41, 26 May 1856, p. 162.

¹²⁷ *Telegraful Român*, year V, no. 47, 15 June 1857, p. 186.

¹²⁸ *Telegraful Român*, year V, no. 1, 2 January 1857, p. 1.

¹²⁹ *Telegraful Român*, year V, no. 2, 5 January 1857, pp. 5-6.

buy textbooks for their children, and that the priests and the protopopes should consistently tell them, as some of them did “on all occasions, that like one requires different Toolles for different soil tillage Workkes, and like Ploughmen cannot plough with a Harrow, or reap with a Hoe, Children cannot learne from just any Booke, for Bookes must measure up to the Children’s powers, and that such Bookes are print’d in the diocesan printing Presse at a very suitable Pryce, so that even the poore may procure them, should they drinkke a mere quarter less than their weekly Spirits.”¹³⁰

Vasici also complained on 3 May 1860, in a letter addressed to G. Barițiu, that *Telegraful Român* ascribed his merits and labours in the realm of education to the priests and the protopopes, who had not always supported him, some of them even obstructing him.¹³¹ Later Vasici drafted *Raport în cauza școlilor* [A Report on School Matters], where he stressed the importance of involving the state, of the established legislative framework; the state-church collaboration from the decade of neoabsolutism had been beneficent, in his opinion. In the early years of this decade, the villages “were competing to build schools and endow the teachers; such zeal as they proved for the benefit of the schools did not last long, however, because the political and ecclesiastical authorities whose responsibility was to promote elementary education did not give sufficient attention to their sphere of activity, zealously exceeded, at times, their limits, and thus conflicts arose.” After several years of activity in the school domain, Vasici came to the conclusion that the disagreements between the Church and the state authorities had fostered the communities’ careless attitude towards the primary schools, so much so that the building of schools and the maintenance of teachers were considered a burden. The villagers “won’t even build schools or endow the teachers if they are not forced to.”¹³²

While the newspaper was led by Visarion Roman and Ioan Bădilă, *Telegraful Român* published many articles on pedagogy, given their interests and formation as educators. A series of articles from 1858 approached the role of love in the teacher-student relationship, the negative consequences of tyrannical behaviour, as well as the excessively large number of pupils a teacher had to take care of. He proposed that in order for the teachers to come to know all their students, they should prepare - for each and every one of them - a card with information about the family situation, the child’s character, such notes being important for psychology too.¹³³ Articles from the Austrian pedagogical press were translated and adapted, and editorials were written about the insufficient development of science schools in Austria, and about the role and the education of women. Visarion Roman felt that there were many errors in the way that girls were educated. Parents should raise their daughters to become industrious housewives, and not to instil in them the ambition to overcome their social condition and the concern for “today’s Varnish,” which corrupted natural beauty.¹³⁴ Women were destined primarily for the domestic sphere of existence, being only incidental guests in

¹³⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 5.

¹³¹ *George Bariț și contemporanii săi*, vol. II, pp. 39-40.

¹³² Pavel Vasici, *Raport în cauza școlilor* in *George Bariț și contemporanii săi*, vol. II, Bucharest, Editura Minerva, 1975, p. 96.

¹³³ *Telegraful Român*, year VI, no. 10, 6 March 1858, p. 37. The article is entitled “Iubirea învățătorului către învățăceii săi” [“A Teacher’s Love for His Pupils”].

¹³⁴ *Telegraful Român*, year IV, no. 41, 26 May 1856, p. 161.

areas such as politics, the arts or science. Still, their role as the children's first educators was paramount. "Here their gentle mobility of the spirit is in place, their fine gift of observing the closest and the smallest of details, their practical mind and their love of order."¹³⁵ The serious tone prevailed, given the nature of the newspaper, but there was also room for flippancy. In the *Foileton* [*Serial Stories*] column, in an article entitled *Ce au zis bărbaii cei renumiți despre femei* [*What Famous Men Say about Women*], the opinions - some belonging to the ancients, others to prominent men from the modern centuries - only emphasised the negative traits. Women were frivolous, unfaithful, capricious, jealous, etc. At the end, the editors commented ironically: men speak evil of women because they cannot resist their charm.¹³⁶

Problems of a cultural nature

The period in which the newspaper was run by Pavel Vasici was linked to the great debate on the Romanian literary language, in which all the people of culture in Transylvania and the Principalities were involved. *Telegraful Român* took a moderate stand on the Latinising current, which prevailed in Blaj and Oradea. Moreover, the critique of Latinism began to be heard in the very first year of the newspapers existence. On 4 April 1853, in an article about Emperor Franz Joseph's journey around Transylvania and the petitions that the Romanians had submitted to him on that occasion, the author (Șaguna, most likely) criticised the Romanians' demand for the establishment of a law academy as premature, condemning, at the same time, the tortuous language, full of Latinisms, of the requests handed to the emperor during that visit.¹³⁷

Another article in *Telegraful Român* had attacked this artificial language, in as early as March, with even greater irony. "The Endeavour to thrust the poore Romanian Language into foreign Attire and to fashion it after the moulds of Neologisms has, for some while now, become so moderne that if it all keeps heading this way, we shall soon gette where we shall no longer be able to understande one another." The author of these lines further emphasised that he wished to draw attention of the literates "to mind whether it was behoved them to hacke the poore Language as they pleas'd and to strip it of its own Assets, to force it into one Mould now, and another Mould then, neither of which is suited to its Nature."¹³⁸

In March 1855, the newspaper debated the problem of printing works for the people, for the peasants, that is, books appropriate to their intellectual level; the author (Vasici or Șaguna?) found that except for two periodical papers and some almanacs, which were poor in content, nothing was printed for the people, who were still at the level of Alexăndria [The History of Alexander the Great], Aesop's fables, the history of Agrippa, and almanacs. Something else must be printed for the peasants; they should be gradually and imperceptibly familiarised with the reading of books containing useful and valuable knowledge. However, the author noted, the language in which they were

¹³⁵ *Telegraful Român*," year IV, no. 76, 26 September, 1856, p. 301.

¹³⁶ *Telegraful Român*, year III, no. 5, 15 January 1855, p. 20.

¹³⁷ *Telegraful Român*," year I, no. 27, 4 April 1853, p. 106.

¹³⁸ *Telegraful Român*," year I, no. 12, 11 February 1853, p. 46.

printed was a barrier to diversifying the peasants' reading materials, a contorted language, foreign to them. "Seeing the Mania that has seiz'd all those Entitl'd and those Unentitl'd to maike for Language Reformers, even the Literates are outrag'd by the Innovations that are now introduc'd with and without Wordes. But the People, who knoue nothing of the Reforms of their Language, will surely be Disgusted with the Bookes that are written now and do abhor the Language that, beinge in such Distortion, is Deem'd to be forrayne much rather than Romanian."¹³⁹

As a reaction to these opinions, Simion Bărnuțiu wrote - from Pavia, where he was studying the law - a polemical article, *Neologismul Telegrafului Român* [*The Neologism of the Romanian Telegraph*], which was published with many amendments in *Foaia pentru minte, inimă și literatură*. The interest of this article resides, as the researcher Ioan Chindriș contends, solely in the fact that Bărnuțiu lured, with his spirit of persuasion, his younger colleagues from Padua, Alexandru Papiu Ilarian și Iosif Hodoș, into the polemics, the former publishing an extensive scientific study, *Neologismul* [*Neologisms*], that year.¹⁴⁰

During these years, the columns of the newspaper hosted observations that were full of common sense and were written in a palatable language, focusing on the lack of realism displayed by those who demanded that the Romanian language should be purged of foreign words, which were to be replaced with Roman sayings "to make us more Roman than we are."¹⁴¹ The Romanian language was undergoing a renewal process, being forced, due to rapid progress in all areas, to borrow new words, which had not yet found the most fortunate Romanian form.

The beginning of the controversy surrounding the Latinist exaggerations was thus marked by *Telegraful Român*, in 1853, as Șt. Petruțiu considers,¹⁴² and not by Kogălniceanu's 1855 article, as Iorga wrote in *Istoria literaturii românești din veacul al XIX-lea* [*The History of Romanian Literature in the Nineteenth Century*]. The arguments that article stirred up can be considered to have been the decisive phase of the conflict, given the intervention of those across the mountains and the scope Russo's *Cugetări* [*Musings*] gave to this problem.

Through the Transylvanians who were teachers in Moldova, Latinism was imposed there too, triggering a reaction from all those who, without denying the Roman past of our people, understood that the living language could not be abandoned for the sake of fiction. Kogălniceanu criticised the Transylvanian gazettes in his article on Romanian journalism. He was of the opinion that *Gazeta de Transilvania*, which was run by Iacob Mureșanu, had greatly decayed from its glorious past, as the broadsheet of all the Romanians. Barițiu answered the critics from Iași, in *Foaia pentru minte, inimă și literatură*, in an article "of exquisite irony, one of the best this skilful writer ever wrote," showing how unfair the attack of the Moldavian writers against the "language wrecking" Transylvanians.¹⁴³ Iacob Mureșanu violently engaged in the polemic and

¹³⁹ *Telegraful Român*, year III, no. 20, 9 March 1855, p. 78.

¹⁴⁰ Ioan Chindriș, *Simion Bărnuțiu. Suveranitate națională și integrare europeană*, Cluj-Napoca 1999, p. 329.

¹⁴¹ *Telegraful Român*, year III, no. 14, 16 February 1855, p. 54.

¹⁴² Șt. Petruțiu, *Telegraful Român și literatura de peste Carpați* in *Gând românesc*, no. 4, 1933, p. 167.

¹⁴³ Nicolae Iorga, *Istoria literaturii românești în veacul al XIX-lea dela 1821 înainte*, vol. III, Vălenii de Munte, 1909, p. 223.

quarrel escalated, “passion was answered with passion,” the discussion of ideas remained in the background and made room for unjust accusations. The Transylvanians denied Alecsandri’s value, “which no one should have denied,” and as for the popular ballads he collected, Cipariu wrote that they could not satisfy a man of taste, because “those [...] are also sung by the blind at all the bridges and fairs in Transylvania, and by the fiddlers and gypsies in Wallachia.”¹⁴⁴ Remembering the eulogistic words the scholar from Blaj had written, on another occasion, about the Romanian folklore, which he had had the opportunity to hear from his mother’s mouth, we can only regret that this great scholar succumbed, even for a brief moment, to passion, stating an untruth that was so blatant.

Alecu Russo’s intervention was decisive; he had *Telegraful Român* on his side. The newspaper published his *Cugetări* [Musings], written in 1855, entirely. The astuteness of their observations and the charm of their language must have given great pleasure to the newspaper’s readers and raised the prestige of *Telegraful* at the expense of *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, giving Barițiu reason to complain about the decrease in the number of *Gazeta*’s subscribers.¹⁴⁵ *Cugetări* started to be published on the front page of the issue of 16 April 1855, the author’s signature being: A. R. On the next page, the editors dealt again with the distortion of the language by the Latinist current and with the pressures exerted by this current; to rebut it, the editors invoked Alecsandri’s weekly publication, *România Literară* [Literary Romania] and Alecu Russo with his *Cugetări*.¹⁴⁶

An inspirational intervention, given its concise style and delightful language, was Iosif Vulcan’s brief 1859 article, published under the title *Oradia mare, 24 ianuarie* [Greater Oradea, 24 January]. Starting from the news that a new Hungarian literary journal had come out, he urged the Romanian intellectuals to launch a similar periodical. The cohabiting nations - the Hungarians and the Germans - had many literary journals, while the Romanians in Austria had none. The number of literary gazettes had increased because they were not subject to the stamp taxes introduced on 1 January 1858. This was the common opinion, Vulcan wrote, but he was convinced that a literary gazette was the best way to promote literature, and the fact that the literary press was flourishing was due to the growing awareness of its role. Being familiar with the Romanians’ difficult material circumstances, he nonetheless dared say that “for us a Magazine of Fiction may well be today as necessary as our daily Bread.” In the same article, Vulcan mentioned and welcomed the intention of having Petőfi’s poems published in Romanian translation; in the recent years, the Romanian language had developed so much that such a translation could be undertaken.¹⁴⁷ At the time Vulcan wrote these lines, he was 18, and six more years would have to pass before he founded his own journal, *Familia* [Family].

During these early years of the newspaper, an important contribution in addressing broader cultural themes - such as the cultivation of the arts, or the development of printing - was made by the poet Andrei Mureșanu. Ioan Lupaș wrote a substantial article on Mureșanu’s journalistic work, in which he clearly distinguished

¹⁴⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 225.

¹⁴⁵ George Bariț, “Foile publice românești,” in *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, XXVIII (1865), no. 50, p. 197; apud George M. Marica, *Studii de istoria și sociologia culturii române ardelen din secolul al XIX-lea*, vol. I, Cluj-Napoca, Editura Dacia, 1977, p. 25.

¹⁴⁶ *Telegraful Român*, year III, no. 30, 16 April 1855, pp. 118-119.

¹⁴⁷ *Telegraful Român*, year VII, no. 5, 29 January 1859, pp. 17-18.

between two periods: the first period, between 1838-1845, at *Foaia pentru minte, inimă și literatură* and *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, and the second period, after 1850, at *Telegraful Român*. The first was a period of apprenticeship, during which he mainly did translations, “at random, from questionable sources,” since the poet lacked a competent mastery of certain issues.¹⁴⁸ As for the period from Sibiu, Lupaș identified a series of 14 unsigned articles published in *Telegraful* by Andrei Mureșanu, in 1853-54, “a treatise on the development of the arts with other nations and with the Romanians.”¹⁴⁹ These were, according to Lupaș, articles whereby the author asserted himself as a truly mature journalist, as one of the most distinguished Transylvanian Romanian journalists of those decades.¹⁵⁰

His article on Romanian poetry is especially worth highlighting. He advocated, in the beginning, the cultivation of this art as an important means of cultural progress, but the best part of the article is that in which he praised the beauty of popular creations and the vitality of the Romanian peasants’ folklore, since songs accompanied them in all the circumstances of their lives.¹⁵¹ In the second part of his article, he extolled our peasants’ talent for improvisation, reinforced by fantasy and sensitivity. The Romanian intellectuals still behaved recklessly towards this treasure, despite all suggestions to the contrary coming from various parties, so it would be a long time before someone imitated Alecsandri’s example.¹⁵² The beauty and richness of folk poetry was, however, unequalled by elite creation, where the Transylvanians were inferior even to the Romanian poets from the Principalities. The reason, in his opinion, was the fact that the grammar of the Romanian language was not studied, and as regards the study of poetry, the Transylvanian Romanians were severely underprivileged, having almost nothing in their language: they were therefore compelled to read Latin or German poets. He recommended that the youth with poetic inclinations should become familiar with the Romance languages and with the poetry written in these languages and to collect, during the holidays, folk creations that they could send to *Telegraful Român*. The editorial staff of the newspaper would see, like true connoisseurs of this art, that the texts would be revised, “where needed,” and published, and the collectors would be awarded prizes.¹⁵³

The middle of the nineteenth century was precisely the period when choral music penetrated the Church in all the Romanian provinces, at first in an inappropriate, borrowed garb, which was inadequate for the Eastern Church. In the Principalities, the action of Romanianising psalter music was a reaction against the domination of the Greek element. However, the gradual replacement of psalter music with music in multiple voices also occurred under the Western and Russian influence. During the reign of Cuza, a decree was issued whereby psalter music was replaced with Western

¹⁴⁸ Ioan Lupaș, *Contribuțiuni la istoria ziaristiceii românești ardelene*, p. 104.

¹⁴⁹ The articles identified by Lupaș are the following: “Artele sau măestriile cele frumoase” (no. 34-40, from 1853), “Românul și poezia lui” (no. 41-42, from 1853), “Românul în privința muzicii” (no. 61-63, from 1853), “Românul în privința picturii (zugrăvirii)” (no. 65, from 1853), “Un sfat bun la timpul său” (no. 16, from 1854) and “Măestria tiparului” (no. 96-98, from 1854); cf. Ioan Lupaș, *Contribuțiuni la istoria ziaristiceii românești ardelene*, p. 105. On pp. 119-120, Lupaș substantiates this identification with arguments.

¹⁵⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 120.

¹⁵¹ *Telegraful Român*, year I, no. 41, 27 May 1853, p. 161.

¹⁵² *Idem*, no. 42, 30 May 1853, p. 165.

¹⁵³ *Idem*, no. 43, 3 June 1853, pp. 169-170.

harmonic music.¹⁵⁴ In his article on the Romanians' cultivation of music, Mureșanu stated that "our People, while still in a state of Nature, have by no means lagged behind other Peoples in this respect. They have cherished and still cherish this Godly art, although they have had no Favourable Circumstances to lead it to Perfection." Unfortunately, the Romanians did not study music in schools, but learned it from others, and prejudices prevented them from learning to play an instrument; they had become accustomed to hearing only the Gypsies playing the fiddle and looked down on those who learned how to play an instrument.¹⁵⁵ G. Barițiu remembered that Andrei Mureșanu was a merry man, a gifted singer and dancer, dubbed as "Flower Garden" by the Romanian elite of the time,¹⁵⁶ while Aron Densușianu said that "we would often sing in the pew together at the Greek-Oriental Church in Sibiu and later we sang on Easter Monday in 1861."¹⁵⁷ In fact, in his article on music, he confessed about his musical talent in a humorous way: "Let one not slide into believing that I, who with my God-given Talents, still know how to sing in Church with the Voice of my Mouth, in each of the eight Voices, and still do the occasional Gorgon and twist that will leave the Romanians gaping, I would like or opine that we should shed our Age-old Church canticles." What he wanted was that music should be reformed, in the sense of harmonised, and not that it should relinquish its Romanian specificity. The way in which he conceived this reform was expressed very meaningfully: just like a tree is stripped of its dry branches, which bring forth no fruit.¹⁵⁸ A. Mureșanu expressed the idea that the harmonisation of our music should be done in the very spirit of tradition by connoisseurs who had studied in the Western music centres. In fact, attempts had already been made in this respect, for a young man from Șaguna's Institute had harmonised two Megalynarions and sung them at the previous holidays (the Easter of 1853, probably) together with some colleagues. The public, Mureșanu insisted, had been very pleased. In the same spirit of respect for tradition, our folk songs should also be harmonised.¹⁵⁹ A. Mureșanu also wrote about the Romanians' art of painting, but severely criticised the style of the icon painters from Nicula and the popularity their icons enjoyed not only in Transylvania, but also in the Principalities, insisting on the fact that painting, including religious painting, should be taught in specialised schools.¹⁶⁰

At one point, Șaguna's attention focused on the ancient church manuscripts and books, which he strove to protect by circular no. 287/1855, published in the issue of 6 April 1855. What he noted, first of all, was the lack of respect with which the old books that were no longer used in worship had been treated in the past: instead of being held in reverence, they had been deemed useless and thrown into some corner of the church, prey to destruction, or had been taken away by the priests, the teachers or other Christians to be read "but they didn't remember to return them from where they had

¹⁵⁴ Nicu Moldoveanu, *Istoria muzicii bisericești la români*, Bucharest, Editura Basilica a Patriarhiei Române, 2010, pp. 207-208.

¹⁵⁵ *Telegraful Român*, year I, no. 61, 5 August 1853, pp. 241-242.

¹⁵⁶ I. Lupaș, *Contribuții la istoria ziaristicii românești ardeleni*, p. 102, note 1.

¹⁵⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 119, note 2.

¹⁵⁸ *Telegraful Român*, year I, no. 63, 12 August 1853, p. 249.

¹⁵⁹ *Idem*, no. 63, 12 August 1853, pp. 249-250.

¹⁶⁰ *Idem*, no. 65, 19 August 1853, pp. 257-258.

taiken them.” The churches also had in their possession other books than the books of worship, but these had also not been well preserved. The careless destruction of these books was “a Violation of the holy Thynnges and an unforgyvable Injuriy to ecclesyastyke Wealthe, which at all Tymes should be kept whole and untouched by Eevil hands. Some such old Bookes make for our Church Lytterature, and moreover, they are also regarded as precyous Sprynnges and Treasures for the Culture of the national Language. One might say that their Disparagement, Neglect and Destruction are not only great Synnes to the Church and Its Thynnges, but also, as it were, a national Injury.” The priests and the protopopes were urged to immediately make an inventory of the ecclesiastical books, both those that were still in use and those that were no longer used, but were in the possession of the Orthodox communities and even of some individuals, and to prepare lists that would record their titles and any information related to their printing. A copy of this list was to be sent to the diocese, and the other was to be kept by them; the protopopes were to inquire, during their canonical visitations, into the storage conditions for the books and whether those lists had been compiled.¹⁶¹ Still, after the publication of this circular, the newspaper did not address the issue of protecting this heritage until 1860. This did not mean that Șaguna no longer paid attention to the book patrimony of the Church, but that he also intervened towards its proper preservation in other ways. Thus, on 14 May 1858, he sent a letter to the Ephory regarding the books preserved in the church from Șcheii Brașovului. He was happy, he wrote, that their church library “is the oldest and the richest,” sheltering religious books that other Romanian libraries did not possess, but they had to be stored properly. The Ephory should entrust two of the Romanian teachers from Brașov with the inventory and preservation of the books and even seek to hire a librarian who would see to increasing this fund. He stated that on his arrival in Brașov, he would be glad if he found them in good order - a hint that he would personally supervise this matter.¹⁶²

The newspaper highlighted the importance that the publication, in 1855, of *Dicționar german-român* [German-Romanian Dictionary], compiled by G. Barițiu and Gavril Munteanu, had for the Romanian culture. *Telegraful* emphasised the practical value of the dictionary, given that German had become the sole official language of the state, which was taught in all the gymnasia, regardless of confession, and the path was now open for the Romanians to occupy position in the state’s service, provided that they could speak German well.¹⁶³

The cultural events and even the social events in Transylvania were recorded and described to the extent that they were relevant to the relations between the Romanians and the other cohabiting nations. Such was the case of a performance from the theatre in Sibiu, in January 1854, where young Romanian dancers danced “Romanul” and “Romana.” Those were Romanian salon dances created, according to the testimony of V. Braniște, in the seventh decade; their origin or popularisation was linked to the activity of the Diet in Sibiu, between 1863-1865, when the Romanians felt the need to

¹⁶¹ *Telegraful Român*, year III, no. 27, 6 April 1855, pp. 105-106.

¹⁶² *Mitropolitul Andrei Șaguna în documentele din Șcheii Brașovului...*, vol. III, Sibiu, Editura Andreiană, 2008, pp. 214-215.

¹⁶³ *Telegraful Român*, year III, no. 33, 27 April 1855, p. 130.

have their own salon dance.¹⁶⁴ This newspaper account of the birth and presentation of this dance in public was ten years older than what Braniște was aware of. The author of the article had expected the show with great excitement, but also with doubt, fearing that the dance and the dancers' national costumes would not rise to the level of the audience. Those who were present included the Governor of Transylvania, a number of general staff officers from Sibiu, the elites of the Saxons and the Hungarians from Sibiu, since they were not familiar with the dance and they were all intrigued. The author of the article, Pavel Vasici most likely, had been convinced that he would have plenty of things to criticise and that he would do just that in order to prevent the criticism of others. Still, to his surprise, the audience was enthusiastic and the young people were asked to perform the dance again. All the newspaper editors had to do was to express their gratitude that the Romanian dancers had gathered the applause of the elite in Sibiu.¹⁶⁵

Although the newspaper had intended, from the very beginning, to inform the people of the literary creations of the time and to publish a literary supplement, this desideratum was the least well-accomplished during the first years of its existence. Literary fragments were occasionally published on the last or penultimate page, the prose works being translations of mediocre French, German and Hungarian writings; as regards the poems, these were modest versification attempts by studious young Romanians and, more recently, popular poems. We believe that the critical gaze cast from across the mountains on mid-nineteenth century Transylvanian literature was partly justified. Fiction was almost entirely absent here, since school books were mostly written, as Iorga noted, so much so that the poets from the Principalities "look down on the only Transylvanian singer of some significance, Andrei Murășanu, whom Bolintineanu sees almost exclusively as the representative of a political idea."¹⁶⁶

The newspaper had real merit in boosting the collection of folklore and the preservation of Romanian folk customs. An important impetus must have come from the Transylvanian Saxons, who were concerned not only with their folklore, but also with that of the neighbouring peoples. Despite the vitality of Romanian folklore in comparison with that of its neighbours, the editor of the first issue in 1853 noted with regret that the Romanians had begun to abandon the custom of wassailing. He indirectly cautioned against the loss of these traditions and customs, which were "part of his flesh and blood" and were "his very being." For the peoples were only distinguished from one another through their language, their customs and traditions, which made them unique, giving them their essential characteristics. Culture was not meant to erase these customs, but simply to beautify them according to the spirit of the time.¹⁶⁷ Ever since the first year of the newspaper's existence, Johann Karl Schuller's activity as a folklorist was an incentive for the editorial staff to urge all the Romanian intellectuals to collect folklore and to send these collections thereto. A professor at the Gymnasium in Sibiu, Schuller was one of the Saxon researchers who, having studied in German universities, were

¹⁶⁴ Valeriu Braniște, *Amintiri din închisoare*, Bucharest, Editura Minerva, 1972, pp. 74-79.

¹⁶⁵ *Telegraful Român*, year II, no. 4, 13 January 1854, p. 13-14.

¹⁶⁶ Nicolae Iorga, *Istoria literaturii românești în veacul al XIX-lea...*, p. 219.

¹⁶⁷ *Telegraful Român*, year I, no. 1, 3 January 1853, p. 2.

infected with the enthusiasm for folklore displayed by the Brothers Grimm.¹⁶⁸ In 1855, several editions of *Telegraful* reported on the conferences he delivered on Romanian folklore in Sibiu. In the issue of 2 February 1855, it was stated that in the conference held at *Asociația pentru cunoașterea patriei* [*Verein für siebenbürgische Landeskunde; Association for Acquiring Knowledge of the Homeland*], he had praised Romanian folklore so much that he concluded that Alecsandri had rightly claimed that Romanians were poets born and bred.¹⁶⁹ In the following three issues, those of 16, 19 and 23 February, this conference was described at large, with excerpts cited from what the Saxon professor had said. Unlike many articles bearing a rather general title, such as *Monarhia Austriacă. Transilvania* [*The Austrian Monarchy. Transylvania*], this one was entitled *Asupra poeziei românești o încercare de J. K. Schuler* [*On Romanian Poetry. An Attempt by J. K. Schuler*] and was always printed on the front page of the newspaper.¹⁷⁰

Alecsandri's collection of folk-poetry enjoyed a good reception, many of its items being reproduced in *Telegraful*, starting in 1855, as were the Romanian folk poems translated into German by Schuller. The Hungarian literati, who were also interested in folklore, also provided an incentive for the young Romanian scholars embarking on collecting folklore. A correspondence from "Societatea de lectură a junimei Române Orădene" [The Reading Society of the Romanian Youth in Oradea], published in the issue of 20 November 1858, spoke enthusiastically about the publication by Carol Aci (Ács Károly), in Hungarian, of several Romanian legends, ballads and *doinas*, most of them from across the Carpathians. The Hungarian publisher of the volume, the correspondent from Oradea wrote, was also convinced that Alecsandri's famous statement about the Romanians' poetic talent was justified.¹⁷¹ 1859 saw the publication, in Sibiu, of the volume of Romanian folklore translated into German by Johann Karl Schuller, *Romänische Volkslieder, metrisch übersetzt und erläutert*, this being the first translation of Romanian folklore published by the Saxon professor from Sibiu.¹⁷² *Telegraful Român* summed up the review of the volume, published in a German magazine: Romanian folk poetry was not unknown in the German space, the German reviewer noted, for Alecsandri's volume had been translated into German by Wilhelm von Kotzebue, in 1857; in addition to this volume, other translations of lesser importance had also come out. Schuller's statement about the vitality of the Romanians' folklore was cited then: "The Romanians are, in fact, a Poetic and musical Nation, and those who live among them have the Opportunity to realise, each and every Day, how easily and quickly the expression of each Feeling is channelled into Song." Some items in his anthology are true pearls, expressing the

¹⁶⁸ In *Istoria folcloristicii românești*, Bucharest, Editura enciclopedică română, 1974, Ovidiu Bîrlea dedicates them a special chapter entitled "Preocupările folcloriștilor germani pentru folclorul românesc de la jumătatea secolului al XIX-lea."

¹⁶⁹ *Telegraful Român*, year III, no. 10, 2 February 1855, p. 39.

¹⁷⁰ *Telegraful Român*, year III, no. 14, p. 53, no. 15, p. 57 and no. 16, p. 61.

¹⁷¹ *Telegraful Român*, year VI, no. 47, 20 November 1858, p. 185.

¹⁷² He also published: *Aus der Walachei. Romänische Gedichte und Sprichwörter* (Sibiu, 1851), *Ueber einige merkwürdige Volkssagen der Rumänen* (Sibiu, 1857), *Kloster Argisch, eine rumänische Volkssage* (Sibiu, 1858), *Kolinda, eine Studie über rumänische Weihnachtslieder* (Sibiu, 1860).

full range of human emotions, as Schuller wrote enthusiastically; the commentary of the *Telegraful* editorial board emphasised the importance of these translations by which we could make ourselves known to the world, for popular creation mirrored the national character.¹⁷³

In 1857, Atanasie Marian Marienescu, who was then in Pest, studying law, began his collaboration with *Telegraful Român*. His impulse to collect folklore was awakened by the publication of Alecsandri's volume of ballads. His pleasure turned into perseverant action, and he became a folklore collector and scholar. However, Marienescu represented that orientation, embraced by the majority in his time, which regarded folklore as a solid proof of our Latin origins and which took the liberty of correcting folk verse, committing an error that substantially diminished the value of the folklore collections.¹⁷⁴ Marienescu also published a study on language,¹⁷⁵ entitled *Elemente constitutive ale limbei române* [*The Constituent Elements of the Romanian Language*] but, like in the case of the article on ballads and carols, entitled *Raport in interesul poeziei populare* [*A Report on the Interest of Popular Poesie*],¹⁷⁶ its language was extremely fastidious and its style was full of digressions that were difficult to follow by the newspaper's readers.

Throughout that decade, *Telegraful Român* voiced the particularly important achievements of the Orthodox Church in Transylvania: the building, without state support, of a large number of primary schools, of the high school in Braşov, and the Theological-Pedagogical Institute in Sibiu; the considerable increase in the number of young students who were supported with stipends by the foundations Țaguna or other Romanian leaders had founded; the establishment of the printing press where school textbooks for all levels and worship books were printed, including Țaguna's *Bible*. Even though after 1856, with Vasici's departure from the helm of the newspaper, a certain rhetorical awkwardness and a preponderance of articles on educational or pedagogical problems could be sensed, we believe that the program Țaguna had outlined was largely accomplished. F. Heyer,¹⁷⁷ a connoisseur of South-East European Orthodoxy, argues that in the nineteenth century, politics also dominated the life of the Church, which had to uphold and proclaim the ideal of emancipation and to become heavily involved in the political movements of the time. The leaders of the Church did not distinguish themselves through a creative theology or a lived spirituality, rising to the height of this Church's tradition, but they managed to maintain Orthodoxy identical with itself, just like they had maintained the identity of the Balkan peoples throughout the four centuries of Ottoman rule. Johann Schneider, the author of a doctoral thesis about Țaguna, which was then turned into a book, critically cites this description as "unilateral and pejorative" and totally wrong insofar as Țaguna is concerned. "Of course," he writes, "the bishop from Sibiu was not among the 'creative' Orthodox theologians who innovatively valorised, through their own creative projects, the theological tradition before them,

¹⁷³ *Telegraful Român*, year VII, no. 44, 29 October 1859, p. 173.

¹⁷⁴ Ovidiu Bîrlea, *Istoria folcloristicii românești*, Bucharest, Editura enciclopedică română, 1974, pp. 134-135.

¹⁷⁵ *Telegraful Român*, year VII, no. 15, 16, 17, 20, of April-May 1859.

¹⁷⁶ *Telegraful Român*, year VII, no. 6-8, of February 1959.

¹⁷⁷ F. Heyer, *Die orientalische Frage im kirchlichen Lebenkreis*, Wiesbaden, 1991.

which might have led to a revival of Orthodox theology.” However, within the limits of his time, Șaguna opened new perspectives for the academic theology whose birth was underway.¹⁷⁸ We believe that F. Heyer’s assessment is important because it emphasises the predominantly political character of the nineteenth century and the unfavourable conditions in which South-East European Orthodoxy had to carry out the work of preaching the Gospel message. That is why *Telegraful Român* was not an ecclesiastical, but a political-ecclesiastical newspaper. The articles it published served to popularise, debate and familiarise the readers with the contemporary political, cultural and social issues, and to prepare them for receiving an increasingly diversified press that would take centre stage in the coming decades.

¹⁷⁸ Johan Schneider, *op. cit.*, p. 44-45.

POLITICAL REGIMES, ECONOMIC CRISES, CONTINUITY AND DISCONTINUITY IN THE ECONOMIC MODERNISATION OF THE PERIPHERAL REGIONS OF THE HABSBURG MONARCHY IN THE SECOND HALF OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY. THE CASE OF TRANSYLVANIA*

Abstract: The second half of the 19th Century marks a clear evolution for the Habsburg Monarchy to modern economic growth, including its eastern provinces that were in a situation of obvious gap to the western ones. The neoabsolutist regime established in 1850 aimed a series of reforms at the economic level in order to achieve a narrowing of regional disparities in its eastern provinces. Assuming of the modernization process, both from the center and locally, altered the economic physiognomy of Transylvanian province, but also have preserved several handicaps, some resulted from historical heritage, others because of inconsistencies in economic policies.

In 1850 the province of Transylvania show a deplorable economic map in which only a few urban areas enjoyed some impoverished beginnings of modern economic life; in a few decades later, these "islands of economic modernity" were expanding as a result of capital investment, initially especially Austrian and German, later from other sources too. There were added beneficial effects of improved transport infrastructure although the start of railway construction was delayed, with adverse consequences that basically, could not be recovered until the First World War. This created a paradoxical situation in which the intention of the State, the contribution of foreign capital and modern trend of creating an internal market were not sufficiently synchronized in order to achieve a stronger integration of Transylvania in the Habsburg Monarchy's economic complex. Transylvania's economy was characterized by its extreme diversity and inevitable lack of synchronization between its different economic sectors, while political and consequently deepened divergences between the Romanian elite and those of other nations in Transylvania.

Starting from these summary considerations, our study aims to examine how important was the impact of the change of political regimes on economic modernization in Transylvania in the period 1850-1914, taking into account the three types of political regime: neoabsolutist (1850-1859), semi-liberal (1860-1866), dualistic (1867-1914). Similarly, we analyze the impact of the economic crisis of 1873 in economic and social life, from the same point of view.

Keywords: Transylvania, economic history, modernisation, crisis, crash of 1873, continuities and discontinuities.

In the mid-nineteenth century, during the Vormärz, and especially after the 1848 revolution, the Habsburg state devised a strategy of economic development, at both the internal and the external levels. If internally, the objectives focused on administrative-bureaucratic and economic integration and the homogenisation of various regions, at the foreign level the objectives were much more complex, increasingly associated to foreign policy and military objectives, so their implementation and effects were conditioned by both political (military) and economic factors. At the same time, one must not forget the fact that, especially after 1850, the European destiny of the Empire was massively influenced by geopolitical changes: the unification process of Germany, Russia's

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increased influence in the Balkans, Great Britain's policy of free trade and control of commercial markets.

In this context, the state played a specific role in developing economies: on the one hand, it regulated and implemented significant infrastructure investment programs¹; on the other hand, it devised preferential policies regarding certain regions and groups of interests in order to avoid internal competition, which is a feature of the Habsburg Monarchy in the nineteenth century. Regional economic integration reached the Vienna authorities' agenda ever since the beginning of the 1850s but it was determined and conditioned by the availability of necessary resources, especially of financial ones.²

Limiting budgetary resources to what might be called "bare necessities," the state limited the possibility of creating an internal capital market in the modern sense of the word. By distributing and redistributing budgetary resources, the state created a closed circuit of capital with few opportunities of expansion. One should not forget that these resources were generated by indirect and consumption taxes and not by the development of productive sectors, likely to generate more money. This tendency negatively affected the tax burden which, in real terms, recorded an increase that tax payers found difficult to bear in an economy where capital flows were quite low. Under the circumstances of great budget deficits and state economic measures that only worked as palliatives, the Austrian state could not get actively involved in economic growth at the level of all regions. From a political standpoint, in the 1850-1914 period, we deal with at least three different types of political regime and with the transfer of the power centre from Vienna to Budapest in 1867.

In order to understand the economic evolution of Transylvania, profoundly marked by the above-mentioned factors as it was, we need to acknowledge the level of development of the province in 1850 - an extremely low one. In 1850, Transylvania was, in terms of industrialisation, one of the most backward provinces of the Monarchy. The few industrial establishments, equipped with rudimentary technology, were mostly meant to cater to modest local needs. They were viable as long as the limited demands of the market and isolation protected them from competition. Their situation was precarious not only in terms of technology, but also as regards the lack of modern transportation facilities and of capitals necessary to put the rich natural resources of the province to good use. Therefore, the economic discourse of the epoch was dominated by the image of the discrepancy between the richness of natural resources and the poverty of inhabitants, of the lack of money and entrepreneurial spirit.³

For Transylvania, the Neoabsolutist regime of 1849-1859 represented a period when administration became much more effective and economic policies attempted to

¹ Barry Supple, "The State and the Industrial Revolution," in *The Fontana Economic History of Europe*, ed. Carlo M. Cipolla, London, Collins Fontana Books, 1973, p. 303 sqq. See an extensive analysis in: Iván Berend, György Ránki, *The European Periphery and Industrialization 1870-1914*, Budapest Akadémiai Kiadó, 1982, p. 59 sqq.

² Iván Berend, György Ránki, *Economic Development in East-Central Europe in the 19th and 20th Centuries*, New York, Columbia University Press, 1974, p. 81; Brandt Harm Hinrich, *Der Österreichische Neoabsolutismus: Staatsfinanzen und Politik 1848-1860*, (Schriftenreihe der Historischen Kommission bei der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 15), Göttingen, 1978, vol. 1-2.

³ Iosif Marin Balog, "Die Rolle der Publizistik im Verlauf der herausbildung eines Diskurses betreffend die Modernisierung in Siebenbürgen um die mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts," in *Forschungen zur Volks- und Landeskunde*, Sibiu, 52, 2009, pp. 95-117.

get in line with the European free trade policy.⁴ Under these circumstances, the economic life of the province entered a new stage that was obviously conditioned by state intervention, by capital flows, by the effort of creating and expanding the internal market and, last but not least, by the attempt to maintain foreign markets, and we are referring here above all to the Danube Principalities.

Begun in a liberal economic atmosphere, the industrial development of the sixth decade and of the following years was achieved mostly through the export of Austrian capital to Transylvania.⁵ The economic sectors preferentially targeted by this capital were mining and the steel industry, as they benefited from the availability of raw material resources and the extremely competitive price of steel products on local and neighbouring markets. The 1854 Mines' Law⁶ created a framework favourable to the expansion of mining; that can be seen, at a statistical level, in the unprecedented growth of the number of explorations.

In this favourable environment, there were two forms of investment and capital placement: joint stock companies and individual activities and investments of investors or groups of investors. The 1854 Mines' Law created a favourable framework where entrepreneurs could get together in joint stock mining companies and the repeal of the customs barriers in 1850 offered, at least theoretically, the possibility of bringing advanced technology to Transylvanian mining and the steel industry. Just like in the western regions of the Empire, the industrial businesses supported by the banks were, at the time, joint stock companies created through the merging of smaller mining and steel firms.⁷ The tendencies towards economic growth were nonetheless decreased in the 1851-1860 decade by a series of factors, among which the financial difficulties of the state. The latter, confronted with serious budget deficits and a chronic lack of capital, was forced to cut its ambitious investment program in Transylvanian industry and infrastructure. Moreover, one should also add conjunctural economic crises such as the ones in 1857 and 1861, which significantly reduced the volume of investment as well as the policies of extreme budgetary austerity that diminished capital flow.⁸ Capital became almost inaccessible to peripheral, under-industrialised areas.

Between 1860-1867, state investment in railroad construction in the eastern provinces was extremely low so that Transylvania's peripheral position in terms of transportation infrastructure was a reality, as was the psychological distance that Transylvanians perceived between themselves and the Capital or the other provinces. From an economic standpoint, disadvantages were great at a crucial time for the creation of the internal market and especially for the preservation of neighbouring eastern and southern markets that were essential for Transylvania. As the State could only bring a

⁴ L. P. Kindlberger, "The Rise of Free Trade in Western Europe 1820-1875," in *Journal of Economic History*, 35, 1, 1975, pp. 42-44.

⁵ Iosif Marin Balog, "The Exports of Austrian Capital in Transylvania in the 19th Century and its Effects on the Industrialization. The case of the Anonymus Society of Mines and Furnaces from Brasov (1856-1894)," in *Transylvanian Review*, XVIII, Supplement, no. 1, 2009, pp. 19-38.

⁶ Mines' Law from 24 May 1854, published in: *Buletinul guberniului provincial pentru Marele Principat al Transilvaniei 1854*, II, p. 652 sqq.

⁷ Richard Rudolph, *Banking and Industrialization in Austria-Hungary 1841-1914*, Cambridge Univ. Press, 1976, pp. 1-26; 91-102.

⁸ Hans Rosenberg, *Die Weltwirtschaftskrise 1857-1859*, 2. Auflage, Göttingen, 1974.

modest contribution in this respect, the province had to wait for a long time for a railway connection to the Empire and to Europe. Those wasted years took it off the track of a natural tendency of infrastructure modernisation, so that despite all post-1867 efforts, the state of backwardness was partially removed only in the 1900s.

The effects of the 1867 agreement stipulating the passage of Transylvania under the authority of the Budapest government and Parliament were important from an economic point of view. In terms of law-making, one sees a continuation of a liberal economic policy, with the observation that the state gets involved more actively in economic life. Through the act of 17 February 1867, the idea of political and economic stability was also being conveyed and French, German and British capital regained interest in the Central European space. Vienna and Budapest became the main gates for the penetration and absorption of this capital. On the other hand, from an economic standpoint, the claimed equality among the Austrian-Hungarian territories was doomed to failure. Hungary and the eastern territories, Transylvania included, were mainly agrarian, and their economic evolution, though significant, did not lead to a reduction of disparities between themselves and the western provinces and the hereditary lands of the Habsburg Empire.

The common trade and customs space established in 1850 and maintained after 1867 under the name of a *customs and commercial union*, profoundly influenced the economic life of the Empire and of the provinces or the “Monarchy lands.” Law no. XVI of 1867 regarding the customs and commercial union attempted to increase economic interdependence among territories and populations, to consolidate the market in Austria-Hungary as a counterweight to competition pressures from great European powers. The failure of an Austrian-German or German-Austrian commercial space, as a counterweight to British economic supremacy, as imagined by Friedrich List in the 1840s and 1850s,⁹ showed Austria that the opportunity of competition with the great powers of the time was lost and that its economic power must come from the consolidation of economic structures existing within the borders of the constituting provinces of its own empire.¹⁰ Through the customs and commercial union, a market was built that included over 40 million inhabitants, but also numerous regional economic disparities as there were poorer regions such as Galicia, Slovakia, Transylvania and Bukowina and more prosperous ones such as Bohemia, Silesia, Moravia and those around Vienna and Budapest. Transylvania was mainly agrarian, with industrial, commercial and banking activities that focused on local and inter-local markets as well as markets in the territories south and east of the Carpathians. Railroad construction was a priority for the Budapest governments, a necessity and, at the same time, an engine of economic development of the Monarchy, under the circumstances of a growing population and a higher volume of goods. It took place in parallel with the process of establishing new banks and credit institutions.¹¹ Railroads significantly altered regions

⁹ Friedrich List, *Sistemul național de economie politică*, ed. Ivanciu Nicolae-Văleanu, Victor Vasileoiu, Dan Răducanu, Bucharest, 1973, pp. 293-299.

¹⁰ See among others, Wolf. D. Gruner, *Deutschland in Europa 1750 bis 2007: Vom deutschen Mitteleuropa zum europäischen Deutschland*, Presa Universitară Clujeană, 2009, pp. 187-200.

¹¹ Eduard März, *Österreichische Industrie- und Bankpolitik in der Zeit Franz Josephs I. Am Beispiel der k. priv. österreichischen Credit-Anstalt für Handel und Gewerbe*, Wien, 1968, pp. 120-121.

and localities, contributed to the development of heavy and light industry sectors and sub-sectors, shortened the distance between producers, traders and consumers, brought people and territories closer, changed mentalities and human behaviours. *The customs and commercial union* stimulated the flow of capital and multifarious investments in agriculture and silviculture, industry, mining and steel industry, transportation and railroad construction, banking and commercial systems and activities. The keeping in force of the modern Mines' Law of 1854 favoured, after 1867, investments and the development of mining and the steel industry. Until the 1873 crisis, foreign capital was directed mainly to railroad investment, mining and steel exploitations, to the commercial, banking and stock exchange sector.¹² Fictive and speculative capital also moved mainly towards Austria-Hungary and Transylvanian markets, eventually generating the 1873 stock exchange crash, and the connections with European markets led to the continental and world expansion of the crisis between 1873-1895.

The 1867-1873 period can be related to the *Gründerzeit* in Transylvania, too. One can notice here, especially in its western parts, a true business fever, in all economic sectors, in large scale industries, which belonged to international capital, as well as in other industries that were born against the background of general modernisation. As is known, most economic units were established under the form of joint stock companies, irrespective of the origin of the capital.¹³ According to available data, in the period 1867-1873, a number of about 37 joint stock industrial companies were established in Transylvania (understood in its large geographical sense, therefore including the Banat), with an initial subscribed capital in excess of 9.756.000 fl.

Most of the new joint stock companies took over already existing small enterprises, their owners joining the ranks of great shareholders. Besides the milling industry, the main sectors that attracted investments were alcohol distillation, beer production, construction materials and the chemical industry. In all respective production facilities one can notice a sustained process of technological acquisition, most of them using steam power and adopting the latest innovations in the field.

Financial resources necessary to that investment came from local or older credit institutions or ones that were established during the *Gründerzeit* period, but most of them were capitalised through the great banks in Budapest and Vienna. In the 1867-1872 period alone, 11 new banks were established in Transylvania.¹⁴ Obviously, these investments generated here, too, an unprecedented business and speculation fever. They were stimulated by short-term credits which facilitated not only actual investment actions but particularly speculative ones, regarding share transactions, the fever of raw materials, and especially those dealing with the real estate boom in towns. Especially in the sector of food industry things worked out well as long as investments brought the necessary sources of money but the profile and specificity of these investments depended very much on the situation of crops and therefore on the cereal trade. In 1869, for instance, the situation deteriorated because of the very poor crop in the Banat, which

¹² Robert Nagy, *Capitalul – forță a transformării. Rolul capitalului german în industrializarea Transilvaniei*, Cluj Napoca, PUC, 2011.

¹³ See A. Egyed, "Industria mare din Transilvania între 1867-1873," in *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie și Arheologie Cluj*, Cluj Napoca, V, 1962, p. 153 ff.

¹⁴ *Magyar Stasisztikai Évkönyv, 1873*, Budapest, 1874, p. 336 ff.

made the investors unable to pay back short-term credits and their corresponding interest. And as the policies offer was high, banks raised interest rates and therefore credit encountered serious restrictions. Repercussions on businesses appeared quickly.

The stock exchange and then economic catastrophe of the year 1873 was quickly perceived in the economy of Transylvania.¹⁵ The collective perception of the entrepreneurs was dominated, after the initial panic, by lack of trust, uncertainty, all these being amplified by the reduction of the monetary mass with the immediate consequence of price drops almost to the level of deflation. The attempts of the National Austrian Bank to intervene met with little success. Its credits, which were actually quite modest, could not stop the panic wave. Lacking the necessary cash, certain Transylvanian banks went bankrupt, the first cases being recorded in Timișoara, the city with the greatest development of this sector. Here, the following banks went bankrupt: the Industrial and Commercial Bank, the Commercial and Mortgage Bank, and the Industrial Bank.¹⁶

Both large and small production facilities suffered as a consequence of the crisis, to a different extent, from case to case and for different reasons that cannot be generalised. It is obvious that the great joint stock societies did suffer too but they had more room for manoeuvre both financially and technologically or in terms of markets. On the other hand, small production facilities, often equipped with old, completely inefficient technology, or those that lacked the right management, suffered serious losses, some even paying the price of bankruptcy and disappearance from the market. This was the case of many such small mining companies of extraction and production which, with a low productivity and a market that had been stable but under the new circumstances became volatile, saw themselves forced to maintain production only at the cost of an obvious deficit.

Recession and pessimism were dominant in the years 1873-1879, the initiative and courage necessary to resume business lacking everywhere; this situation was aggravated by the lack of capital and the contraction of markets. In addition, a cholera epidemic struck in 1873 (the last large scale epidemic in the region), profoundly affecting economic life and demographical balance. The recovery from recession occurred gradually only after 1879-1880, especially in the southern regions of Transylvania, where a stimulating effect was produced by the market south of the Carpathians, access there being facilitated by the Austrian-Hungarian-Romanian customs convention and by the internal laws encouraging the economy that were being adopted.

It is beyond doubt that this crisis, with its components, the first crisis at trans-continental scale, affected both Transylvanian economy and society, at a time when the latter was engaged in a process of modernisation and integration into capitalist circuits, with all the advantages and difficulties inherent to this process. In many respects, the 1873-1880 recession represented, for this peripheral region of the Danube Monarchy, a new obstacle in its attempt to overcome the discrepancies separating it from the western regions, adding to the already existing discrepancies and impinging upon the process of regional homogenisation that economic evolution was expected to foster.

¹⁵ About the economic crisis of 1873 in Transylvania, see: Iosif Marin Balog, "Criza economică din 1873. Manifestarea și percepția ei în economia și societatea transilvană," in *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie "George Barițiu" din Cluj-Napoca, series, Historica*, 50, 2011, pp. 51-75.

¹⁶ *Magyar Compass, Pénzügyi és közgazdászati évkönyv, 1874*, Budapest 1875, pp. 54-55.

The 1873 crisis marked a failure of economic liberalism in its classical sense of *laissez-faire* which was under attack not only from its opponents but also from those who noticed that leaving the invisible hand of the market to follow its course meant taking too much risk, under the new circumstances. Firstly, social costs were too high for almost any of the political regimes of the time. Therefore, in the Monarchy or at least in its Austrian part, where the bourgeoisie had managed to briefly acquire an important position, it found itself losing to the conservatives who, at an economic level, supported the landed gentry and customs and commercial protectionist interests.

In Hungary, economic crisis contributed to widening the gap between authentic capitalist bourgeoisie, mostly of German or Jewish extraction and the middle class formed by the petty nobility engaged in industrial activities of a capitalist nature; the latter was, however, from a political point of view, the champion of a nationalism which, at its best, displayed limited liberal-reformist tendencies but continued to be obsessed with the Hungarisation of the other nations in Hungary. As far as governance and economic policies are concerned, these realities resulted in the protection of the interests of the landed gentry and in the frequent frustration with the Austrians who, allegedly, were to blame for keeping Hungary as an agrarian country, forced to consume industrial products made beyond the Leitha. And the consequences of such an attitude were extremely damaging for the entire period to come.

Undoubtedly, beyond local differences, the dynamics of the process of modernisation throughout the Monarchy was slowed down by this economic crisis. As a consequence of the economic crisis and political disputes, tensions appeared under the form of hidden protectionism and the “price scissors” and generated a discrepancy between the prices of industrial and agricultural products, discriminatory tariffs for the circulation of goods by railway from one province to another, from one region of the Empire to another. It was no accident that the Budapest government and the Hungarian political class at times suggested giving up the common commercial space and the reintroduction of the customs system.

Disputes also appeared following legislative measures adopted by Budapest in the years 1880, 1890, 1899 and 1907, and meant to promote protectionist measures and stimulate Hungarian industry by granting subventions, tax reductions and placing state orders that generated discontent and convulsions among public and private partners in Austria. Of course, Vienna was interested in a protectionist policy to shield itself from the competition of other European countries but it was embarrassed when such policy came from Budapest. As a consequence, economic competition grew and became manifest at both the micro- and the macroeconomic levels, in terms of economic sectors and sub-sectors and also territorial profile. Among the economic elites of Cisleithania and Transleithania, there appeared social and economic asperities called at the time, *the agrarian-mercantile-antagonism*, liberal economic options took a significant step back and state interventionism and customs protectionism started to be promoted by the governments in both Vienna and Budapest. Reverberations and effects of crises disadvantaged, as was common under such circumstances, eastern, less developed and mainly agrarian territories and generated asperities that questioned not only market mechanisms but also the dualist political system. It is little wonder that after the Vienna

crash of 1873 one can detect anticapitalist attitudes, amplified by the social-economic and national inequalities in the dualist monarchy.¹⁷

Structural crises at the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century conjugated with agrarian ones.¹⁸ Before dualism, but also in the following years, eastern provinces were the main cereal providers for the Empire markets. The milling, bakery and agro-food industries took significant steps on the background of these realities. Agrarian reforms and the merging of agricultural properties, conjugated with agro-technical and protectionist measures meant to stimulate agriculture contributed to increased productions. Between the years 1873-1895 and 1903-1904, the agricultural sector of the eastern territories was greatly affected by the *dumping* prices generated by the invasion of American wheat on European markets.¹⁹

The Austro-Hungarian economic organism was conceived and worked in a unity in diversity based on *integration* and *complementarity* but also on economic *rivalry*, *competition*, *asperities*, and *disparities*. If *integration* and *complementarity* were provided by the existence of Imperial authority and of bureaucratic, administrative systems, *rivalry* and *competition* were generated by the capitalist market economy but also by the discrepancies in the territorial development of the Empire. Last but not least, economic *asperities* and *disparities* have a long history, being present, in various forms and degrees, throughout the existence of the Habsburg and Austro-Hungarian Empire. The territorial, economic, social, political, national-ethnic and denominational diversity was so great and accompanied by so many problems that it generated from the beginning economic *asperities* and *disparities* that manifested themselves latently and actively both before and after the conclusion of the Austro-Hungarian dualism.

As far as Transylvania is concerned, basically all successive political regimes in the second half of the nineteenth century had the intention of extricating the province from its peripheral economic condition and placing it in a network of modern economic growth similar to that of other provinces. The limited effect of these intentions marked the destiny of the region's economic development for decades. Economic conditions of the 1850s and 1860s, in a framework characterised by free trade policies, would have provided the premises necessary to the later so-called take-off in the direction of modern industrialisation, as it happened in the years 1880-1890 in Hungary, for instance. But periods of prosperity and economic growth were always short-lived. The economic crisis in the 1860s and then the one in 1873-1878 fatally postponed this opportunity. Until the new economic policy of Budapest governments produced palpable results in the modernisation of Transylvania, the province accumulated new discrepancies that could not be surmounted before First World War.

¹⁷ Marin Iosif Balog, *Dilemele modernizării. Economie și societate în Transilvania 1850-1875*, Cluj Napoca, International Book Access, 2007, p. 10.

¹⁸ See, referring to the structure of economy, the various indicators such as industrial output, industry growth rate, the position of Austria-Hungary in world economy (it ranked however among the first 6-7 states on all indicators) Herbert Matis, *Österreichs Wirtschaft 1848-1913. Konjunkturelle Dynamik und gesellschaftlicher Wandel im Zeitalter Franz Josefs I*, Berlin, p. 188.

¹⁹ Iosif Marin Balog, "Prices, wages and consumption in Transylvania between 1850-1914. Trends and developments in rural and urban areas," in *Romanian Journal of Population Studies. Supplement*, V, 2011, pp. 49-85.

THE GOVERNOR OF TRANSYLVANIA, KARL VON SCHWARZENBERG, AND HIS EPOCH IN THE COLLECTIONS OF THE NATIONAL MUSEUM OF TRANSYLVANIAN HISTORY

Abstract: In the autumn of 1849, once the Revolution had come to an end, a series of measures meant to ensure the political stability, pacification and socio-economic modernisation of Transylvania began to be implemented by the first two civilian and military governors, Ludwig von Wohlgemuth (1849-1851) and Karl von Schwarzenberg (1851-1858). The former made a remarkable effort for pacifying the province and punishing those guilty of the revolutionary turmoil by setting up, in each of the six districts of Transylvania, court martials that investigated the abuses committed during the years 1848-1849. During the following period, these courts began to issue numerous custodial sentences, and it is significant that in the museum collections there is a series of objects (wooden cups, boxes, fans, crucifixes, bracelets) made by the convicts, amounting, as the inscriptions on them show, to “memories” of their years in prison.

The museum's collection also preserves valuable pieces from the period of the second governor, including a lithograph that was intended to glorify the imperial patents from the end of 1851 - regulations that repealed the liberal Constitution of 4 March 1849 - and one of the most important items with a memorial character - the sword belonging to the Governor of Transylvania. As shown by the inscriptions on both sides of the blade, the sword arrived in Transylvania after the death of the Governor (25 June 1858), being bestowed upon Baron Samuel Josika by Prince Friedrich von Schwarzenberg, the elder brother of the deceased. Most likely, the sword was given to Baron Josika in Vienna, where he presented of a letter of condolence in his name and on behalf of the nobles from the province. The sword was later brought to Transylvania, becoming a family heirloom for a century, until it was acquired by the museum. Besides these, the museum patrimony includes many prints, books and period documents, foremost among them being a set of circulars issued by the Orthodox Bishop Andrei Șaguna, an outstanding personality of the Romanians in Transylvania.

Keywords: Transylvania, neoabsolutism, Karl von Schwarzenberg, Andrei Șaguna, museum exhibits

When the Revolution came to an end, in the autumn of 1849, the Austrian Monarchy faced two critical problems for its destiny. On the one hand, in the short run, it was essential for it to restore, as soon as possible, the internal order that had been seriously affected by the revolutionary unrest throughout the Empire, while in the long run, it would be crucial to find future formulas of political-administrative organisation, in order to prevent the recurrence of the previous year's events or to suppress any attempts at reigniting the revolutionary spark. On the other hand, the young Emperor Franz Joseph's second major challenge was the imperative of change, the need for reforms and modernisation, especially in the fields of economy, education, culture, justice and administration. The central authorities from the Empire's capital were aware that the precarious economic situation afflicting wide social categories was a fundamental cause that had engendered the outbreak and course of the Revolution during the years 1848-1849.

In the case of Transylvania - a multi-ethnic and multi-confessional province located on the outskirts of a Central European empire that was also marked by

numerous regional differences and particularities - the above-mentioned measures, which envisaged the country's political stability and socio-economic modernisation, began to be enforced immediately after the appointment of the first governor, Field Marshal Ludwig von Wohlgemuth (11 July 1849-18 April 1851). In the spirit of the regime, the new governor combined civil and military authority, exerted legislative and executive power on the local level, and answered for his deeds only to the ministerial cabinet in Vienna and not to the representatives of the local population. He did not convene the provincial Diet and relied, in administrative matters, only on the Gubernium, an executive body composed of Austrian officials or those brought from other provinces of the Empire.

In the summer of 1849, the new governor came to the province of Transylvania, which had been strongly affected by the revolutionary turmoil; with the determination characteristic of an Austrian high military commander, hardened in the battles against the Italian revolutionaries, he quickly embarked on pacifying the country. On the other hand, he tried to understand the real state of affairs here and, especially, to attract the local population to his side through a series of well-intentioned proclamations. An illustrative example was the proclamation he addressed to the inhabitants of Transylvania, in Bistrița, on 13 August 1849, in which he said, among other things: "With my entry into this Grand Principality, where His Majesty the Emperour has deign'd to appoint me civil and military Governor, I hereby call upon all the Inhabitants to assist me in my cleane Endeaver to be of use to this Countrie. [...] Instead of tyrannicall Rampancy, let the all-permeating Power of the Law prevail; the Woundes of patriotick Warre require healing. In this Lannde that fanaticism, as well as the most irate bedazzlement, has water'd with so much Blood, the Blessinnges of Peace, of good Concorde and of patriotick Faith shall rise again. The equality of Rights between all the Nations under the shield of the Constitution granted by our most merciful Emperour and Ruler shall be that Covenant, whereby the entwin'd Peoples shall reach close Unitie among themselves. Here, this is my Tasks, to reconcile the Peoples of this Countrie on unshaking grounds. Inhabitants of Transylvania! Put thy Fayth in me; rest assur'd that I will deserve thy Truste."¹

At the beginning of September 1849, Baron Wohlgemuth addressed a diplomatic circular to the Romanian people, letting them know that in the wake of Hungary's defeat, calling the masses to arms was no longer necessary. Therefore, all the Romanians were urged that after returning home, they should do everything to restore harmony with the other "nations" and the peace that this country needed so much.² Previously, the governor had "scolded" the Romanians, in an "annunciation," considering that no one was entitled to requite themselves for the losses they had incurred, as it had often happened before.³ The dismantling of all the revolutionary

¹ "Prochiemăciune către locuitorii Transilvaniei," Bistrița, 13 August 1849, in *Mișcarea națională a românilor din Transilvania între 1849-1919. Documente*, vol. I, ed. Simion Retegan, Cluj-Napoca, Fundația Culturală Română, 1996, pp. 57-58, (hereinafter referred to as *Mișcarea națională*...).

² Dumitru Suci, *Destine istorice. Românii transilvăneni spre Marea Unire 1848-1918. Studii*, Bucharest, Editura Academiei Române, 2006, p. 88.

³ "After the Personne and Propertie of each and every One is plac'd under Protectyon and Shield of the Lawes, vengeance and victorie may not be condon'd for any Nation or Personne, so I shall scolde each

committees and the disarming of the existing military personnel (the Romanian legions and the units formed by the Saxons) also coincided with the new administrative regulation that divided the province into six military and civilian districts, as their official name was, coordinated from the new capital established at Sibiu. The efforts of pacifying the province and punishing those guilty of the revolutionary turmoil, the Hungarian insurgents or their collaborators, culminated in the setting up, in the six districts of Transylvania, of a Court-Martial for investigating the abuses committed during the years 1848-1849. Moreover, the document published in Sibiu on 6/18 September 1849 also provided for the establishment of commissions of purification (exoneration), which were intended to prove the innocence of the suspects. As a result of these measures, several courts and exoneration commissions were set up in Sibiu, Cluj, Alba Iulia, Reteag, and Odorhei. Exoneration commissions also acted in Târgu Mureș, Bistrița, and Brașov.⁴ Since the legal authorities had been unable to act during the period when the carnage, violence and arbitrary actions occurred, the governor requested precise information from the population lest the guilty should go unpunished, considering that “given the throttling of the rebellion in Transylvania, the time has come for all those who, by urge and counsel, served the overturning party, to be held responsible and to incur their due punishment... let material (evidence) be gathered and let the guilty not escape unpunished.”⁵

Over the next period, these courts began to issue numerous custodial sentences for those guilty of violating the laws during the revolution. Significantly, the museum's collections preserve a series of objects made by the convicts or the prisoners detained in jails in Transylvania (Sibiu, Arad, Timișoara) or in other parts of the Empire (Kufstein, Terezín). Of great diversity (goblets, boxes, cutlery, fine tools, fans, crucifixes, bracelets, etc.), most of these objects are made of carved wood, representing, as the inscriptions show, “memorabilia” from the years spent in detention. The most numerous are the wood and velvet bracelets, in different colours, shaped as handcuffs, inscribed also with medallions containing the coat of arms of Hungary, the anchor of hope, or patriotic exhortations in Hungarian.⁶ Although some are from 1849-1850, the most numerous pieces may be dated to the years 1851-1852, a period that politically corresponded to the beginning of the vast process of restructuring the Empire on the basis of centralism and neoabsolutism, coupled with an ever more extensive control over the society, exercised by the army and the gendarmerie - a military-police institution specific to the regime that appeared in Transylvania in 1851.

It was also now, after recalling Field Marshal Wohlgemuth to Vienna and his demise on the way in Budapest (18 April 1851), that the emperor appointed Karl

and every One, cautioning them not to rise against the Personne and the Fortune of anyone with Thought of victorie and vengeance; otherwise, those who worke against the grain, shall be held accountable before the Lawes of war and shall be mercilessly gunn'd,” *Mișcarea națională ...*, vol. I, p. 58.

⁴ D. Suciu, *op. cit.*, p. 89.

⁵ *Mișcarea națională...*, vol. I, p. 72.

⁶ A part of these have been published in the study authored by Melinda Mitu, Ovidiu Muntean, *Rememorând Revoluția. 1848-2008*, Cluj-Napoca, Editura Mega, 2008, pp. 92-101, and were displayed at the headquarters of the National Museum of Transylvanian History in a temporary exhibition occasioned by the celebration of 160 years since the Revolution of 1848-1849.

Borromäus Philipp von Schwarzenberg as governor. Although he was initially somewhat reserved about the high office that he had been entrusted with, he came to Sibiu in May, not before, that is, submitting to the Council of Ministers in Vienna several conditions that he considered compulsory for the good governance of the country. His plan envisaged: that he would be accompanied here by an assistant ("adlatus"), who would also be his deputy; that he would be entitled to appoint all the senior officials; that all the troops should be subordinated to him; that the civilian administration should also be led by the military in order to avoid jurisdictional competence conflicts; and that after two years, he should be allowed to submit a relocation petition.⁷ The emperor accepted his proposals but did not agree to his relocation after two years. On 29 April 1851, he was officially invested,⁸ and one month later, he launched, from Sibiu, a proclamation to the inhabitants of the country whereby he demanded their obedience, because he wanted an orderly province, and assured them that the government "is sincerely striving thither, that by conscientiously respecting each Nationality, it will advance this Crowned Country's welfare in the interest of the unitary Imperial State."⁹

Born in Vienna on 21 January 1802, he was the second son of Field Marshal Karl Philipp von Schwarzenberg - the Supreme Commander of the Grand Allied Army in Bohemia and Napoleon's adversary in the campaign of 1813-1814¹⁰ - and of Countess Maria-Anna Hohenfeld. Like his two brothers, he embarked on a military career. In 1821, he joined the military school and demonstrated his talent, quickly climbing the hierarchical ladder. He became Colonel in 1834 and, then, Major-General with the General Staff of the Austrian Army (12 October 1840). With the outbreak of the 1848 Revolution, he was advanced to the rank of Lieutenant Field Marshal (4 February 1848) and then he was sent as the leader of a military unit against the Italian revolutionaries from the north of the country. In 1849, after the Austrians' victory at Novara (23 March) and the administrative-political reorganisation of Lombardy, he was appointed Governor of Milan.

This experience was of real use to him later, when he was appointed Governor of Transylvania; his seven years at the head of the province (29 April 1851-25 June

⁷ Helmuth Klima, *Guvernatorii Transilvaniei (1774-1867)*, Cluj-Sibiu, Tipografia Cartea românească, 1943, p. 73.

⁸ *Ibidem*. The instructions he received from the Viennese authorities on his departure contained six points and foreshadowed some of the future reforms of the province during the neoabsolutist decade: 1. The military and civilian governor was the head of all the civil and military authorities, and General Ioan, Knight of Bordolo, was appointed as his deputy; 2. Pending the introduction of the new administrative system, all the authorities should continue their activities as before; 3. The Courts-Martial were subordinated to the governor; 4. The governor would cooperate with the financial bodies and in case of disagreement, he would resort to the emperor; 5. The governor must be in harmony with the judicial authorities, without the latter being under his command; 6. Steps should be taken to place the military border regions under civil administration, allowing, however, the inhabitants of these regions to continue using the forests in the future.

⁹ Teodor V. Păcățian, *Cartea de aur sau luptele politice-naționale ale românilor de sub coroana ungară*, vol. I, Sibiu, Tipografia Societate pe acțiuni, 1902, p. 702.

¹⁰ The museum collection preserves a period reproduction of a famous painting executed by Johann P. Krafft in 1839, entitled *Siegesmeldung nacht der Schacht bei Leipzig*. Here, Field Marshal Schwarzenberg is painted on horseback, facing the sovereigns of Austria, Russia and Prussia, to whom he brings news of the victory won after the battle of Leipzig (19 October 1813).

1858) proved to be rich in legislative-administrative and economic achievements. Through individual study, the new governor attempted to acquire first-hand knowledge of the realities in the Transylvanian society, in order to avoid arbitrariness, and always reach the most correct decisions. In time, an important source of information on the realities of Transylvania was the three-volume work compiled by one of his close collaborators, government adviser Joseph Ritter von Grimm,¹¹ as well as a juridical work, written by Alois Sentz and published in Sibiu in 1852, which has been preserved in the museum's collections.¹²

Our collection also features a valuable black-and-white lithograph¹³ from that time, whose purpose was to glorify the imperial patents of 1851, regulations that had been passed amidst the consolidation of monarchical authoritarianism from the second half of that year (Figure no. 1). The lithograph has at its centre the image of Franz Joseph, with the imperial crown above and his title translated into several languages. Perched atop a pedestal that is inscribed in German with the names of the main central institutions subordinated to him, the emperor is pointing with his left hand at a document containing two of the state reforms that formed the basis of the Austrian Monarchy's future organisation, as well as the place and date of issue: *Kabinetsschreiben, Schönbrunn am 20 Aug. 1851* and, respectively, *Kaiserliche Patente, Wien am 31 Decbr. 1851*.

The first regulation came in the context of the political events from the summer of 1851, when the young Emperor Franz Joseph began to increasingly exert his monarchical authority by presiding over the meetings of the Council of Ministers, downplaying, therefore, the office of Prime Minister held by Prince Felix Schwarzenberg. The immediate effect of this change was the fact that the Cabinet ministers answered only to the emperor. Moreover, in the letters addressed to the prime minister by the emperor on 20 August 1851,¹⁴ it was stated that each minister was obliged to take an oath of allegiance to the emperor, pledging to accurately carry out all the required tasks and to enforce the imperial decrees.

To understand the historical context of the imperial patent issued on 31 December 1851, one should remember that between March 1849 and December 1851, the Austrian monarchy had, at least formally, a Constitution with liberal provisions, such as the provinces' right to limited self-government or the principle of equality in rights between all the nations. The road to the implementation of the Constitution of 4 March 1849 proved nonetheless to be extremely difficult and the new developments which led to the establishment of order in the Empire, the countless emergency ordinances with which the state was governed and the measures meant to eliminate any liberal opposition were all the signs that its repeal was only a matter of time. On the last day of 1851, the Constitution of 4 March was repealed by these imperial patents; with

¹¹ Joseph Ritter von Grimm, *Die politische Verwaltung im Großfürstenthum Siebenbürgen*, Bände 1-3, Hermannstadt, Theodor Steinhäufen, 1853-1857.

¹² Alois Sentz, *Die provisorische Civilprozeßordnung für Siebenbürgen*, Hermannstadt, Theodor Steinhäufen, 1852, 608+26 p.; (MNIT, Inv. no. M 7527).

¹³ The lithograph has Inv. no. M 5506; size 47,5x69,5 cm.

¹⁴ *Allgemeines Reichs-Gesetz und Regierungsblatt für das Kaiserthum Österreich*, Wien, no. 194-195/1851, (hereinafter referred to as *Reichs-Gesetz und Regierungsblatt...*). See also Stefan Lippert, *Felix Fürst zu Schwarzenberg. Eine politische Biographie*, Stuttgart, Franz Steiner Verlag, 1998, pp. 385-386.

them, the so-called *Constitutional Principles*¹⁵ were also drafted, practically paving the way to the processes of centralisation, Germanisation and bureaucratisation that were specific of the Austrian Monarchy during the neoabsolutist decade.

Having at its centre Emperor Franz Joseph's personal *motto* ("Viribus Unitis" - "With United Forces"), the lithograph had obvious propaganda purposes and aimed to emphasise the indissoluble link between the sovereign and the so-called "crown countries," represented here by their old coats of arms. The shield protecting this new political-administrative set-up of the Monarchy was the imperial army, victorious and glorious during the years of the revolution; in this sense, 24 Austrian military leaders who distinguished themselves on the battlefield are represented in the medallions. In the larger medallions, in the four corners, we find Prince Windischgrätz, the Croatian Ban, Jelačić, Field Marshal Radetzky¹⁶ and General Julius Jacob von Haynau.¹⁷ Next to them, on the four sides, other Austrian high military commanders are represented in smaller medallions; next to their name, there is the name of the locality and the date when they fought against the revolutionaries of 1848. With reference to Transylvania, in the lithograph one may distinguish the figures of the above-mentioned Field Marshal Wohlgemuth and three other senior officers, who operated here against the Hungarian revolutionaries, namely Generals Anton Puchner, Eduard Clam-Gallas and Georg Rukavina. In the upper half, the visual ensemble is completed by one representative image for each of the four major cities in the Monarchy: Vienna, Prague, Milan and Pest. Underneath them, the image of the arches of a bridge symbolises the union of the "crown countries" in the general effort of economic development; in this sense, the main domains of the Empire's economy and science are enumerated and illustrated with a suggestive image. At the foot of the pedestal on which the emperor is protectively placed, the graphic description is complemented by a series of elements and general symbols belonging to the Catholic Church or related to its worship practices. On both sides of the chalice bearing the luminous host, placed on the Bible, are positioned the double cross, the staff and the papal tiara with the triple-tiered crown, the episcopal mitre, the keys to the Kingdom of God, the censor, the royal gates and the liturgical books. The Austrian victories from the time of the revolution are illustrated with a period reproduction placed at the bottom of the lithograph, representing the attack of 28 June 1849, followed by the conquest of Raab (the town of Győr in Hungary today),¹⁸ as well as two side medallions, containing battle scenes from Novara and Custoza.

¹⁵ *Reichs-Gesetz und Regierungsverordnungen*..., no. 4/1852 (One of the three imperial patents known in the specialised literature as *Silvesterpatent*); In Romanian translation in Teodor V. Păcățian, *op. cit.*, vol. I, pp. 713-717.

¹⁶ In that time, there was an anecdote claiming that when the emperor began his messages with the formula, *Wir, Franz Joseph*..., he had in mind the initials of these three military commanders' names, who had suppressed by the force of arms the revolutionary movements from the Empire during the years 1848-1849.

¹⁷ In the museum's collections, there is a trilingual publication that he issued on 10 December 1849, which announced the establishment of a foundation that would financially assist the wounded from both warring camps at the time of the revolution. (Inv. no. M 7484).

¹⁸ *Die Einnahme von Raab am 28. Juni 1849*, a colour lithograph by B. Bachmann-Hohmann which appeared in Germany in 1849.

One of the most valuable period pieces of a memorial nature found in the collections of the museum is somehow linked to these events on the Italian front: the sword of Karl Borromäus von Schwarzenberg, Governor of Transylvania (Figure no. 2). The text engraved in Latin on one side of the blade clearly indicates this ownership,¹⁹ especially given that the sword was carried by Schwarzenberg in the war against the Kingdom of Piedmont in 1848-1849. Newly promoted to the rank of Lieutenant Field Marshal (4 February 1848), he was appointed to the head of a division that was part of the great Austrian army under the general command of Field Marshal Radetzky, who then installed Schwarzenberg in the high office of Governor of Milan (1849-1850).

The text on the other side of the blade²⁰ refers to the manner in which the sword arrived in Transylvania after the death of Governor Karl von Schwarzenberg, who passed away in Vienna on 25 June 1858. As the inscription indicates, in his memory, the sword was given to Baron Samuel Josika by the brother of the deceased man - Prince Friedrich von Schwarzenberg. It was well known at that time that the former governor had had very good relations with the great nobility of Transylvania and that he had felt very good in the company of the Mikó, Josika, Béldi and Bánffy families, frequently visiting them at their estates.²¹ As evidence of these relations stands the letter of condolence presented to the governor's widow - Countess Josefina Wratislav-Mitrovtva - by the nobles of Transylvania. Drafted by the former Aulic Chancellor Samuel Josika, the letter was undersigned, in addition to the two Josika brothers, by Baron Fr. Kemény, Comites E. Mikó, I. Nemeş, Alb. Bánffy, the Béldi brothers, the Toldalagi brothers, Bethlen, Esterházi, Barons Vesselényi, Wass, Nopcea, etc, a total number of over one hundred noblemen and representatives of the province's authorities.²²

Therefore, it is very likely that when he presented the condolence letter, as its draftsman, Baron Josika received this sword and then brought it to Transylvania, becoming a family heirloom for a century, until it was purchased and it entered the museum's patrimony.²³ The donor of the sword, Prince Friedrich von Schwarzenberg (1799-1870), was the elder brother of the Governor of Transylvania.²⁴ An adventurer by nature, he fought as an Austrian officer against the Poles in the Duchy of Posen (1846),

¹⁹ *ENSEM QUO CAROLUS PR. IN SCHWARZENBERG, REITORMENTARIAE PRAEFECTUS, POSTREMO TRANSYLVANIAE GUBERNETOR DURANTE BELLO ITALICO PER SARDOS MOTO FORTITER USUS EST ANNO 1848 & 1849.*

²⁰ *IN MEMORIAM FRATRIS CARISSIMI FRIDERICUS PR IN SCHWARZENBERG VETERANO AMICO SAMUELI B. JOSIKA D. D. 1858.*

²¹ H. Klima, *op. cit.*, p. 76.

²² George Bariţ, *Părţi alese din istoria Transilvaniei pe două sute de ani în urmă*, vol. II, second ed., Braşov, The Inspectorate for Culture of Braşov County, 1994, p. 655.

²³ The sword was purchased in 1959 from Bethlen György and inventoried with Inv. no. M 4602 (IN 13822). The blade is curved and engraved on both sides, and the guard is cruciform, with globular heads. The guard and the pommel are gilded with geometrical and floral motifs. The handle is a bone hilt and the scabbard is wrapped in leather with two clamping rings. Because of its importance and value, it has been classified into the legal category of a treasure belonging to the National Cultural Heritage under MCPN Order no. 2516/9.09.2010. Size: L=93 cm; Blade L=79,5 cm, w=3 cm.

²⁴ The youngest son, Edmund von Schwarzenberg (1803-1873), was also an Austrian senior officer. He was promoted by Emperor Franz Joseph to the supreme rank of Field Marshal in Vienna in 1867, when the foundation stone of the memorial in honour of his father - who defeated Napoleon in the Battle of Leipzig - was laid.

against the Italian and Hungarian revolutionaries during the 1848 Revolution, and he also participated in the military campaigns from Algeria, Spain or Switzerland. In his many travels through Europe, he also reached Wallachia in the autumn of 1836, and the description of this journey was made in a paper published in Leipzig one year later.²⁵ On his return from Constantinople, after being forced to endure the rigors of quarantine in Giurgiu, he went to Bucharest, where he attended a reception given by the Wallachian Prince Alexandru D. Ghica.²⁶ From there, he travelled to Transylvania and after the “endless” quarantine from Turnu Roșu, he came to Sibiu, where he visited Brukenthal Palace and its art gallery.²⁷ Further on, his notes show that he was pleasantly impressed with the city and felt very good in the midst of the Saxon population here. After a stay of a few days, he went to Timișoara, and *via* Szeged, he reached Pest, the final destination of this voyage, which “acquainted him better with the people and the places in this part of Europe.”

Finally, the museum’s collections also preserve a series of circulars and other period documents belonging to Bishop Andrei Șaguna, an outstanding personality of the Orthodox Romanians in Transylvania.²⁸ Referring to a vast array of religious, educational, cultural and social matters, they represent the testimonies of the high hierarch’s involvement in the national and political life of the Transylvanian Romanians during the years of the revolution, as well as of the initiatives he undertook towards ecclesiastical emancipation and establishing the Orthodox Metropolitan See. From the first category, mention should be made of circular no. 51, addressed to the Orthodox clergy and issued from the episcopal residence on 13 October 1849.²⁹ Responding to a demand made by Governor Wohlgemuth, who had actually pronounced himself in favour of prosecuting and punishing those guilty of crimes and looting during the revolution,³⁰ Andrei Șaguna urged the clergy to make records of the widows, the orphans and the invalids the revolution had left in its wake. Next, he requested the priests to assess these people’s material situation and to show great responsibility in reconstituting the facts, each of them having to mention in the reports they submitted to the archpriests “where, how and when such Misfortunes occur’d.” Also dating back to this period, a pamphlet outlining his tireless efforts for re-establishing the old Orthodox Metropolitan See of Transylvania and for organising it in canonical-administrative terms is preserved.³¹ Published towards the end of 1849, it is the first in a series of three

²⁵ *Fragmente aus dem Tagebuche während einer Reise in die Levante*, Leipzig, Gedruckt bei W. Daach, 1837, 257 p. The same year saw the publication in Vienna of his *Rückblicke auf Algier und dessen Eroberung durch die königlich-französischen Truppen im Jahre 1830*, a work on the Algerian military expedition in which he participated with the French troops. His most important work, entitled *Aus dem Wanderbuche eines verabschiedeten Lanzknechtes*, was published in five volumes between 1844-1848.

²⁶ *Fragmente aus dem Tagebuche...*, p. 233.

²⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 258.

²⁸ MNIT, Inv. no. M 6895-M 6935.

²⁹ *Către Preacinstiții D.D. Protopopi și Cinstiții Preoți Eparhiali, Pace și Milă dela Dumnezeu Tatăl!*, Sibiu, 3 October 1849. MNIT, Inv. no. M 6895.

³⁰ See note 5.

³¹ *Promemoria despre dreptul istoric al autonomiei bisericești-naționale a românilor de relegea răsăriteană în ces. reg. provincii ale monarhiei austriace*, Sibiu, G. Klozius, 1849, 15 p., Ex libris “D. Sturza”. MNIT, Inv. no. M 9420. The copy belonged to former Prime Minister of Romania Dimitrie A.

pamphlets that upheld, with historical and canonical arguments, the necessary reestablishment of the Metropolitan See.³²

Of the valuable volumes published during these years for the purpose of emancipating the Romanian nation, mention should be made of Ioan Pușcariu's work dedicated to the decree of abolishing serfdom in 1854.³³ A bearer of the Romanian flag during the Blaj National Assembly of 3-5 May, 1848, and an illustrious genealogist of the Romanian nation in Transylvania, Ioan Pușcariu competently analysed here the entire agrarian problem addressed by the patent for the abolition of serfdom, issued for Transylvania on 21 June 1854. His perseverance in examining the complicated problems of the newly introduced agrarian reform was helpful for the Romanian serfs in Transylvania and the Banat,³⁴ since they were the main beneficiaries of these regulations. The distribution of the land plots they had held in use laid the foundation of the long process that led to the formation of middle landed property in Transylvania. Alongside these measures that were aimed at modernising agriculture, Governor Karl von Schwarzenberg undertook a large-scale action - through well-considered and thoroughly-implemented reforms -towards the development of the administration, the industry, transportation, and the banking, tax and legal systems: all these represented a great leap towards the general modernisation of Transylvanian society in the middle of the nineteenth century.³⁵

Sturdza (1833-1914), from whose collection the museum also has other volumes, French journalism in particular. See Ovidiu Muntean, *Publicistică franceză în colecțiile Muzeului Național de Istorie a Transilvaniei (mijl. sec. al XIX-lea)*, in *Acta Musei Napocensis*, Historica, no. 41-44, Cluj-Napoca, 2007, pp. 135-144.

³² The other two were published over the subsequent years as follows: *Adaos la Promemoria despre dreptul istoric al autonomiei bisericești-naționale a românilor de relegea răsăriteană în ces. reg. provincii ale monarhiei austriace*, Sibiu, G. Klozius, 1850, and, respectively, *Memorial prin care se lămurește cererea românilor de religiunea răsăriteană din Austria pentru restaurarea Mitropoliei lor din punct de vedere al sfințelor canoane*, Vienna, 1851.

³³ *Comentariu la prea înalta Patentă din 21 iunie 1854 pentru Ardealu lucratu pentru poporul românu de Ioane Pușcariu*, Sibiu, the Diocesan Printing Press, 1858. MNIT Bibl. No. 1741. The museum also holds a rare lithograph depicting the author in the specific outfit of the time, printed in Sibiu by F.A.R. Krabs, after a drawing by Professor Ioan Costandeu. Inv. no. M 3575 (I 3571).

³⁴ The Patent was promulgated for the Banat and Hungary on 2 March 1853.

³⁵ See, in this sense, the work written by Iosif Marin Balog, *Dilemele modernizării. Economie și societate în Transilvania 1850-1875*, Cluj-Napoca, Editura International Book Access, 2007.

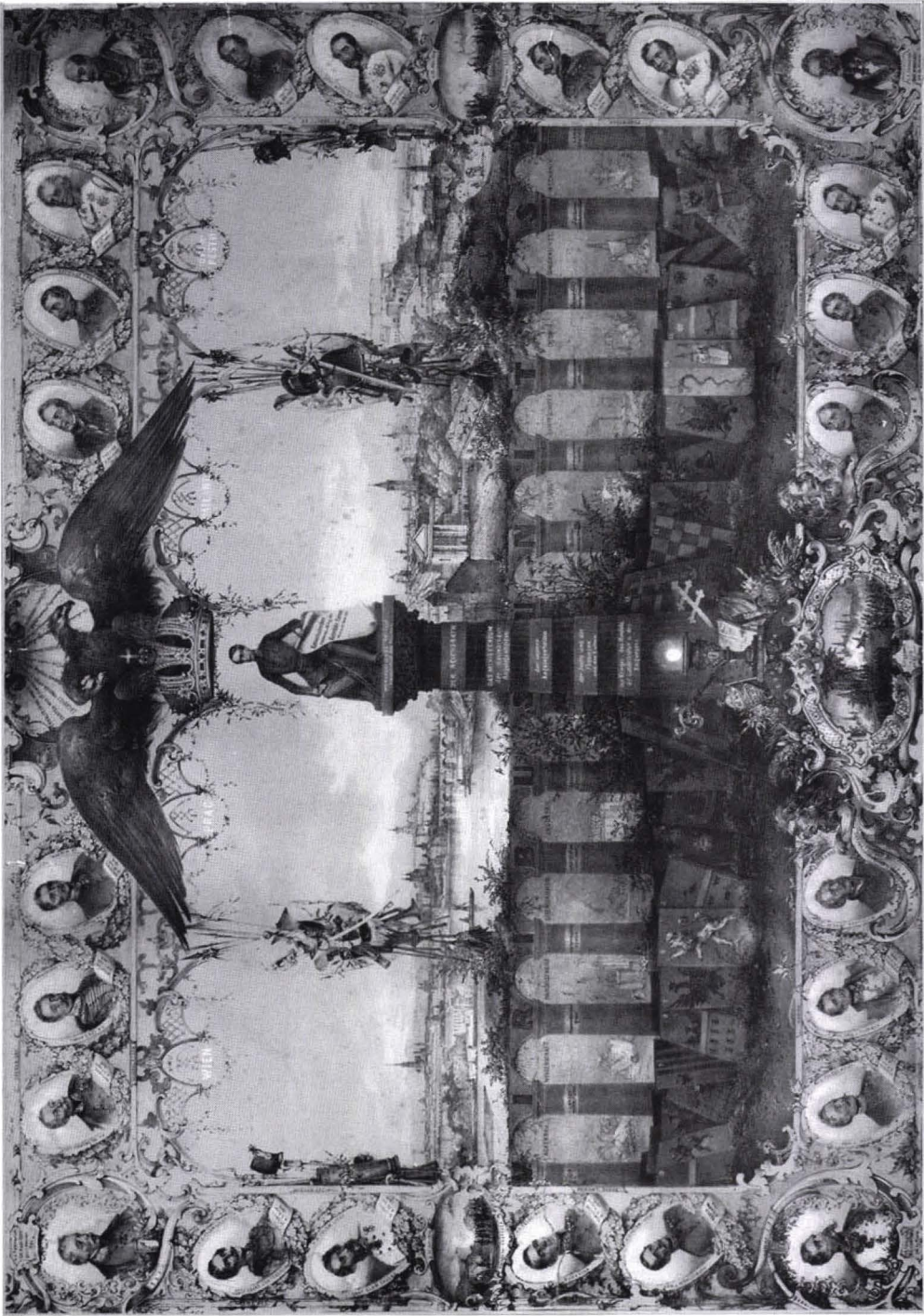


Figure no. 1



Figure no. 2

THE CONTRIBUTION OF THE RAȚIU FAMILY TO FOUNDING THE MUSEUM OF TURDA

Abstract: The foundations of the museum in Turda were certainly laid with the help of private collections that had been assembled since the nineteenth century. Orbán Balázs mentions, in his monograph of Turda, the existence “of genuine collections” gathered in various locations of the town.

The location of the future museum was inaugurated in the headquarters of the Cultural House on 12 October 1913, after extensive renovation works.

After the official opening of the institution, numerous purchases of antiques were made for a long period of time. Among the artefacts that entered the custody of the Cultural House at that time there are ethnographic objects from the Trascău area. It should be noted that numerous items of historical value were stored there even before that period.

The project of establishing a museum was resumed immediately after the war, when there were hopes for acquiring the Téglás collection. The attempts of the Historical Monuments Commission failed, most of this collection being scattered and only a few of the items reaching the patrimony of the Turda museum.

The idea of establishing a museum in Turda was not abandoned. In subsequent years, the Rațiu family was directly involved in this project.

Its establishment was largely “the fruit of the mind” of Dr. Augustine Rațiu. An active politician, the former mayor of Turda (1932), President of the Craftsmen’s Assembly of Turda, Dean of the Bar Association in Turda and a prominent member of the National Peasants’ Party, he launched an action that was publicised by the press and took the necessary steps for setting up the museum of Turda. Although the museum of Turda was officially set up on 22 November 1943, its foundations had been laid by Dr. Augustin Rațiu in as early as 1933. The donations made by Emilia Rațiu and other members of this family were decisive in this respect.

Keywords: Turda, history museum, Cultural House, Augustin Rațiu, the Rațiu family

Immediately after the union between Transylvania and Romania, Romanian cultural activities in this province intensified. At the level of the museums, there was “an explosion” in terms of the development and reorganisation of existing Romanian museum institutions. In the cities with ancient cultural traditions from Transylvania, where such institutions did not exist, various museum collections were promoted, forming the basis of the future museums, mostly according to the regional or local interest.

The foundations of the museum in Turda were certainly also laid with the help of several private collections that had been gathered ever since the nineteenth century. In his work, Orbán Balázs mentioned the existence “of genuine collections” gathered in various locations of the town.¹ He had knowledge of numerous artifacts collected by Nagy Olivérné and those assembled at the Reformed Parish House in Turda.² Balázs’s proposal concerning the establishment of a museum in the Town Hall, which would

¹ Balázs Orbán, *Torda város és környéke*, Budapest, 1889.

² *Ibidem*, p. 39.

acquire and accommodate the numerous private collections, seems interesting to us. It is possible that the Municipality did house such a collection of antiques, given that Orbán mentioned the fact that here was deposited the inscription which was dismantled from the Monumental Gate of the Revenue Office Building in 1883.³

On 12 October 1913, the Cultural House opened in Turda after the extensive renovation works undertaken by the Hungarian architect Lux Kálmán between 1911 and 1913.⁴ Built out of stone, the building had 10 rooms. On the ground floor, there were four rooms, a hall (vestibule), and two residential rooms, while in the basement, there were vaulted cellars. Upstairs was arranged a conference room, a library and a reading room. A museum was envisaged to be set up in the numerous rooms of the Cultural House. This historical monument from Turda served as a Hungarian Cultural House: “as a foundation for eternal times, for cultural, historical and decorative art purposes, as a museum and as a magazine (storehouse for collections of historical objects), it shall not be remised or used for any other purposes.”⁵

For a substantial period of time after the official opening of the institution, numerous purchases of antiques were made. Among the artifacts that entered the custody of the Cultural House at that time, there are generally ethnographic objects from the Trascău area. It should be noted that even before its inauguration, it housed many items of historical value. Thus, point 2 of the contract whereby the Cultural House was taken over by the Society for Hungarian Defence (“Magyar Védő Egyesület”) on 28 March 1912 talks about a collection that was already in existence: “the supervision, classification, care, handling and development of the cultural house, the arrangements and all the collections and values gathered there.”⁶

Based on the above-mentioned contract, concluded on the said date between the town of Turda and the Hungarian society, the building was taken over by this society.⁷ The contract drafted in Hungarian contained 8 points and point 7 stipulated: “If the Society for Hungarian Defence from Turda should be dismantled, the cultural house with all the arrangements and its whole content shall pass into the property of the town of Turda.”⁸

After 1918, this society was dissolved and under Article 7 of the contract, the Cultural House passed into the property of the town of Turda.

Shortly after the demise of Istvan Téglás (1853-1915), the school inspector from Turda, the idea that circulated was that the important collection he had gathered

³ *Ibidem*, p. 343.

⁴ Horațiu Groza “Un monument de arhitectură medievală: Palatul Voievodal din Turda,” in *AMN*, 45-46, II, 2008-2009, pp. 233-252.

⁵ *Fond Înființarea unui muzeu la Turda*, year 1919, doc. no. 2, The documentary fund used in this article may be consulted at the Museum of History in Turda.

⁶ *Fond Înființarea unui muzeu la Turda*, year 1912, doc. no. 1, the History Museum of Turda.

⁷ *Ibidem*, the History Museum of Turda. In relation to rescript no. 45899/1911 of the Ministry of Public Instruction, under decision no. 65/1910, the population of Turda ceded the old edifice “Bathory House,” which had been in its property, to the Royal Hungarian Ministry of Cults and Public Instruction, for cultural purposes. The Town Hall created a public foundation, whereby it delivered it to the “Society for Hungarian Defence in Turda,” represented by the director, Horvath Domokos, and the secretary, Pal Gabor.

⁸ *Ibidem*, the History Museum of Turda.

throughout his lifetime should form the basis of the future museum, but the war prevented the realisation of this initiative.

The project of establishing a museum on the premises of the Cultural House was resumed immediately after the war, when hopes towards the purchase of the Téglás collection were reignited. The attempts made by the Historical Monuments Commission, the Transylvania Section (founded in 1921), with a view to purchasing this collection failed, most of it being scattered and only a few of its objects ending up in the museum of Turda. At that time, the collection was impressive, comprising about 1,500 artifacts from the Roman period, as well as from other historical periods. It contained numerous ethnographic objects, books and old letters, amounting to 4,068 pieces in all.⁹ According to the press of the time, most of the collection was purchased by a foreign antiques dealer for 25,000 lei.¹⁰

After 1918, there occurred changes affecting the destination of the interior spaces in this building. The festive hall (probably the conference hall) of the Cultural House, located upstairs, was ceded to the Romanian “Casina” (a cultural and political society), the remaining space being reserved for the future museum, whose leadership was expected to be the responsibility of the Headmaster of King Ferdinand High School in Turda.

The idea of establishing a museum in Turda emerged more poignantly in the following years, the Rațiu family being directly involved in this project. In a letter Dr. Augustin Rațiu wrote in Turda on 25 December 1919 and addressed to “Astra,” the Association for Romanian Literature and the Culture of the Romanian People in Sibiu, he proposed that the Turda Branch of “Astra” should take over the Cultural House in town and have a museum organised there: “I proposed that I should be allowed to establish the Dr. Ioan Rațiu Museum on the ground floor of this house.”¹¹

In the article entitled “Turda” that the same Augustin Rațiu submitted to the local Gazette on 7 December 1921, he launched an appeal towards establishing a Romanian museum in Turda. In the conclusion to the article entitled “We Need a History Museum,” what is emphasised is the importance of collecting all the artifacts and documents in the area, indicating that the proper exhibition space should be the Princely Mansion in Turda: “Here might be gathered all the documents of times past. The Government should hastily appoint a custodian, so that he may gather all the historical documents from the Turda-Arieș County in this mansion.”¹²

Attempts to lay the foundations of a museum institution in Turda were also made by Professor A. Nanu from Turda after 1920.¹³ The professor’s activity was limited to collecting some artifacts and storing them in King Ferdinand High School.

Subsequent accidental discoveries of inscriptions, sarcophagi, sculptures and architectural fragments on the territory of the locality enriched the cultural heritage of

⁹ Coriolan Petranu, *Muzeele din Transilvania, Banat, Crișana și Maramureș. Trecutul, prezentul și administrarea lor*. București, 1922, pp.158-159.

¹⁰ *Ogorul Școalei*, no. 6, 1937/1938.

¹¹ *Fond Înființarea unui muzeu la Turda*, year 1919, doc. no. 2, the History Museum of Turda.

¹² *Gazeta “Turda”*, no.5/7 December 1921.

¹³ Ioan Opriș, “Despre începuturile muzeografiei la Turda,” in *Potaissa*, II, 1980, p. 303.

the future museum. To these findings were added the small private collections of Augustin Rațiu and K. Kovrig, which were put on display in the Cultural House and in the local schools. All these collections and items coming from discoveries or acquisitions had to be housed in an institution specially created and arranged for this purpose.

The fact is that in the fourth decade of the twentieth century, the idea and necessity of establishing a museum that would house these artifacts - according to well-conceived conservation and security regulations - became increasingly pressing.

The idea of establishing a museum was largely "the fruit" of Dr. Augustin Rațiu's mind. An active politician, the former mayor of Turda (1932), President of the Craftsmen's Assembly of Turda, Dean of the Bar Association in Turda and a prominent member of the National Peasants' Party, he launched an action that was publicised by the press and took the necessary steps for setting up the museum of Turda. Although the museum of Turda was officially set up on 22 November 1943, its foundations had been laid by Dr. Augustin Rațiu in as early as 1933. The theme and the personality of this collection may not have been well established, but the Historical Monuments Commission nonetheless submitted to the Chairman of "Astra" Augustin Rațiu's request concerning the establishment of a museum in Turda, the commission noting that this would save "from destruction a series of archaeological, ethnographic monuments... monuments which, if collected and displayed in a museum, would represent a beautiful icon of the past and the present of our nation in the region of Turda."¹⁴

We shall insist below on Augustin Rațiu's year-long efforts and activity for the establishment and opening of a museum in Turda. 33 documents have been researched and examined for documentation purposes.

In 1932, new steps towards setting up the museum of Turda were taken. Felicia Rațiu, the daughter of Dr. Ioan Rațiu the Memorandist, was informed in a letter Augustin sent her on 13 September 1932 about the visit that the President of the Romanian Lawyers' Union undertook to Turda, on the occasion of a convention.¹⁵ This letter provides concrete information on the location of the future Dr. Ioan Rațiu Museum: "After the festive meeting, I went to the Cultural House located in the old princely mansion, where I showed him the room where I want to install, with your and your family's help, a museum in honour of Dr. Ioan Rațiu. Detailed reports have been issued and published about all this in the newspaper *Dimineața* from Bucharest, in the issue of 14 September 1932, and in the newspaper *Universul* from Bucharest on the same day, in the page devoted to Transylvania. In Turda I published in the local gazette everything that happened, with a photo of Dr. Ioan Rațiu's statue on the front page."¹⁶ This location was not chosen randomly. One of the local newspapers wrote the following: "The Cultural House is the place where almost all the public lectures are organised..... it has a conference hall with a gallery of original paintings by Hungarian artists, a library, an ethnographic house."¹⁷

¹⁴ The accompanying address in the archive of the C.M.I., the Transylvania section, reg. no. 426/10 August 1933.

¹⁵ *Fond Înființarea unui muzeu la Turda*, year 1932, doc. no. 4.

¹⁶ *Ibidem*.

¹⁷ "Viața Culturală în orașul și în județul Turda," in *Arieșul*, year VII, no. 9-10, of 10 September 1932, p. 4.

On 15 January 1933, the first items necessary for the establishment of the Dr. Ioan Rațiu Museum of Turda were shipped from Sibiu to Turda:¹⁸

No.	Name of the Object	No. of items
1	Veneer wooden bed (owners - Dr. Ioan Rațiu and Emilia Rațiu)	2 items
2	Nightstand	2 items
3	Persian rug (wall-hanging carpet) representing two dogs	1 item
4	Painting - Emiliei Dr. Rațiu	1 item
5	Rocking chair	1 item
6	Writing table	1 item
7	Round chair	1 item
8	Cabinet - bookcase (with three shelves)	1 item
9	Bookshelf	1 item
10	Sideboard	1 item
11	Watch (in glass box)	1 item
12	Ornamental mug	1 item
13	Lion statue - iron	1 item
14	Stone hammer (without a handle)	1 item

Felicia Rațiu specified in the letter that she would shortly send five more pieces of furniture that had belonged to her family. In the conclusion to her letter, she left it to Augustin Rațiu to arrange these objects in the room ceded by “Astra” for the organisation of the Dr. Ioan Rațiu Museum.¹⁹

A month and a half after this donation, Felicia visited the premises of the future museum. Outraged by what she saw there, she wrote a letter to the President of the “Astra” Association on 27 February 1933:

Mr. President!

Having spent a few days in Turda, I investigated the “Cultural House” that is under the protection of the Astra Branch - and found the following:

The Dr. Ioan Rațiu Room in which the items I donated are stored was blocked with some wire on which some freshly laundered clothes had been left to dry. Passing under this obstacle, I entered the room, which I found in indescribable disarray. I had the impression that it had not been swept or cleaned since autumn. The dust was so thick you could not touch any object. The rocking chair - broken. On the writing table, pigs seemed to have feasted and it was so dirty, both its wood and its cloth. The wall-

¹⁸ *Fond Înființarea unui muzeu la Turda*, year 1933, doc. no. 5.

¹⁹ *Ibidem*.

hanging rug was stretched on the ground and had been trampled under foot. Unlocked cabinets - which means that only those who did not want anything didn't steal anything. The adherence and devotion albums received by my beloved parents were torn, loose or damaged. The bedspread..., then the bed curtain - a work of art of the Slovak women from Turocz St. Martin, dusty and moth-eaten. Broken furniture and the glass missing from a picture.

Given all these, you may imagine what a terrible impression this made on me, this sheer lack of interest in the objects I donated for the Dr. Ioan Rațiu Room.

You will kindly take note of the fact that I seized the bedspread, the Slovak embroidery and the two albums to have them cleaned and repaired.

I ordered that the furniture and the other damaged things should be fixed. I have entrusted Mr. Dr. Augustin Rațiu, Dean of the Bar Association in Turda, with overseeing these works, and then with the inventory of the objects.

You will kindly demand that the Dr. Ioan Rațiu Room from the Cultural Palace, together with all the items stored there, should be better taken care of in the future, because otherwise I shall be forced to revoke the donation I made and collect all the items I donated away from there.

In order for the Dr. Ioan Rațiu Room not to end up in future in the state in which I found it now, I have requested Mr. Dr. Augustin Rațiu - a descendant of our family - to oversee that this room is well taken care of and report to me from time to time. You will kindly take note of this directive and grant the aforementioned the proper authorisation to enter the Dr. Ioan Rațiu chamber for this purpose at all times, and insofar as cleanliness is concerned, please take any measures you will deem necessary."

From another letter we find that Petre Suciu, the chairman of the Turda Branch of "Astra," was appointed as supervisor of this collection,²⁰ and that the Cultural House had an employee responsible for maintaining cleanliness.²¹

The establishment of a museum in Turda required monetary funds that were difficult to obtain at that time, when there was a severe global financial crisis. To obtain funds, various methods were used. One of them was to valorise the pictures taken of the statue of Dr. Ioan Rațiu that had been erected in front of the County Prefecture. Thus the letter no 109/15.05.1933 sent by Augustin Rațiu to the mayor of Turda requested that the Town Hall should purchase large photographs of Dr. Ioan Rațiu's statue in order to collect the necessary funds for establishing the museum in Turda.²²

The new funds came from the Association "Cultul Eroilor" ["Hero Worship"]. Under application no. 125/1933 issued by the Turda Bar Association, this association was requested an annual subsidy for the Dr. Ioan Rațiu Museum in Turda and for repair works on the Tomb of Michael the Brave. The legal statutes of the Association "Cultul Eroilor" did not include such annual donations, so the fixed amount of 3,000 lei was transferred for the establishment of the museum and another 200 lei for the purchase of a photograph of Dr. Ioan Rațiu's statue.²³

²⁰ *Ibidem*, year 1933, doc. no. 12.

²¹ *Ibidem*, year 1933, doc. no. 7. The letter is dated 27 April 1933.

²² *Ibidem*, year 1933, doc. no. 9.

²³ *Ibidem*, year 1933, doc. no. 11.

The official letter no. 1633 of 30 June 1933, sent by the “Astra” Association to Augustin Rațiu, the Dean of the Bar Association in Turda, informs us that the above-mentioned association transferred the amount of 1,000 lei into the account for setting up a museum in Turda. Another financial aid of 600 lei was sent by the Chamber of Deputies.²⁴

Under Decision no. 5879/27 July 1933, the Town Hall of Turda approved the sum of 1,000 for buying back Dr. Ioan Rațiu’s paintings as financial assistance to setting up the museum.²⁵ A possible subsidy that was to be paid for maintainin the Dr. Ioan Rațiu Room by the Town Hall was to be discussed in the budget meeting.²⁶ Another donation came from the Factory “Uzinele de alabastru” [“The Alabaster Plants”], which donated a writing set for the Dr. Ioan Rațiu desk to the museum.²⁷

Under appeal no. 125/6 July 1933, the *well-meaning people* in town were asked to support the enrichment of the collections housed by the Dr. Ioan Rațiu Museum in Turda.²⁸ Starting in June 1933, the museum began to be arranged. Various paintings were displayed in the entrance hall; Mrs. Lucreția Mureșan, together with the Women’s Convention from Turda - which donated a painting depicting Emilia Rațiu to the museum, arranged a room in peasant Romanian style in the Cultural House.

Unfortunately for the institution that was supposed to be established, there were some disagreements regarding the space allocated to it, between Dr. Augustin Rațiu and Petre Suci, the Headmaster of the Boys’ High School, who was also Chairman of the “Astra” Branch in Turda. The latter warned Augustin Rațiu that he should confine himself to a single room, which he could arrange as he pleased.²⁹

The letter Dr. Augustin Rațiu addressed to the Chairman of the “Astra” Association, issued in Turda on 8 July 1933, requested a permit that would allow the collections of the museum to be organised: “I hereby request you give me full license so I can organise the entire museum on new Romanian bases, grouping the ancient, Roman objects, then the Hungarian items separately, and giving foremost place to the objects related to our national struggle and, in particular, to my great uncle, Dr. Ioan Rațiu.

I need this special authorisation lest the beautiful plan I have been contemplating should be frustrated and impeded by all manner of proposals and possible protests and so that I may oust from the museum rooms all the objects that do not belong there, such as books, notebooks, office supplies and other objects of the former “Teaching Staff Cooperative,” which prevent me from entering one of the rooms downstairs. It is too bad that a hall of the Museum has so far been used as a public storage room for objects that do not belong to the cultural house and the museum.”³⁰

Although the Central Office of Astra in Sibiu approved the establishment of the museum collection, Augustin Rațiu encountered difficulties in organising it from Petre

²⁴ *Ibidem*, year 1933, doc. no. 15. Information taken from the letter Dr. Augustin Rațiu wrote to Felicia Rațiu on 11 July 1933.

²⁵ *Ibidem*, year 1933, doc. no. 18.

²⁶ *Ibidem*. Extract from the minutes of the Turda Twon Council, of 14 July 1933.

²⁷ *Ibidem*, year 1958, doc. no. 29.

²⁸ *Ibidem*, year 1933, doc. no. 13.

²⁹ *Ibidem*, year 1933, doc. no. 16. A letter issued in Turda on 24 July 1933.

³⁰ *Ibidem*, year 1933, doc. no. 14.

Suciu, who restricted his access to the other rooms on the ground floor, which he needed in order to store the objects there.

Although Augustin Rațiu wished to donate all the things that had belonged to the Rațiu family and that were in his custody to the museum, he imposed the condition of being allowed to manage the Dr. Ioan Rațiu Museum throughout his lifetime. In a letter that has been preserved, he stated: “a museum must be open permanently, and not be forsaken, inaccessible to the public, with all its valuable objects having to suffer from the point of view of conservation.” In the conclusion to his letter, he requested a special authorisation from the Historical Monuments Commission for organising this museum.³¹

The Historical Monuments Commission promised its help in organising this museum if Augustin Rațiu was authorised by “Astra” to organise collections of the Dr. Ioan Rațiu Museum.³² In the same document, we are informed that Felicia Rațiu had the intention of donating all the remaining objects from her parents to the newly established museum.³³

In a new request dated 29 august 1933 and addressed to the Ministry, it was stated that for the purpose of establishing the museum in Turda, help should be granted through various donations consisting of Romanian paintings for adorning the walls of the Cultural House.³⁴

Starting from the spring of 1933, specialists were hired for cleaning the furniture. All the expenses related to the opening of the Dr. Ioan Rațiu Museum and all receipts were kept and adnotated by Augustin Rațiu in a notebook; several albums that contained family photographs were purchased with a view to the museum being opened.³⁵

We do not know the period in which the Dr. Ioan Rațiu Museum was open. What we do know for certain is that in 1939, the museum was already closed. Starting in 1937, the archaeological discoveries from Turda were shipped to Cluj because the “old archaeological museum in Turda, from the Cultural House, is in total disarray and about to be dismantled.”³⁶

The testament Felicia Rațiu left after death, which occurred on 31 October 1938, included the Dr. Ioan Rațiu Museum of Turda. Entitled “My Last Wish,” Felicia’s will left the Turda institution: “the altar, the *Luize XI* pendulum clock, the writing desk of my unforgettable Mother, the Japanese room divider, the note tray with bronze ornaments, the glove box with the same decoration - objects that belonged to my beloved parents and the black box that was my beloved grandmother’s, Revia Orghidan.”³⁷ The will list also included books with dedications, such as: *Mein Peusterwinkel* by Carmen Silva, *Viforul [The Whirlwind]* and *Apus de Soare [Sunset]* by B. Ș. Delavrancea, *Acțiunea*

³¹ *Ibidem*, year 1933, doc. no. 17.

³² *Ibidem*, year 1933, doc. no. 20.

³³ *Ibidem*.

³⁴ *Ibidem*, year 1933, doc. no. 21.

³⁵ *Ibidem*. Expense notebook. Document no. 31. The list of expenses and donations from the Dr. Ioan Rațiu Museum in Turda.

³⁶ Daniela Deac, *Turda orașul care nu vrea să moară*, Turda, 2006, vol II, p. 48.

³⁷ Vișinescu Valentin, *Turda – Leagăn de civilizație românească*, Cluj Napoca, 2006, p. 147.

diplomatică a României [*Romania's Diplomatic Action*] by Viorel Tilea. In her testament, she left the Dr. Ioan Rațiu Museum of Turda numerous paintings: "The Vandalism of Turda," "General Panaitescu on the Bridge in Budapest," "Revia Orghidan," "Emilia Rațiu," "Dr. Ioan Rațiu in National Costume" and various paintings of the Rațiu family members, Aureliu, Dorina, and Emilia with her husband Octavian. Once they entered into the custody the executor, Dr Augustin Rațiu, there was no longer any information on what happened with these objects.

The Dr. Ioan Rațiu Museum seems to have functioned for a relatively short period, its space being claimed by several societies in town. In a complaint filed on 20 February 1939 by Augustin Rațiu, addressed to the Chairman of the "Astra" Association in Sibiu, it was mentioned that Dr. C. Aldea had evacuated all the furniture from the Museum exhibition, and that the room had received an altogether different destination, namely that of a rehearsal place for the Choir of the Orthodox Church in Turda. In conclusion, the Chairman of the "Astra" Association was asked to intervene and take appropriate measures.³⁸

A year later, Petre Suciu, the Chairman of the Turda Branch of "Astra" demanded a response from Dr. Augustin Rațiu about maintaining the Dr. Ioan Rațiu Museum in the Cultural House. If the answer was affirmative, he was urged to return the inventoried objects or evacuate the exhibition space.³⁹

On 16 September 1940, by Royal Decree, Romania was declared a National Legionary State. Between September 1940 and January 1941, the headquarters of the Turda Legionary Movement was established in the Cultural House.

On 17 December 1940, a detailed report was drafted on the movable cultural patrimony of the Cultural House at the time.⁴⁰

In paragraph II of the report, it was stated that: On 17 December 1940, following the official note of 16 December issued by the Town of Turda, no. 11848, the delivery-receipt protocol was drafted for all the objects and furniture that were owned by the Town Hall and were used by Legionnaire Headquarters. This document was also signed by the delegate of the Turda Legionnaire Garrison, Popa Gheorghe, a financial controller.

The delivery and receipt of these items was done at the scene of the place, a round label with the seal of the Town Hall being previously applied to each object, all of them remaining in custody at these headquarters.

The report informs us that all these objects belonging both to the Town Hall and to the Cultural House, and, respectively, to the "Astra" Branch, were stored in two rooms on the ground floor of the building that had not been occupied as Legionnaire Headquarters.

Below we shall present a table containing a list of the objects identified and inventoried by this commission, with the names and descriptions from that time.⁴¹

³⁸*Fond Înființarea unui muzeu la Turda*, year 1939, doc. no. 23.

³⁹*Ibidem.*, year 1940, doc. no.25.

⁴⁰*Ibidem.*, year 1940, doc. no.26.

⁴¹*Ibidem.*

No.	Name and description of the object	No. Items	Value (lei)
1.	Wooden bed (painted in various colours)	1	300
2.	Peasant mattress (hemp)	1	100
3.	Bed linen (hemp)	1	100
4.	Bed covers (hand sewn)	2	200
5.	Pillows with pillow cases (hemp)	6	600
6.	Peasant table (painted)	1	200
7.	Peasant chair (painted)	1	200
8.	Wooden peasant chairs (painted in various colours)	2	100
9.	Wall dish hanger (painted in various colours)	1	50
10.	Enamelled plates	-	100
11.	Burnt clay wall-hanging mugs (enamelled - various colours)	5	100
12.	Burnt clay bedpan (enamelled - various colours)	5	150
13.	Wooden peasant table (painted in various colours)	1	100
14.	Wooden peasant chest (painted in various colours)	1	300
15.	Wooden peasant salt-cellar (painted)	1	20
16.	Clay mug (painted)	1	20
17.	Writing set (alabaster)	1	100
18.	Ornamental mug (porcelain)	1	100
19.	Vase (burnt clay)	1	50
20.	Iron statue (representing a lion)	1	50
21.	Hammer (stone)	1	10
22.	Turda's coat of arms (paper, round wooden frame)	1	-----
23.	Old watch (glass box)	1	200
24.	Square black frame without a photograph	1	50
25.	Fir wood cabinet, with shelves	1	1,000
26.	Fir wood cabinet, painted, with shelves	2	2,000
27.	Framework and window that has a flower in the middle	1	100
28.	Old wooden cabinet, made of hard wood, with shelves	1	200
29.	The map of Europe (fabric paper)	1	100
30.	Wooden room dividers with cerecloth	2	400
31.	White linen room dividers in wooden fir frames	2	100
32.	Persian woollen rug (2x2 m)	1	1,000
33.	Linen curtains	2	100
34.	Cabinet with glass doors, painted, with four shelves, containing geological pieces and various old seals	1	500
35.	Wooden fir cupboard with shelves and glass doors	1	800
36.	Wooden fir bookcase	1	100
37.	Wooden fir table (with a projection apparatus)	1	5,000
38.	Wooden box with 50 glass clichés	1	500
39.	Beech-wood chairs - damaged	-	60

40.	Arms rack with three old rifles	1	100
41.	Wooden chest with various registers and old documents	1	-----
42.	Wooden chest with various documents and wood inscriptions	1	-----
43.	Enamelled clay bowls	-	50
44.	Iron bowl (cylindrical)	1	50
45.	Silk embroidery on velvet in glassless frame	1	-----
46.	Small chest with books and old documents	1	-----
47.	Cardboard box with old papers and documents	1	-----
48.	Small wooden cabinet with old papers and seals	2	-----
49.	Silver-plated brass cup	1	1,000
50.	Iron statues (awards - with Hungarian inscriptions)	2	200
51.	Szekler fir gate	1	300
52.	Oil painting (2/1,8 m), in gilded frame - Autumn Landscape	1	1,000
53.	painting - watercolour - Olgzai Francisc - Peasant House	1	1,000
54.	Painting - oil, gilded frame - Zombori Ludovic - Yoked Oxen	1	1,000
55.	Colour lithograph painting, wooden frame with glass - King Carol I	1	100
56.	Colour lithograph painting, wooden frame with glass Queen Elisabeta	1	100
57.	Colour lithograph painting, wooden frame with glass Dragoș Vodă and the Bison	1	100
58.	Colour lithograph painting, wooden frame with glass Sobieski and the Highlanders	1	100
59.	Colour lithograph painting, wooden frame with glass The Barbarians' Invasion	1	100
60.	Colour lithograph painting, wooden frame with glass The Battle of Șelimbăr	1	100
61.	Colour lithograph painting, wooden frame with glass The Crossing of the Danube in 1877	1	100
62.	Painting - oil, black frame - Ioan Huniadi	1	1,000
63.	Painting - oil, black frame - Matei Corvin	1	1,000
64.	Painting - oil, black frame - Ioan Corvin	1	1,000
65.	Lithograph painting, wooden frame and glass - Cheile Turzii	1	300
66.	Lithograph painting - old print with sights from Turda	1	300
67.	Framed picture - Photograph of the Bridge across the Arieș	1	100
68.	Photograph - 100 Years Since Avram Iancu's Birth	1	50

69.	Colour lithograph painting, wooden frame The Nobiliary Assembly from Turda in 1542	1	-----
70.	Colour lithograph painting, wooden frame The Declaration of Freedom of the Unitarian Cult	1	-----
71.	Colour lithograph painting, wooden frame Three Princes of Transylvania	1	-----
72.	Colour lithograph painting, wooden frame with glass - Gabriel Bathory	1	-----
73.	Colour lithograph painting, wooden frame with glass - Mihail Apaffi	1	-----
74.	Colour lithograph painting, wooden frame with glass Sigismund Bathory	1	-----
75.	Burnt clay bust - Francisc Rackoczi	1	-----
76.	Colour lithograph painting - Andrei Bathory	1	-----
77.	Colour lithograph painting – Turda’s Coat of Arms in 1610	1	-----
78.	Colour lithograph painting - Mihail Apaffi	1	-----
79.	Colour lithograph painting, gilded frame The Corronation of Franz Joseph	1	-----
80.	Painting - oil, gilded frame - Czigler Carol Hungarian Peasant Costume	1	-----
81.	Painting - oil, no frame - In Memory of the Fallen Hungarian Soldiers	1	-----
82.	Painting - oil, gilded frame – Abrami Ludovic	1	-----
83.	Painting - oil, gilded frame - Baron Ludovic Orban	1	-----
84.	Painting - oil, gilded frame- Transylvanian Prince	1	-----
85.	Painting - oil, gilded frame - Transylvanian Prince	1	-----
86.	Painting - oil, gilded frame - Gabriel Bethlen	1	-----
87.	Painting - oil, gilded frame - Baron Ioan Kemeny	1	-----
88.	Painting - oil, gilded frame - Sigismund Bathory	1	-----
89.	Painting -oil, gilded frame - Balkani Iuliu	1	-----
90.	Painting - oil, gilded frame - Ioan Zapolya	1	-----
91.	Painting - oil, gilded frame - Apaffi Ioan	1	-----
92.	Painting - oil, gilded frame - Rackoczi	1	-----
93.	Painting - oil, gilded frame - Transylvanian Prince	1	-----
94.	Painting - oil by Raczini Ödön	1	-----
95.	Painting - oil, gilded frame - Kriesch Aladar - Hungarian Peasant	1	-----
96.	Painting - oil, gilded frame – Edvi Ilyes - Dusk	1	-----
97.	Colour lithograph painting, gilded frame with glass The Hungarian Graf Szekeny Ștefan	1	-----
98.	Colour lithograph painting, gilded frame with glass The Hungarian Graf Miko Emeric	1	-----

99.	Colour lithograph painting, gilded frame with glass Prince Gheorghe Racokzi	1	-----
100.	Colour lithograph painting, gilded frame with glass Four Transylvanian Princes	1	-----
101.	Hungarian commemorative painting	1	-----
102.	Colour lithograph painting 1000 Years since the Hungarians Settled in Panonnia	1	-----
103.	Picture, wooden frame with glass – four photograppgs Four Princes of Transylvania	1	-----
104.	Small-size paintings - Hungarian National Costume	15	-----
105.	The Turda Firefighters' Flag (silk)	1	-----
106.	Hungarian Flags (silk)	3	-----
107.	Old objects (swords, knives)	8	-----
108.	Old books and Hungarian historical documents	15	-----

In conclusion, the report stated that two of the cabinets in which the mineral collections were exhibited were taken to the Boys' Commercial High School and their reception was confirmed by official note no. 1271/1940, file no. 12463/1940.

The same report also makes reference to a picture, an oil painting, set in a black, golden-edged frame, representing a Hungarian peasant with his kneeling daughter,⁴² and to a smaller picture, both of which were displayed on the staircase of the Cultural House.

In the conclusion to the report, during the period of "legionnaire nationalism," some members of the commission took a radical stand, proposing that all the objects belonging to the Hungarian ethnicity should be filed away and removed from the inventory. Another idea that was advanced was that these items should be sold to various Hungarian societies or the Hungarian state, to which they were of particular value.

Another, more moderate proposal of the Commission was to cede this collection for free to the Simu Museum in Bucharest.

During the Second World War, in 1941, the room in which the museum Collection was organised was plundered and pillaged.⁴³

Although the Turda Town Hall took note of the museum's establishment, by Decision no. 5873/14 July 1933, some experts consider that "the birth certificate" of the institution from Turda ought to bear the date of 22 November 1943.⁴⁴ The central press tried to support the re-establishment of the Dr. Ioan Rațiu Museum in the very house in which the Memorandist had lived. In an article which appeared in the newspaper *Curentul*, Ludovic Ciato launched the idea of redeeming or expropriating the

⁴² Today the painting is exhibited in the small hall on the first floor on the museum building.

⁴³ *Fond Înființarea unui muzeu la Turda*, doc. no. 29, year 1958.

⁴⁴ Dariu Pop, "Cronica Muzeului. Spațiul arheologic al Potaissei și muzeul turdean," in *Apulum*, II, 1943-1945, p. 431.

Memorandist's house and organising a museum there.⁴⁵ He argued that the large number of items that were in the possession of Augustin Rațiu and Augusta Orghidan, Dr. Ioan Rațiu's sister-in-law, would ensure the necessary fund for organising this collection.⁴⁶

In the autumn of 1943, the school inspector from Turda, Dariu Pop, started a museum society. Shortly after this event, a group of 12 signatories, including Dr. Augustin Rațiu, laid the foundations of the Museum of the town and county of Turda.⁴⁷ In the presence of Professors Constantin Daicoviciu and Ioan Berciu, who adopted an official position at the establishment of the institution from Turda, the articles of association were signed. The signatory members who have not been mentioned so far included: Dr. Valer Moldovan, Petre Suci, Ion Modrigan, Vasile Candrea, Dariu Pop, Bârlea Ioan, Vasile Iluțiu, Albin Moraru and Dr. Iosif Chioreanu, the mayor of the town.⁴⁸ In the establishment meeting, Mr. Ion Modrigan, a professor and Chairman of the Federal Company "Zorile" provided the Town Hall, for this purpose, with 100,000 lei as the necessary fund for starting the works. Other sums that were donated came from Cooperativa Turda - 50,000 lei, the Central Bank - 20,000 lei and the County School Board - 20,000 lei. Numerous individuals and factories in the town also provided financial support for this purpose.⁴⁹

In the 21 November 1943 issue of *Gazeta dela Turda*, Dariu Pop signalled the historical importance of Turda and of the vestiges on Dealul Cetății. The article revolved around the creation of a museums institution that would house the collections, given that the furniture was already there.⁵⁰

"We have decided not to stop the agitation on this ardent matter, with a view to reestablishing the most important institution that we are entitled to have here, at the crossroads of epochal highways, where, on the surface of the tillage, there are real traces from times when history was not written, and also, tangible traces from the times of our ancestors, the Dacians and the Romans."

Another hypothesis advanced as the start date of the Turda museum was 29 November 1943, which marked the formation of a self-standing institution with a patrimony and with judicial authority.⁵¹

The establishment of the Turda institution was also confirmed by the local newspaper *Gazeta dela Turda*.⁵² On the first page, in the article entitled "The Establishment of Turda Museum," we are informed that Dariu Pop was entrusted with gathering the existing material and organising the museum until the appointment of the tenured person, which could not be made before 1 April 1944, when the new budget would be approved. The mayor's office approved the creation of two positions for this museum.⁵³

⁴⁵ "Un muzeu Ion Rațiu la Turda," in *Curentul*, year XIV, no. 4686, 1941.

⁴⁶ *Ibidem*.

⁴⁷ Ioan Opriș, *op. cit.*, p. 305

⁴⁸ *Ibidem*.

⁴⁹ Dariu Pop, *op. cit.*, p. 431.

⁵⁰ Dariu Pop, "Un muzeu la Turda," in *Gazeta dela Turda*, no.176/21.11.1943.

⁵¹ Ioan Opriș, *op.cit.*, p. 305

⁵² "Înființarea Muzeului turdean," in *Gazeta dela Turda*, year IV, no. 178, 12.12. 1943.

⁵³ *Ibidem*.

The precarious economic situation, the war years and the political instability immediately after the Communists seized power made it impossible to open the exhibitions to the general public. The Turda museum was open to the visitors only in 1951, on Communist Romania's National Day of - 23 August.

In an article from the press of the time it was said: "These days, the work of reorganising the Regional History Museum of Turda, in its new improved form, is coming to a close, and the museum aims to present the geographical picture of the raion as completely as possible. Particular attention has been paid to the section devoted to the building of socialism, which boasts rich stands, presenting the achievements accomplished here during the regime of popular democracy" (photo).⁵⁴

Over the years, the collection of the History Museum in Turda has been enriched permanently, so much so that today it has over 30,000 artifacts. Augustin Rațiu's dream has come true. There is now a history museum in the hometown of Dr. Ioan Rațiu the Memorandist, which since the 1990s, has provided exhibition space for the collections of documents donated by the Rațiu family throughout time.

Today, the one who was Dr. Augustin Rațiu has become history, his documents and images being present in the permanent exhibition of the museum from Turda. The prestige and renown of this outstanding intellectual of the town has led to the unveiling of a commemorative plaque in his honour at one of the Turda high schools in recent years and the Rațiu Foundation has erected a monument for him in the courtyard of its premises.⁵⁵

⁵⁴ *Făclia*, year 1951.

⁵⁵ A commemorative plaque was unveiled at the entrance of the Dr. Ioan Rațiu Technical College in Turda, on 3 Aurel Vlaicu St., as an homage to his entire activity in the service of the town.

THE MOMENT “ROME, THE CAPITAL OF MODERN ITALY” AS REFLECTED IN THE PAGES OF *GAZETA TRANSILVANIEI*

Abstract: For the Transylvanian Romanians, the process of Italy's unification had a double meaning, and that explains why they were interested in the course of these events throughout this period. First, the formation of the modern Italian state could be a successful model for the Romanian nation, eager to accomplish its own unity, and second, there was a huge wave of sympathy for a people with profound Latin roots, just like those of the Romanians. That is why a national newspaper as *Gazeta Transilvaniei* was, was empathetic and enthusiastic when it wrote about the proclamation of Rome as the capital of new Italy, and why its comments always emphasised the greatness of national values and the “blood” ties existing between the Italians and the Romanians.

Keywords: Gazette, Transylvania, Italy, Rome, the capital

Between the Italian Peninsula and the Carpathian-Danubian-Pontic space there had existed a permanent bond, starting from the period of the Dacian-Roman wars, going through the Romanisation process north of the Danube, crossing the Middle Ages with frequent agreements between Venice, Genoa, the Holy See and the Romanian voivodes or princes, marking the union of the Transylvanian Romanians with the Church of Rome in 1700 and reaching the period of the Risorgimento, when the relations between the Romanians and the Italians were represented on multiple levels - ideological, cultural, economic, political and, to some extent, even military. As far as the Transylvanian Romanians were concerned, the Italian space had always been represented in an attempt to valorise their common affinities, one of these being their Latin extraction. The image of the fallen Roman civilisation, which was nonetheless present in the blood of any Italian or Romanian,¹ evolved towards the concept of retrieving the “original homeland,”² the descriptions of the Transylvanian August Treboniu Laurian being made on a lucid enlightened note, in which poignant romantic influences may be identified.³ Another Romanian intellectual from Transylvania, Timotei Cipariu, related to Italy without Romantic exultations but following a consecrated typology. We may find here the appeal to the Romanians' Latin descent, the modern-classic binomial, which was enlightening for an overview of Italian culture, the sentiment of the past⁴ drawing closer and legitimising the self-assertion of nations such as the Italian and the Romanian ones. Constantly present was also the need to know, to enter the Italian libraries and archives,⁵ to gather documents through which the Romanians' history

¹ D. Găzdaru, *Contribuție la relațiile lui Grigore Maior, Gheorghe Șincai și Petru Maior cu Roma*, Iași, 1933, p. 5.

² Viorica Lascu, “Din legăturile lui August Treboniu Laurian cu Italia,” in *Apulum*, XIX, 1981, p. 290.

³ *Foaie pentru minte, inimă și literatură*, 1855, no. 38-39, p. 212.

⁴ Sorin Mitu, *Transilvania mea. Istorii, mentalități, identități*, Iași, Polirom, 2006, p. 352.

⁵ Timotei Cipariu, *Jurnal*, Dacia, edited by Maria Protase, Cluj-Napoca, 1972, p. 139.

could be retrieved and shared, a history designed to create a recognised identity through natural exposure. The Romanian patriots Simion Bărnuțiu, Iosif Hodoș and Alexandru Papiu Ilarian had close relations, during their Italian period,⁶ with Giovenale Vegezzi Ruscalla, Carlo Gambini and Carlo Cattaneo. Reading Cattaneo,⁷ Bărnuțiu realised the importance of cultivating the national language and literature for the forging of self-consciousness, and in a few articles that appeared in Transylvania, he urged his compatriots to “mark down” Italian words that resembled Romanian ones, in order to be form a comparative view on the evolution of the two Romance languages.⁸ Although he granted a subsidiary role to the Italian language, since he was in favour of the natural evolution of Romanian, Bărnuțiu confessed that “our separation from this country (Italy) has always been fatal for us; we may learn science from other nations that are more cultivated than we are, but only Italy may mediate the union with the Latin peoples.”⁹ Regarding the joint political actions of the Transylvanian Romanians and the Italians, they were found in Mazzini’s revolutionary plans relating to the Balkans in general and to the Romanians in particular,¹⁰ as well as to the projects of the Garibaldi agents with the Hungarian revolutionaries.¹¹ All these imagological representations, direct and indirect personal connections, common political projects or revolutionary ideologies induced among the Romanian nation in Transylvania a sense of brotherhood and patriotic attachment to the Risorgimento movement and the cause of the Italian unity. The direct expressions of the Transylvanian Romanians’ interest in the Risorgimento events were the enthusiastic articles and permanent notifications from the pages of *Gazeta Transilvaniei*.

Appearing on 12 March 1838, in Brașov, *Gazeta Transilvaniei* was the Transylvanian Romanians’ first political-informative newspaper. Taking a national stand and adopting militant positions, with a well-nuanced patriotic agenda, the newspaper founded by George Barițiu had an important role in the political struggle of the Romanians north and west of the Carpathians, maintaining close links with the parties and the statesmen in the Romanian Principalities.

Throughout time, *Gazeta Transilvaniei* included in its pages the contributions of outstanding personalities, such as Timotei Cipariu, Andrei Mureșanu, Vasile Alecsandri, August Treboniu Laurian, Pavel Vasici, Andrei Șaguna, Costache Negruzzi or Mihail Kogălniceanu. Focused on promoting the spiritual force and the fervent actions undertaken by the nations that had regained their identity and fought to be recognised as such, *Gazeta Transilvaniei* resorted to the examples of the Italians, whose national movement was advocating freedom, independence and state unity.

⁶ They were students at the Universities of Padua and Pavia in the period 1852-1853.

⁷ Carlo Cattaneo, “Del nesso fra la lingua valacca e l’italiana ‘Annali di Statistica’” 1837, in Carlo Cattaneo, *Scritti letterari, artistici, linguistici e vari*, raccolti e ordinati da Agostino Bertani, 2a ed., Le Monnier, Firenze 1948, vol. I, 403 p.

⁸ Enea Hodoș, *Scrisori*, Veșteman, Sibiu, 1944, p. 24.

⁹ *Amicul Familiei*, no. 4, 1890, p. 54.

¹⁰ Alexandru Marcu, *Conspiratori și conspirații în epoca renașterii politice a României: 1848-1877*, Bucharest, Cartea Românească, 2000, 440 p.

¹¹ Pasquale Fornaro, *Risorgimento italiano e questione ungherese (1849-1867)*, Rubbettino, Soveria Mannelli, 1996, 290 p.

The Risorgimento movement was especially present in the chronicles of *Gazeta Transilvaniei* since the Transylvanian Romanians identified themselves spiritually with the Italian space to which they felt closely linked through their common Latin roots. Representative in this sense was an article published on 6 October 1847. Under the heading ITALIA, with an emotional discourse designed to raise the readers' awareness, the article pointed out that although the Italian nation clearly did not want struggle to become an example for the other European peoples, it nonetheless was - given the scope and intensity of the national sentiment it promoted - a landmark and a model for all those who believed in national identity, in a language and a state that would include those who shared the same ideals.

In the next three issues of the newspaper from Braşov, a descriptive analysis was made of the complex ideas promoted by Masimo d'Azeglio in his *Proposta di un programma per l'opinione nazionale italiana*, these ideas revealing a rational and comprehensive outlook on the Italian political situation in 1847, ousting all republican-popular reasoning and revolutionary radicalisms.¹² The external chronicle of *Gazeta Transilvaniei* followed with vivid excitement all the Risorgimento events from the Italian space, and almost every daily issue published information from the Peninsula. Often exalted, the lines devoted to Italy, especially in the years before the 1848 revolution, wanted to present an overview of the political ideas that were feverishly fomented, as well as the patriotic tumult and liberalism, with all its progressive social manifestations.

Mazzini's Roman Republic was glorified in the last issue that was not subjected to Austrian censorship, since it was considered to be a beacon for all the nations that wanted both national freedom and social equity. Moderate and lapidary texts - given that all the articles had to be shown in German first to the police - also presented the struggles of 1859, from Magenta and Solferino, as well as the southern Garibaldian campaign of 1860, in which numerous Romanian volunteers, mostly from Transylvania, participated.

The signing of the Convention between Italy and France on 15 September 1864 was also captured in the pages of *Gazeta Transilvaniei* and the fact that this agreement stipulated that the capital should move from Turin to Florence was considered a transitional step towards the integration of the Papal State into the Italian kingdom and the natural proclamation of Rome as the capital of a nation that had won its unity, independence and freedom.¹³

The events that happened in Italy in 1870 were presented gradually, going from laconic, expeditious information and leading to a discourse with pronounced patriotic symbolism. The issue of 20 July announced, in a note, that the Catholic prelates convening in the Council in Rome had proclaimed the infallibility of the Pope, with 223 abstentions. According to *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, this could only have negative consequences, encouraging the absolutist positions of the Catholic monarchies from Europe, with direct reference to the House of Austria. The latter felt thus entitled to

¹² Ştefan Delureanu, *Italia şi România spre unitatea naţională. Un secol de istorie paralelă*, Bucharest, 2010, p. 60.

¹³ *Ibidem*.

further support its rights of divine origin, against the affirmation of the national identities of the peoples of Austria-Hungary.¹⁴ The note continued with the observation that in the imminent Franco-Prussian war (which actually began on 19 July) and as a result of the old treaties between Italy and France, the troops of the second empire were to withdraw from the Papal State, the Italian army was to tacitly occupy Rome and assume the role of defender of the Holy Father. In this case, the infallibility of the Pope, proclaimed in Vatican I, his position as leader of the Roman state, and the Italian government's intention to proclaim Rome as the capital were in a situation of open conflict, with no possibility of reconciliation.¹⁵

On 3 August, the readers of *Gazeta Transilvaniei* were informed that the Garibaldini or the revolutionary patriots were preparing to enter Rome and that although Italy had deployed 150,000 troops to support the French ally, the people showed their support for the Prussians and their outright antipathy to Napoleon III.¹⁶

The external chronicle of 6 August informed that the Italian Foreign Minister Emilio Visconti Venosta had announced in Parliament France's decision to enforce the provisions of the September Convention, so the French troops in Rome would return to their homeland. In an official letter, King Vittorio Emanuele assured Pius IX that from the moment of the French withdrawal, Italy would ensure the protection of the pope and of Rome.¹⁷ In *Gazeta Transilvaniei* from 10 August there appeared the information that the Franco-Prussian War had caused a political rift between the Italian people and the government. This rupture was caused by opposition to the alliance with imperial France and the desire to enter Rome regardless of the consequences. While the army was on the border of the papal state, awaiting the order to enforce the September Convention, the groups of Garibaldini volunteers were preparing to occupy Rome not to comply with a political treaty, but to proclaim it the capital of Italy, without taking into account the Pope's position. The editor wondered how it was possible - under these conditions, with the Italians being at the gates of Rome - for the Pope to still stand on his infallibility, proclaimed in the council, as long as his temporal power ceased to exist. For that very reason, *Gazeta Transilvaniei* considered that Pius IX had become the prisoner of that decision, being forced to adopt an irreconcilable attitude towards the Italian secular state.¹⁸

With a hint of sympathy, the issue of 10 September wrote that the irresolution of the Italian government to take over Rome had created a wave of complaints, which risked threatening the monarchy too, the republic being proclaimed in several Italian cities. Under these circumstances, the government resigned and the idea that was accredited was that the king was on the point of abdicating. The correspondent of the Brașov daily argued that the popular movements from all the major cities were pushing Italy towards Rome and the republic.¹⁹ On 14 September, it was revealed in a few lines that King Vittorio Emanuele had ordered the army to enter the territory of the papal

¹⁴ *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, year XXXIII, no. 52, Brașov, 20 July 1870, p. 4.

¹⁵ *Ibidem*.

¹⁶ *Gazeta.....*, year XXXIII, no. 56, Brașov, 3 August 1870, p. 4.

¹⁷ *Idem*, year XXXIII, no. 57, Brașov, 6 August 1870, p. 3.

¹⁸ *Idem*, year XXXIII, no. 58, Brașov, 10 August 1870, p. 4.

¹⁹ *Gazeta.....*, year XXXIII, no. 67, Brașov, 10 September 1870, p. 3.

state, the boundary being crossed on 12 September. Although the Pope protested against this action, he ordered the Roman troops not to withstand this. The "Restoration rears its head again" through Francis II, who wanted to take command of the papal soldiers, according to *Gazeta Transilvaniei*. In this issue, there was also an analysis of the political situation in Italy following the defeat of France and the proclamation of the republic.²⁰ It was evoked that the transformation of France into a republic had been received with joy in Italy, on at least two accounts. The first was that because of the dismantling of the empire and the deposing of Napoleon III, the September Convention had become obsolete and the Italians could now enter Rome. This did happen, General Cardona leading his army across the border. The government sent an ultimatum, which contained assurances that the "complete freedom and splendour of the papal see would be maintained." Drafts were prepared for the king's proclamation and the government in Florence issued a memorandum to the European powers, meant to clarify "the matter of Rome." As an irreversible fact, the Pope's dominance was under threat, and the unity of Italy would shortly become a *fait accompli*.

The second reason of joy for the Italians was that given the emergence of a republican regime in France, this had also become possible in Italy, the movement manifesting with increasing intensity, and this led *Gazeta Transilvaniei* to opine: "Perhaps Vittorio Emanuele will have to make room for a republican regime in Italy and the Pope in Rome will have to bless this republic, with Rome as its capital."²¹

In a note of 21 September, there was news that on 16 of the same month, Civitavecchia had surrendered without resistance. The commander of the Italian troops sent a message to General Kanzler, the head of the papal army, informing the latter that he was preparing to enter Rome and did not want a military confrontation. Kanzler refused to abandon the defence of Rome, but as *Gazeta Transilvaniei* stated, the Roman population was unwilling to pose any resistance, the clergy being also advised not to engage in the conflict.²²

On 24 September, the readers learned from a telegraphic note, that on 20 September, after 3-4 hours of bombings, the Italians had entered Rome, through the Pia Gate. The garrison had surrendered to General Cardona and was moved to Civitavecchia, and the foreign volunteer forces were demobilised and sent home. It was believed that the Italian Parliament would meet in Rome and submit a plebiscite to the population regarding the decision to move the capital to the Eternal City.²³ Those who protested against these actions were the Pope and Bavaria.

In its issue of 1 October, the date (October 2) was specified when the vote would take place in the Roman state concerning its integration into the Italian state, and a note of apprehension was sounded about the diplomatic games played by Prussia, which attempted to bring the "matter of Rome" before a European conference.²⁴ Citing *Gazetta ufficiale* from Florence, Italy's casualties were made known, which amounted to

²⁰ *Idem*, year XXXIII, no. 68, Braşov, 14 September 1870, p. 5.

²¹ *Ibidem*.

²² *Gazeta*....., year XXXIII, no. 70, Braşov, 21 September 1870, p. 4.

²³ *Gazeta*....., year XXXIII, no. 71, Braşov, 24 September 1870, p. 3.

²⁴ *Idem*, year XXXIII, no. 73, Braşov, 1 October 1870, p. 5.

21 dead and 3 captured officers, while the Roman troops that had surrendered totalled 4,800 citizens of the papal state and 4,500 foreign volunteers. Also as a result of the Roman population's violent manifestations against the papal gendarmes, Pius IX requested that General Cardona should send troops to maintain order around the Vatican, which is what happened.

The plebiscite of 2 October was reflected in the massive participation, the peace that prevailed and the fact that the Pope refused the participation of the church in the vote, even through a negative option. The Italian authorities took possession of the Quirinal Palace, which was to become the new royal residence.

The newspaper issue from 12 October described the ceremony in which a Roman delegation had handed the king the result of the plebiscite. Following this, in the shortest time, the Royal House, the Parliament and the Government moved to Rome. Although the Pope did not recognise this act, he received the monthly benefit of 50,000 Thalers from the Italian state. The first session of the Italian Parliament was to take place in Rome on 15 November. The Pope's protest from 19 September was published: this protest condemned the actions of the Catholic state, which had attacked without being provoked, and demanded that the papal troops should not continue the fight but capitulate as soon as the defence was pierced.²⁵

The measure of the attachment to the cause of Italian unity was offered in an extensive article from 22 October. Under the title Rome, the columns printed launched an enthusiastic discourse with the exclamation: Rome taken back! On a strong patriotic touch, specific to the period, a profound recourse to history was made and the Italian troops were compared with the legendary Roman legions and the papal army with the barbarian mercenaries. Using the biblical symbolism of resurrection, the author gave the king the Christ-like position of the father of a living and renewing nation, which knocked three times at the gate of old injustice in a Europe that was less and less willing to accept the old agreements and customs. Now was the moment of a Europe of nations, of marching with flags ahead and of the unity of consciousness. The people had imposed these new values and no arms could stop the world from rejoicing and shouting: Long live Rome, the capital of Italy! The author observed: "What the largest Italian poet, Dante Alighieri, had barely dared to dream, what for the diplomat of diplomats, Niccolo Machiavelli, had been a very distant target, what Cavour's genius could not openly aim for, what Mazzini and Garibaldi had fought for all their lives, the Italian people gained on 20 September 1870." If the popular joy of celebrating the Italian unity was full of luminousness, the pontifical silence was viewed as a tacit assumption of the drawbacks accumulated on account of the temporal power exercised by the popes throughout the centuries.²⁶

The contrasting silence from the "leonine" part of the city was sad and strained, the Curia grieving the King-Pope's fall from the throne and the passing of his "worldly" reign. The long line of popes was recalled, many of them wearing "a gentle and beneficent sceptre, in the true sense of the teachings of Christ, but quite a few were driven by passion and worldly, sinful ambition." For centuries on end, kings and entire

²⁵ *Idem*, year XXXIII, no. 76, Brașov, 12 October 1870, p. 5.

²⁶ *Gazeta.....*, year XXXIII, no. 79, Brașov, 22 October 1870, p. 4.

nations had prostrated themselves at the feet of the popes, who had permanently made use of the terrible weapon of excommunication, striking "mercilessly at countries, cities, villages, beggars and kings." The servants of the servants of God, as the popes were called from a certain moment on, became the kings of the kings, in the most despotic manner possible. The continuation was that: "As of today, this reign is no longer. Those who were able to counsel the liberal and constitutional pontiff from 1848, to issue the syllabus and the dogma of infallibility were not able to prevent the Italian people from taking their capital back. Italy cannot be without Rome, just like a body cannot live without a heart. The pontiff will nonetheless remain the pontiff even without the papal state. His independence is guaranteed forever within the limits of his Curia. His reign must henceforth be the reign of the Christian spirit, love thy neighbour as thyself." To confirm this, King Vittorio Emanuele II submitted the plebiscite to the Roman citizens, on 2 October, referring to a single-article law: "Rome and the Roman provinces shall form an integral part of the Italian State." The Romans were overwhelmingly favourable to integration within the Italian State, which offered the Romanian journalist the possibility of a new historical excursus on ancient Rome: "When the result of the plebiscite was heard, a cry of joy resounded throughout the beautiful Italian peninsula. The proud tricolour flag, fluttering in the sun, was hoisted on the Capitoline. Rome, the capital of the world, passed into the lawful possession of the Italian State at that moment.

The cheerful and touching hum from the Roman forum, where Cicero's fiery orations and Seneca's teachings had resounded, where the Gracchis had addressed the people, Pompey, Caesar, Brutus and Cassius, Octavian Augustus, where Trajan, Hadrian, Antony, Marcus Aurelius trod, the hustle and bustle from the Field of Mars, the Palatine, Quirinal, Esquiline could not be described. It looked like on 2 October, Rome and the Romans had come back to life. Only the sound of the bell of the Capitol reminded the citizens that they were in the Rome of the nineteenth century. Trajan's Column watched - like the only living witness of those glorious times - over this national celebration."²⁷ The disquisition ended with a mobilising message that was intended as an exhortation to also be heeded by other nations seeking the achievement of national unity: "Rome, glorious city! Your sons are gazing at you today. They lost you through their blind disunion and centuries of suffering ensued. Today they have regained you through the force of their unity. May you be their loving and protective mother from now on!" All this broad overview of the 1870 events from Rome clearly evinced the empathetic manner in which the Romanians felt in tune with this process of Italy's unification. Although the editorial board of *Gazeta Transilvaniei* comprised mostly Greek Catholics, who shared the values of the universal church, they brought to the fore the principles of national unity, of statehood and the right of the peoples to become modern nations, to the detriment of authoritarian forms of government, albeit of "divine right," as the pontifical state was.

The issue of 14 December published King Vittorio Emanuele II's message to the Italian Parliament convening in session in Florence on 5 December. It was mentioned that although the royal residence, the government and the parliament would move to Rome within eight months, the Italian state would not be involved as regards

²⁷ *Ibidem*.

the religious service of the Holy See and would not limit the freedom of the Catholic Church.²⁸ At the same time, the gazette from Brașov announced that on 9 December, in the Italian parliament, Minister Lanza had proposed that the results of the 2 October referendum from Rome should be ratified and passed a bill on the relocation of the capital from Florence to Rome within 8 months. Norms were enacted, ensuring both territorial cessions to the pope, and the recognition of his spiritual authority.²⁹

Gazeta Transilvaniei ended the year 1870, as regards the unification of Italy, presenting the Romans' festive reception of the King on 31 December. The king's entry into the future capital signified the "enlightenment of the town," and the enthusiastic people called him into the "balcony of the Quirinal, chanting welcoming cheers to him."³⁰

Even after 1870, the publication continued, through *Cronica Esternă*, to report on the political events - among other topics - from Italy, and the Transylvanian Romanians' travel impressions from the Italian Peninsula occupied large spaces in the columns of the newspaper from Brașov. Its militant position and attitude, which was not devoid of risks, given the censorship and the criminal liabilities of the written word in the Habsburg Empire, permanently brought to the fore the primordial example of the Risorgimento ideology and action, for the unity of the cause of the entire Romanian nation. The Risorgimento was regarded as a path to be followed by the Romanians, the Italians' military and political victories being synonymous with the divine justice that had given the people the right to have a free will, expressed both through petitions and projects with a national character, but also through military force, when their desire was not heeded by the absolutist regimes, deaf as they were to the call of the young modern nations.

²⁸ *Gazeta.....*, Brașov, year XXXIII, no. 94, 14 December 1870, p. 4.

²⁹ *Idem*, no.95, 17 December 1870, p. 4.

³⁰ *Idem*, no. 101, 7 January 1871, p. 3.

THE BICENTENNIAL OF CAROL POPP DE SZATHMÁRI. CAROL POPP DE SZATHMÁRI'S SKETCHES FROM THE COLLECTIONS OF THE NATIONAL MUSEUM OF TRANSYLVANIAN HISTORY FROM CLUJ-NAPOCA¹

Abstract: The Bicentennial of Carol Popp de Szathmári's birth is also marked by this paper, which includes a biographical sketch along with a brief presentation of the artist's works from the patrimony of the National Museum of Transylvanian History in Cluj-Napoca, a series of five prints, four landscapes and a scene with a historical subject.

Keywords: collection, engraving, lithography, prints, museum

Carol Popp de Szathmári, one of the most important nineteenth-century artists in the Romanian space, was born into a wealthy family in Cluj 200 years ago, on 11 January 1812. He attended the Reformed College in the city and completed his education through a series of journeys, of particular importance being the one he undertook to Italy. On his return to his homeland, he became the court painter of Prince Alexandru Dimitrie Ghica, maintaining this position under the reigns of five successive rulers: Alexandru Dimitrie Ghica (1834-1842), Gheorghe Bibescu (1843-1848), Barbu Știrbei (1849-1853, 1854-1856), Alexandru Ioan Cuza (1859-1866) and Carol I (1866-1914). He was also the first official photographer of the court, making a series of portraits for Alexandru Ioan Cuza and King Carol I. A highly talented artist, he evinced unfailing energy and amazing versatility in addressing a wide range of artistic genres: portrait painting, landscape, genre scenes. The long series of portraits signed by Szathmári attests to his status as the leading painter of the day, offering tangible samples of his remarkable ability to render diverse human types: *Portrait of a Woman*, *Marițica Bibescu*, *Tarsița Golescu*, *Metropolitan Miculescu Calinic*, *Portrait of a Man*, etc. A tireless traveller, he took his inspiration from reality, collecting information and popularising it through relevant images. His landscapes explored a little known space, evoking, in an ingenious and realistic manner, picturesque aspects from different corners of the country or from more exotic places: *Along the Olt Valley*, *Withered Willows*, *Manuk Inn Bucharest 1850*, *Bucharest Church*, *Stavropoleos Church*, *Sheepfold in the Carpathians*, *Thinning Grove*, *Fantastic Landscape*, *Seascape and People*, *Târnava Fortress*, *Curtea de Argeș*, *View from Vidin*, *Street in Turkey*, *View from Bucharest - the Filaret Barrier*, 1853, etc. An adept of documentarism, he described scenes as realistic snapshots revealing everyday life, official moments, scenes from markets, fairs and the village world: *Carol I and His General Staff*, *Comission Internationale de la Reorganisation des Principautés Danubiennes*, *Fair in Câmpulung (Muscel)*, *The Peasants' Hora*, *The Drăgaica Market*, *Ochi Albi's Taraf*, *Peasant Women by the River*,

¹ This work was supported by the Romanian Academy, project POSDRU 89/1.5/S/61104.

At the Fair /At Moși, Monastery, Oriental Scene, etc. His travels around the country led him to create a series of sketches and watercolours depicting in detail the Romanian folk costumes from various parts of the country. Such ethnographic subjects were little explored at the time, but they are extremely valuable today: *Girls from Dolj, Mehedinți Woman from Cernetz, Woman in a National Costume Râureni Vâlcea, Romanian Woman from Transylvania, Costume from the Bank of the Danube, Paraschiva from Mehadia, Women from the Banat. 14 August 1872, Olt Woman from Romanați, Hungarian Shop Assistant, Gypsy Woman, Shepherd from Teleorman, Argeș Woman with Wooden Pail, The Milkmaid from Tunari Village Ilfov*, etc.

A painter and a graphic artist, the author of numerous paintings, graphic works and watercolours, Carol Popp de Szathmári discovered photography early on and, sensing its potential, he became the first art photographer and documentarian in the Romanian space, as well as one of the pioneers of European photography. The subjects he addressed in his photographs resumed the vast range of themes in his work: portraits, landscapes, ethnographic topics. Distinguishing himself through the photographs he took in the Crimean War (1853-1856), Szathmári ranked among the top war photographers in the world. He participated as a photographer in the War of Independence (1877-1878), thoroughly documenting its key moments. His fulminant career was propelled by the artist's presence in a series of universal exhibitions: London 1851, 1862; Paris 1855, 1867; Vienna 1873 etc. He was awarded medals and honours: *Napoleon III Emperor*, 1855, *Galileo Galilei Pisa*, 1860, *Queen Victoria London*, 1860; *Bene Meriti*, 1868; *Weltausstellung Wien*, 1873, *Christine Königin von Schweden*, 1875; *Order of the Star of Romania (Knight)*, 1884, and so on. He died in Bucharest on 3 July 1887, leaving behind an impressive work, a complete universe, images that faithfully render a world long gone, a remarkable fresco of the era in which he lived.

From his vast work, the National Museum of Transylvanian History in Cluj-Napoca hosts five prints, four landscapes and a scene with a historical subject.

The first of these, *The Great Hall of the Castle in Hunedoara*² (Fig. 1) shows a skewed perspective on the interior of the hall. The majestic vaults of the Hunyad Castle host a prosaic activity, the building site³ featuring a group of workers who are closely supervised by the foreman; the latter is providing information to an important official who is inspecting the place. The light warm floods the room, generously enveloping the row of massive pillars that divide the space into two. The artist's full attention is focused on the architecture, the elegant Gothic interior, describing its fine details - the intertwining vaults, the ogives, the keystones, the ornate consoles, the octagonal pillars, the moulded capitals. The human element is simply sketched, without the remarkable accuracy of the architectural elements; the characters present in the scene are

² *A Nagy Terem a V. Hunyadi Varban. Természet után köre rajolta Szathmári. Sala Mare a Castelului de la Hunedoara. După un desen efectuat de Szathmári* [The Great Hall of the Castle in Hunedoara. After a drawing by Szathmári]. Inv. no. M 5376; dimensions 21,8x16,1 cm; source - The Transylvanian Museum Library (a transfer made in 1905); dating - the second half of the nineteenth century.

³ In the latter half of the nineteenth century and at the beginning of the twentieth, the castle went through a long series of restoration and consolidation works, some of them causing irreparable damage to the monument.

anonymous pawns captured in the midst of their daily efforts, providing, at the same time, a dimensional scale to the image. What is interesting is the combination between the two construction extremes: the highly refined original architecture and the sad practice of interior repartitioning, a combination that illustrates the numerous interventions in the castle throughout time.

The second print made after Carol Popp de Szathmári's drawings is a mountainscape showing *The Banpotoc Waterfall*⁴ (Fig. 2). Picturesquely located on a steep mountain slope, a water mill ingeniously exploits the waterfall, slightly altering its course. A few minute characters discretely animate the spectacular scenery. The vigorous nature is featured in successive sequences attentively depicting various locations under the matte, cloudless sky. The river that meanders in the distance, the smooth ridge of the mountain and the steep cliffs form, together with the contorted vegetation at the foot of the mountain, the harmonious picture of bright natural scenery. Composed vertically, with the massive mountains positioned directly in front of the viewer, the image seems to suggest an in-depth perspective through the panorama of the river meadow in the background. Beyond the landscape itself, the aesthetic value of the image is definitely enhanced by inspired choice of the perspectival angle.

The third print is a *veduta* depicting *The Castle of Hunedoara*⁵ (Fig. 3) from its main entrance, with the long bridge crossing the Zlaști Creek. The chosen observation point highlights the compound aspect of the castle and the specific silhouette of the architectural conglomerate, which seems a natural extension of the rock on which it was erected. The visual impact created by the massive stone pillars built directly into the water bed strikes the viewer and takes hold of the image, slowly channelling attention to the castle itself. The artillery terrace, the Club Tower adorned by the exterior diamond-shaped fresco, the Gate Tower with the carriage gateway, the original gallery with bellows supported on consoles, the gallery and the Neboisa Tower quickly stand out in the concise visual enumeration of circular and rectangular towers. The modest house built in the valley and a few stray characters form a unique scale that gives the viewer information on the impressive size of the castle.

The fourth print, a landscape depicting the River Mureș near the town of *Ocna Mureș, Uioara*⁶ (Fig. 4) captivates the viewer with its authentic landscape and the restitutive quality of the image. The grandeur of the panoramic view over the Mureș

⁴ *A Bănpatak Vizzuhatag. Természet után kőre rajolta Szathmári. Leykam A. Könyomó intézetében Bécsben. Cascada de la Bănpatak (Banpotoc) După un desen efectuat de Szathmári. [The Banpatak (Banpotoc) Waterfall. After a drawing by Szathmári].* Inv. no. M 5377; dimensions 21,8x16,2 cm; source - The Transylvanian Museum Library (a transfer made in 1905); dating - the second half of the nineteenth century.

⁵ *Vajda-Hunyad. Természet után kőre rajolta Szathmári. Hunedoara. După un desen efectuat de Szathmári [The Castle of Hunedoara. After a drawing by Szathmári].* Inv. no. M 5378; dimensions 21,8x16,5 cm; source - The Transylvanian Museum Library (a transfer made in 1905); dating - the second half of the nineteenth century.

⁶ *Maros-Ujvar. Természet után kőre rajolta Szathmári. Uioara. După un desen efectuat de Szathmári. [Maros-Ujvar after a drawing by Szathmári]* Inv. no. M 5379; dimensions 21,8x16 cm; source - The Transylvanian Museum Library (a transfer made in 1905); dating - the second half of the nineteenth century.

Floodplain seems to omit any other element, but a closer look may detect the small settlement on the banks of the river, the boat floating on the water or the trees scattered along its banks. Elements like the shining sun, the varied terrain and the clear water, reflecting the lush vegetation, compose a vaguely transfixed idyllic landscape. Although seemingly simple, the image is skilfully conceived: the massive mountains in the background, the winding path of the Mureș River, the vegetation clustered in the river floodplain and the architectural outline of the town succeed one another in rapid sequences, driving attention to the humans in the foreground, engaged in an informal chat that breaks the static monotony of the overall picture.

The lithograph *The Opening of the Transylvanian Diet of 1841 in Cluj*⁷ (Fig. 5), executed in the printing press of the Greek-Catholic Royal High School with the Book and Lithography Institute in Cluj,⁸ is the only piece on a historical subject signed by Carol Popp de Szathmári to be found in the patrimony of the Museum in Cluj. The image is part of the album the artist designed during the works of the Diet of Cluj (1841-1843), which made history by launching the concept of the unique nation in Hungarian Transylvania and by adopting the 1842 law relating to the imposition of Hungarian as a diplomatic language instead of Latin, to be used at all the administrative and judiciary levels, according to the desires expressed by the advocates of assimilation. In 1841, Szathmári arrived in Cluj, where he was commissioned to compile an album containing the portraits of the members who formed the Diet of Cluj. In the spirit of romantic nationalism, Szathmári portrayed dozens of important political figures of the time, who appeared in the lithographic album that came out in 1842: Count Teleki József, Baron Jósika János, Baron Kemény Ferenc, Baron Wesselényi Miklós, Count Lázár László, Baron Bornemisza János, Bishop Ioan Lemeni, Count Teleki Miklós, Count Haller Ignác, Count Kálnoki György, Count Kemény Domokos, etc. The lithograph owned by the National Museum of Transylvanian History in Cluj-Napoca presents the opening of the works in a fully packed hall. The space is divided into two unequal horizontal registers. The lower register of the image is flooded by a lot of characters in specific costumes, a series of impersonal heads quickly sketched in front of the tricolour canopy that protects the painting and the governor's stall. The upper register of the picture is wider, being dedicated to the elegant architecture of the Great Hall in Reduta Palace from Cluj, the building where the Transylvanian Diet convened at the time. The classical interior characteristic of the two floors of the building, with the double row of bright, large windows, elegantly counterbalances the congestion in the lower register, reflected here in the boxes and balconies that are teeming with loosely sketched characters. The imposing chandeliers, the pendulum clock and the statues flanking the windows succinctly describe the opulent interior of the representative hall in the palace.

⁷ Az 1841^{ki} "Ország gyűlés" meg nyitása. Királyi Biztos Branyitskai L. Báro Jósika János Ur. És Nagy Méltósága által, Kolósvárt. Vázolta Szathmári. Deschiderea Dietei Transilvaniei din 1841 de la Cluj [The Opening of the Transylvanian Diet of 1841 in Cluj]. Lithograph after a drawing by Szathmári. Inv. no. M 3574; dimensions 46,8x37,6 cm; source - The Transylvanian Museum Library (a transfer made in 1903); dating - 1841.

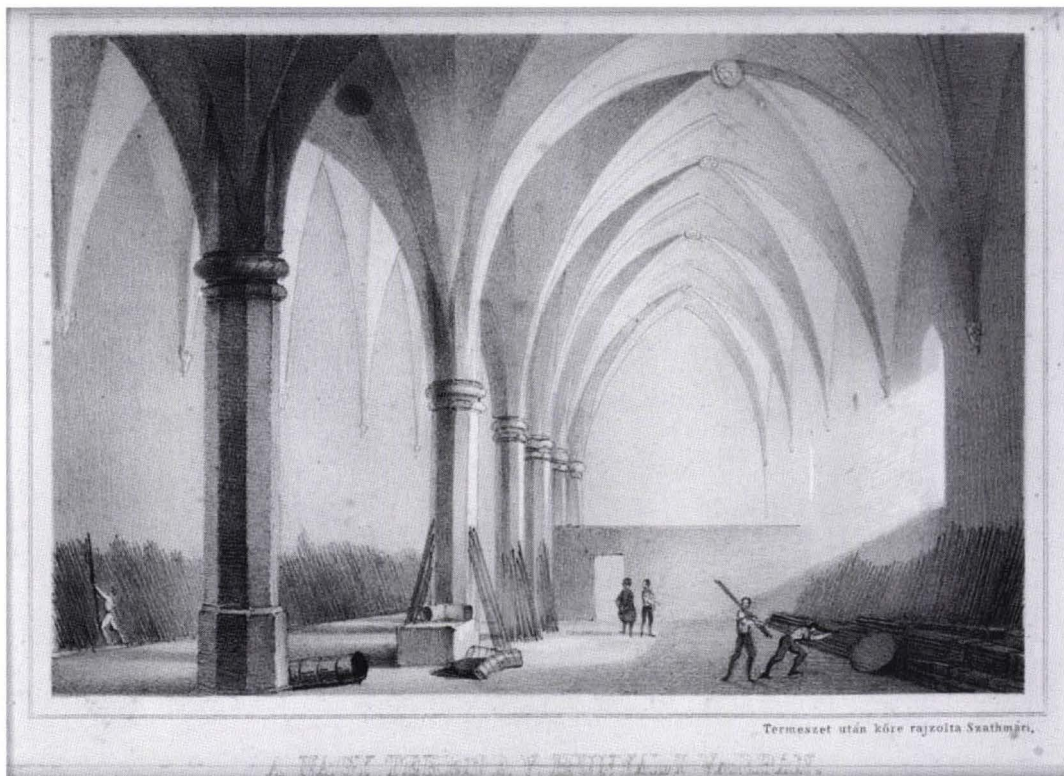
⁸ Information taken from the old inventory registers of the museum.

The print was partially coloured: the canopy and the outfits of the noblemen standing on the margins form spots of intermediate colours (red, yellow, blue, green, brown, grey, and purple) between the bright white in the upper half and the grey-brown tones in the lower register of the image.

The prints presented in this paper are only a modest testimonial to Carol Popp de Szathmári's impressive artistic versatility. Beyond the nostalgic scent exuded by such images, his *vedute* maintain their documentary nature, picturesque quality and unconventional spontaneity intact, wrapping the accurately documented information of yesteryear in a delightful artistic glaze.

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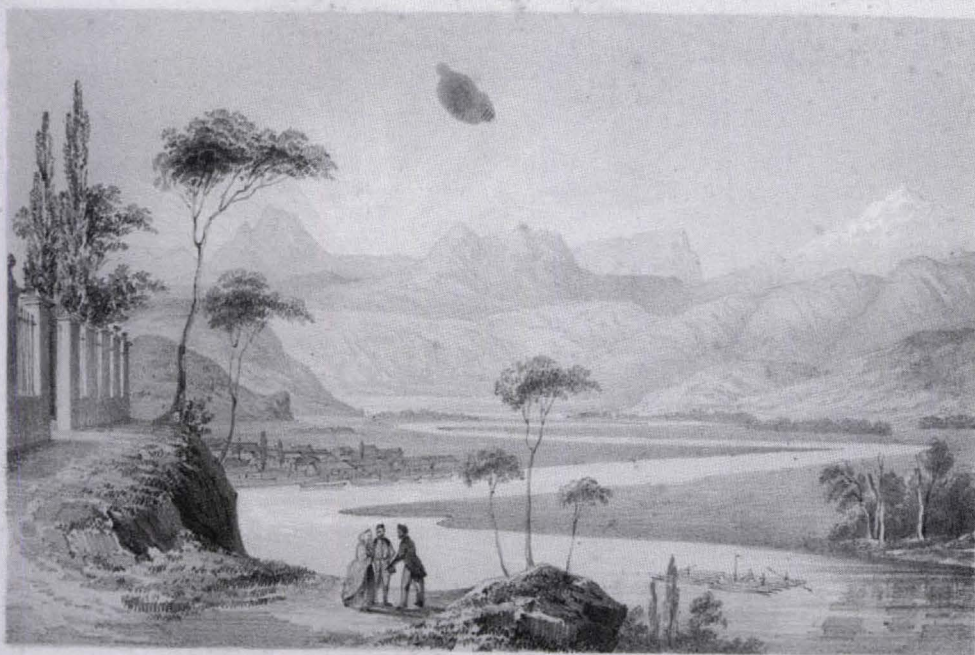
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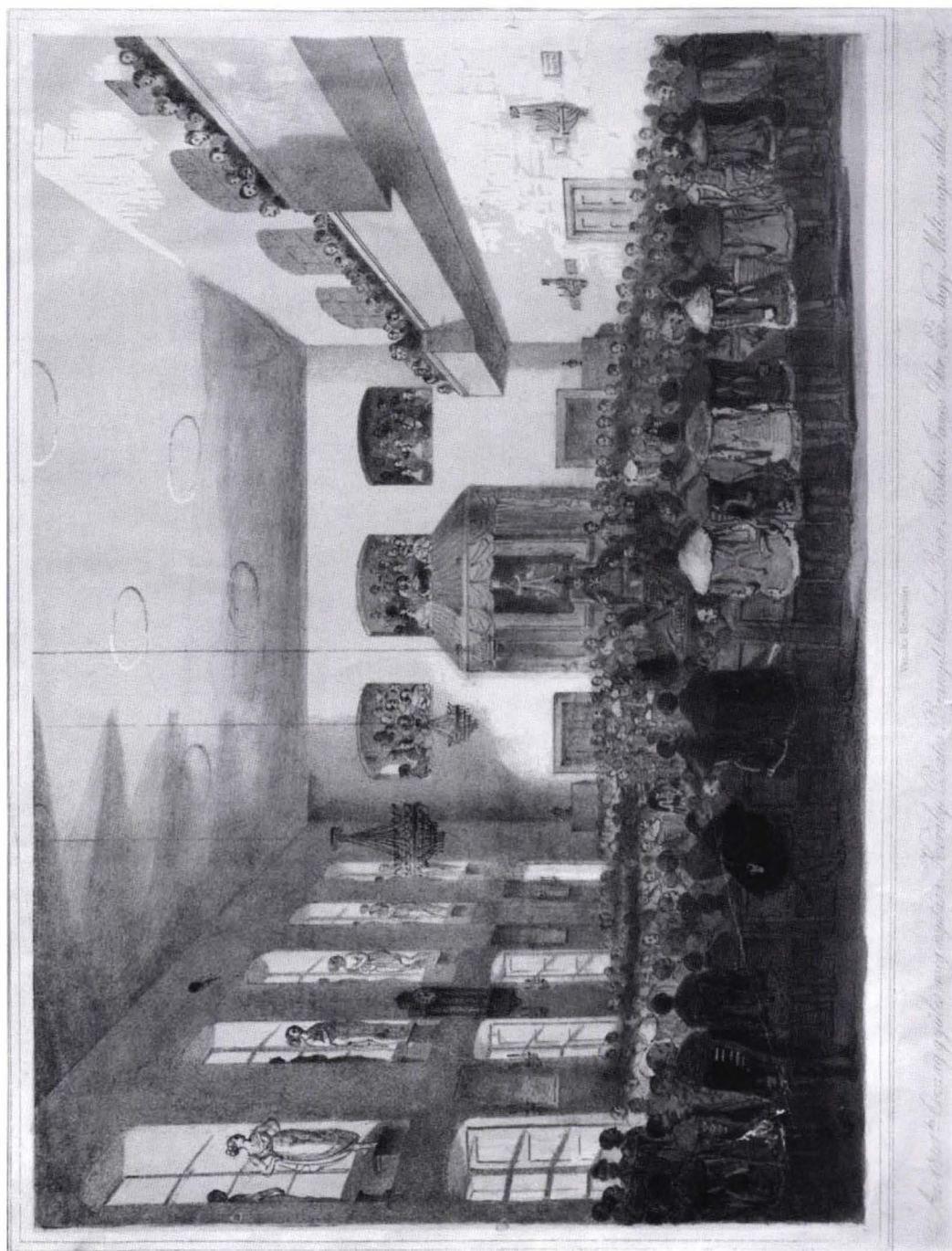
Termézet után kőre rajzolta Szathmári

VAJDA - HUNYAD.



Termézet után kőre rajzolta Szathmári

MAROS - UJVÁR.



ON THE SYMBOLISM OF NATIONAL IDENTITY. THE FLAGS OF CLUJ AT THE END OF WORLD WAR I (1918)

Abstract: This article aims to analyse the significance of flags in Cluj at an exceptional historical moment represented the end of Austro-Hungarian dualism and the integration of the Claudiopolitan city in Greater Romania at the end of World War I. For the Transylvanian Romanians, the history of 1918 contained an exceptional deployment of events, which culminated in Romania's unification with the provinces ruled by Austria-Hungary theretofore. The events of this period had a public manifestation that fully recorded the phenomenon of sacrality transfer from the traditional religious universe into the national political sphere. The sacralisation of concepts, the oath of allegiance to the Romanian nation and its representative bodies, the hoisting of Romanian flags in public places or the display of the Romanian national colours in any other form (on the uniforms worn by the national guards), the religious services for the consecration of the national flag - all these were elements and moments of national celebration that re-enacted, partially at least, the national celebration scenario of the 1848 Revolution. In Cluj and Alba Iulia, at Vidra and Sighetul Marmăției, Romanian tri-colour flags were the signs of a new reality, a concrete political expression of the principle of national self-determination, formulated at the end of World War I by the U.S. President Woodrow Wilson, who was dubbed by the Romanians as "the great apostle of the subjugated peoples."

Keywords: Cluj, Transylvania, Austria-Hungary, national symbol, flag

The hoisting of flags - national symbols with such a tremendous impact - has a particular political significance in times of peace or so-called normalcy, but in times of crisis or at historical watersheds, the political, ideological and, above all, the identitarian symbolism of flags increases in scale and scope. Representing, under ordinary circumstances, the national identity of a community or of an established authority, the civil and military structures or institutions of a state, flags were, at the end of World War I, fundamentally emblematic of the territorial and political mutations that had afflicted the entire European continent. This was also the case in Cluj, as well as in the whole of Transylvania during the year 1918: the hoisting of a flag essentially signified change. There were coats of arms and flags that left the stage together with the political regime they had represented, and there were emerging flags that signalled the coming of a new world, which was about to be born from the ruins of the war.

My interest in this theme was occasioned by an immediately perceptible detail in the recent history of the city by the Someș River, namely the obsessive presence of the three Romanian national colours - red, yellow and blue - in the cityscape of Cluj during the three terms of the nationalist mayor Gheorghe Funar (1992-2004). Throughout these 12 years, the mayor abused the national symbols, riddling the city with an excessive number of flags; in the last years, he also had the three colours displayed on garbage bins and on the benches in the city's parks. This was a case of excessively instrumentalising the national symbols and of deliberately manipulating the tricolour and other elements of historical and identitarian import for the Romanians,

which were emblematic gestures for the political style adopted by Funar and the party he led for a while (the Romanian National Unity Party - PUNR). His political strategy ultimately had a deleterious impact on the national symbols, voiding them of meaning and discrediting them in the public perception of - first and foremost - the Romanians from Cluj. Starting therefore from the omnipresence of the Romanian flags in the urban landscape of Cluj during that period, I want to investigate their significance in the history of the city and its surrounding region. To this end, I have selected an exceptional historical moment: the end of Austro-Hungarian Dualism and the integration of the Claudiopolitan city in Greater Romania in the aftermath of World War I.

In the modern period, flags have an immediate connotation of identity for a national community, being the bearers of representative symbols. A flag symbolically encapsulates the benchmarks that define a community and is a crucial element in outlining both the specificity of selfhood and the identity of "otherness." Flags are genuine "objects of worship" for nationalism, the new "religion" of modernity, since the transfer of sacrality from the religious ceremonial traditionally administered by the Church onto the people-nation is accomplished with their help and in their presence.¹ While the subject of flags in Romanian history has indeed been approached from a heraldic perspective,² their ideological and identitarian significance has not been the object of any systematic research so far.

Cluj is situated in a region that has distinguished itself in the modern period through its multiethnic and multicultural make-up and its multifarious use of the national symbols. Beginning primarily with the 1848 Revolution, Transylvania has displayed an array of competing national symbols, which has been utterly consistent with the nature of the peaceful or conflicting relations among the ethnic groups in this space. During the period spanning from the 1848 Revolution to World War I, it was obvious that the process of politicising the national symbols was well underway, in the sense that the symbolism of the "national colours" became representative of the local communities in the area, to the extent that these had grown to be instruments of political discourse and of political-national ideologies.

For the peoples of Transylvania, the first time the national symbols illustrated their capacity and force as conveyers of political values was during the 1848-1849 Revolution. In those turbulent years, displaying the flag clearly signified the avowal of identity benchmarks and assumed political options or, in other words, the sense of belonging to one camp or the other, especially after the events ushered in the insurrectionary stage from the autumn of 1849. Thus, the black-yellow colours ("schwarz-gelb") represented, together with the two-headed eagle, the official symbol of imperial Habsburg power, which was generally valid for all of Transylvania and for the

¹ See, in this sense, Mona Ozouf's demonstration in *La fête révolutionnaire 1789-1799*, Paris, 1976, pp. 317-340.

² P. V. Năsturel, *Steagul, stema română, însemnele domnești, trofee*, Bucharest, 1903; Anton Velcu, "Steagurile României," in *Enciclopedia României*, vol. I, Bucharest, 1938, pp. 73-82; Ema Popescu and Constantin Căzănișteanu, "Cu privire la cele mai vechi drapele tricolore ale oștirilor din Țara Românească," in *Revista Muzeelor, Seria Muzee*, II, 1969, no. 2, pp. 173-175. For more general approaches, see: Dan Cernavodeanu, *Știința și arta heraldică în România*, Bucharest, 1977; Maria Dogaru, *Heraldica României*, Bucharest, 1994.

entire empire. Ever since the spring of 1848, the removal of the “imperial eagle” from the buildings and from the public space and its replacement with the Hungarian colours - red, white and green - had signalled a clear expression of adhesion and consent to the union between Transylvania and Hungary. In his pamphlet published in 1848, the Saxon Daniel Roth captured very well the competitive relationship between these symbols, which reflected major political changes: “the imperial eagle is being knocked down from all the public buildings and in its place the red-white-green idol of the Hungarians is being hoisted.”³ In fact, throughout the 1848 Revolution, the display of colours revealed the competitive and conflictual relations between the national ideologies of the warring camps, as well as the course of the hostilities. The Romanians also made themselves visible, initially through the blue and white colours, while eventually, towards the middle of May 1848, the colours of the Romanian flag became defined as red, white and blue.⁴ During the years of the 1848 Revolution, the principle underlying the composition of the Romanian flag was based on distinguishing its colours from those of the Hungarian flag - red, white and green. In 1848, there were also proposals for associating the colours red, yellow and blue in the Transylvanian Romanians’ flag so that it would be identical with that of their conationals in Wallachia and Moldova. Despite its significance for the Romanian national ideology, opting for identical flag colours on both sides of the Carpathians would have represented a vulnerable solution for the Romanians in Transylvania, who risked being accused thus of separatism (“Daco-Romanianism”) and of attempts to become united with their conationals from the extra-Carpathian area. During these years of revolution, there were rumours that the Romanians had allegedly carried Russian flags to the Grand National Assembly on the Liberty Plain in Blaj, between 3-5 May 1848, a confusion that the Hungarian circles encouraged, insisting on the flag colours the Romanians had displayed - red, white, blue - which, in actual fact, coincided with the colours of Revolutionary France.⁵

The 1848 Revolution also meant, for the Transylvanian Romanians at least, the local celebration of the national revolutionary holiday. Having its origins and archetypal model in the 1789 French Revolution, the national holiday was celebrated in exemplary manner in the Romanians’ Grand National Assembly from Blaj during the 1848 Revolution, between 3-5 May. Defined as the place where the blueprint of a new society and of an ideal world was conceived,⁶ the revolutionary holiday meant - in Blaj and elsewhere in Transylvania, similar to the Federation Holiday held in Paris on 14 July 1790 - the place where membership in the Romanian national community was solemnly celebrated and where the transfer of sacrality to the people-nation occurred. Far from being just a silent witness, the flag was the most important symbol in observing the national holiday during the revolution, a genuine icon endorsing the sacred idea of the nation. This is clearly indicated by the local revolutionary holidays organised in different

³ Apud Gelu Neamțu, “Simboluri naționale în timpul revoluției de la 1848 din Transilvania,” in Nicolae Bocșan et al. (eds.), *D. Prodan. Puterea modelului*, Cluj-Napoca, 1995, p. 173.

⁴ Aurelia Bunea, “Steagul poporului român din Transilvania în revoluția din anii 1848-1849,” in *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie din Cluj*, XII, 1969, pp. 37-51.

⁵ See Gelu Neamțu’s excellent reconstitution in *ibidem*, pp. 181-189.

⁶ Michele Vovelle, *La Mentalité révolutionnaire: société et mentalités sous la Révolution française*, Paris, 1986, p. 157.

Romanian communities from the villages of Transylvania, as local re-enactments of the Grand National Assembly on the Liberty Plain in Blaj, which included, in their solemn part, a moment when the consecration of the national flag was carried out.⁷ This part of utmost sacredness, in which the national flag was consecrated, imposed the standard scenario for celebrating the national holiday, which was also replicated at the level of the Romanian community in Transylvania in 1918.

The years of the revolution, 1848-1849, inaugurated therefore the modern, "national" convention of the flag with the Transylvanian Romanians. During the revolution, the imperial colours, black and yellow, also had a precise political significance for the Romanians, to the extent that in their self-image about their participation in the events, the Romanians considered themselves to be allies of the "emperor" and co-belligerents of the imperial troops, especially after the revolution entered, in Transylvania, the stage of a civil war, which lasted from the autumn of 1848 until August 1849.⁸ The second half of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century were by no means irrelevant as regards the history of the national Romanian symbols in Transylvania, even though their overt display was not permitted by the political regimes, by Dualism in particular (1867-1918). According to the consecrated 1848 model, the national colours served, for the Romanians too, as symbolic elements in representing their national identity and ethnically delineating themselves from the other communities in the region, in relation to whom their identitarian difference was marked symbolically, through the use of specific colours. Between the 1848 Revolution and World War I, there were several occasions when the Romanians in the Habsburg and, after 1867, the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy used the national colours as a central symbol of identity. Moments such as the celebration of the Blaj assembly of 3-5 May 1848, or the years of maximum political activation in the Romanian community, coeval with the Memorandum Movement (1892-1894), witnessed the expressive force of the national symbols, albeit not always directly and explicitly, since the hoisting of the Romanian flag was obviously prohibited and regarded as a political offence by the Dualist regime. Research in the field of ethnography and popular culture has revealed the existence of indirect means of displaying the three national colours - red, yellow and blue - on interior fabrics and on the less visible parts of the Transylvanian Romanian peasants' festive garments, from the late nineteenth century until World War I.⁹ The presence of the national flag colours disseminated in the decorations and colour palette of folk art highlights the level of political activation registered in the Romanian community from Transylvania during the last decades of the Dualist period.

⁷ *Memorialistica revoluției de la 1848 în Transilvania*, edited by Nicolae Boșan and Valeriu Leu, Cluj-Napoca, 2008, pp. 66-68; Ion Cârja, "Sacru și profanul în sensibilitatea colectivă românească la 1848-1849," in Camil Mureșanu, Nicolae Boșan, and Ioan Bolovan, *Revoluția de la 1848 în Europa Centrală. Perspectivă istorică și istoriografică*, Cluj-Napoca, 2000, pp. 427-434.

⁸ On the significance of the terms "revolution" and "revolutionary" for the Transylvanian Romanians during the years 1848-1849, see Nicolae Boșan and Valeriu Leu, *Revoluția de la 1848 din Transilvania în memorialistică*, Cluj-Napoca, 2000, pp. 7-88.

⁹ See, in this sense, Rodica Herlo and Aurel Sasu, "Tricolorul în colecția de artă populară a Muzeului Județean Arad," in *Ziridava*, VIII, 1977, pp. 475-481.

1918, which was an exceptional year for the Romanians everywhere from a national point of view, brought about the political unification of all the historical Romanian provinces into a single state, Greater Romania, completing, thus, the formation process of the modern Romanian national state. In this crucial year, 1918, the city of Cluj played a highly important role, this century-old capital of Transylvania serving as the background of key events for accomplishing the union of this province with the Kingdom of Romania. The political and administrative capital of Transylvania prior to its incorporation into Hungary at the onset of Dualism (1867), as well as an important cultural centre, with a university founded here in 1872, Cluj played a significant role in the context of the province's urban life both before and after World War I. From a demographic perspective, the city's population amounted - shortly after World War I, in 1920 - to about 83.000 inhabitants, 40.000 of whom were Hungarians (50%), 28.500 were Romanians (33%) and 10.000 were Jews (12%), while the first general census of the interwar period, organised in 1930, recorded a total of 106.245 inhabitants.¹⁰ Between the end of the war and the integration of Transylvania into the structures of the reunited Romanian state, Cluj had a noteworthy impact on everything that the Romanian movement for accomplishing the Union of 1 December 1918 entailed. Even though in 1918 the main decision-making pole of power for the Romanian action was in Arad, where the headquarters of the Central Romanian National Council (CNRC) had been established as a coordinating body of the movement for all the Romanian territories that had belonged to Hungary (Transylvania, Banat, Crişana, Maramureş), a part of the decision-making factors involved in the movement for the unification of Romania were also concentrated in Cluj. Thus, on 3 November 1918, the Romanian National Senate of Transylvania, presided over by Amos Frâncu, was established in Cluj as a structure that partly took over coordinating the preparations for the union in this part of Transylvania and that was subordinated to the CNRC in Arad.¹¹

For Cluj, as well as for entire Transylvania, the change of statal framework and political regime from the end of World War I naturally entailed the replacement of the symbols of identity, especially of the coats of arms and flags. The national logic underlying these symbols and the competitive-conflictual relationship between the Transylvanian Romanians and the Hungarians meant that the national colours representative of one ethnic group would exclude those of the opposite ethnicity in the city by the Someş River.

The actual course of events that took place in Cluj was somewhat typical, in terms of their scenario, of the entire series of political changes and of the transformations the symbols underwent in the regions that were separated from Austria-Hungary at the end of World War I and became united with the successor states. In Cluj, the "revolution" broke out on 1 November 1918, as noted by Iulian Pop, who was to become the first Romanian mayor of the city; on the same day, orders were given to the troops from the city garrison to take an oath of loyalty to the Hungarian Republic. The day of 3 November was set as the date for taking the oath; however, on the eve of that date, the Romanian officers of the 63rd and 21st Regiments, stationed in Cluj,

¹⁰ Ştefan Pascu (ed.), *Istoria Clujului*, Cluj, 1974, pp. 384-385.

¹¹ *Ibidem*, pp. 379-381.

presented themselves, together with Amos Frâncu and Emil Hațieganu, as representatives of the Romanian civilian population, before General Siegler, the supreme military commander of Transylvania, and informed him that the Romanians in Cluj - both military and civilian - would not take this oath before a general consultation of the Romanian people. They also said that by that time, the Romanian national guards, among others, would be organised with a view to defending order, safety and property. The planned submission of the oath was postponed, indeed, throughout Transylvania and remained deferred *sine die*, given the well-known turn of events. The Romanians managed to set up a national guard consisting of almost 3.000 people, enrolling the former soldiers, who substantially contributed to the maintenance of order and to the ensuing course of events.¹²

3 November 1918 was a day of reference for the activation and organisation of the Romanian community in Cluj. The Romanian National Senate of Transylvania, comprising 100 members, was now established, as a body of the CNRC in Arad. To avoid the collision of duties with the CNRC, the Senate from Cluj turned, after the matter was clarified, into a national council for the city and county of Cluj. On the day of its formation, 3 November, the Senate from Cluj promulgated a manifesto to the Romanians, whereby it urged them to peace, calmness and obedience to the Romanian representative bodies.¹³ During the following period, the fast-moving events culminated in the Romanian takeover of the city's administration. Thus, the Romanian National Guard from Cluj ensured the safe departure of the 39 delegates nominated for participation in the Great Assembly of Alba Iulia, on 1 December 1918, which was to decide the union of Transylvania with Romania. On 24 December 1918, the Romanian Army entered Cluj: the first units that arrived in the city belonged to the 7th Division of the Romanian army, led by General Constantin Neculcea. Eight days later, the French General Henri Mathias Berthelot was received in Cluj, and on 19 January 1919, the Romanian intellectuals and national guards took over, with the help of the Romanian Army, the city's administration.¹⁴ This course of events was highly symbolically charged, representing, for the Romanians, the end point of the long-awaited and dreamed-of fulfilment of the national ideal; thus, the entire unfolding of events was accompanied by its own symbols, which marked the imposition of the new political and administrative realities, eventually inaugurating a new historical era for the city of Cluj.

For the Romanians in Transylvania, the year 1918 had a strong impact - given the changes it brought forth - on the collective sensibility of the entire Romanian community: the time of "not yet!" had practically been replaced with the time of "at long last!" In other words, after the Dualist regime, which had largely been hostile to the political assertion of the Transylvanian Romanians, it was now time for decisive changes to mark the achievement of the national ideals. Since the time of deferrals had been replaced, in the Romanian collective sensibility, with the time of accomplishments, the series of events from this period was frequently associated with sacrality. At the

¹² Cf. Octavian Buzea, *Clujul: 1919-1939*, Cluj, 1939, pp. 55-56.

¹³ Ion Popescu-Puțuri and Ștefan Pascu (eds.), *1918 la români. Documentele Unirii. Unirea Transilvaniei cu România 1 decembrie 1918*, vol. VII, Bucharest, 1989, p. 81 (Hereinafter cited as: *1918 la români*).

¹⁴ O. Buzea, *op. cit.*, pp. 56-62.

level of discourse and of the highly symbolic gestures, there occurred a powerful transfer of sacrality, which served to legitimise the new transformations that were favourable to the Romanians. The oaths of allegiance and the hoisting of the Romanian flags instead of the Hungarian colours symbolically marked this transfer of sacrality from the traditional religious domain into the political and national sphere that Mona Ozouf talks about, with reference to the French Revolution of 1789.

Thus, the oath - a solemn moment by which the transfer of sacrality was achieved - systematically marked the course of events from Cluj during the autumn of 1918. As seen above, the Romanians in the city refused to take the required oath of allegiance to the Hungarian Republic on 3 November; later, on 19 January 1919, the last Hungarian mayor of the city, Gustav Haller, adopted the same attitude when he refused to swear allegiance to the Romanian king and the Dirigent Council, invoking the loyalty to the government in Budapest that the oath he had previously taken bound him to. The manifesto addressed to the Romanians by the National Senate from Cluj, on 3 November 1918, the day of its establishment, resorted to concepts it consistently justified with the argument of sacrality: for instance, the Romanians' National Assembly that was to be convened would complete "the holy work" for the Romanian language, law and land, "one and undivided like the Holy Trinity"; the Romanians were demanded to show obedience to the national council "in the name of God, the guardian of our national freedom"; finally, the document ended with "Long live national freedom! Amen and May God help us!"¹⁵

The entry of the city under Romanian administration was marked, at the level of symbolic insignia, by the submission of the oath at various moments and by the replacement of the old state and national symbols with those of the new regime. Thus, one of the first resolutions made by the Romanian National Senate of Transylvania in Cluj, concerning the Romanians' political and military organisation, stipulated that troops should be organised "with Romanian soldiers and officers, under the Romanian tricolour flag and with Romanian as the language of command"; given the lack of a uniform, the national and the civilian guards would have to wear "civil garments with a Romanian tricolour scarf on the left arm."¹⁶ The daily Order no. 1 of the "Romanian Commissioner General of Transylvania" from 5 November 1918 also referred to the organisation of the Romanian troops, mentioning that the existing and future troops should have "Romanian as the language of command, under the Romanian national tricolour flag, sworn in to the cause of national freedom"; the same text provided that the Romanian troops should take the "oath under the national tricolour" before the CNR and the Romanian National Senate, as representatives of the Romanian nation in Transylvania."¹⁷ The Senate from Cluj frequently insisted, through its circulars and directives, on the need for the Romanian troops that would be formed in Transylvania to have Romanian as the language of command and to pledge allegiance to the authorities of the Romanian nation - the CNRC and the Romanian National Senate - under the

¹⁵ *1918 la români*, vol. VII, p. 81.

¹⁶ *Ibidem*, pp. 71, 74.

¹⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 119.

Romanian tricolour; such was, for instance, the letter of 7 November 1918¹⁸ and Emil Dandea's report on the organisation of the Apuseni Mountains, from 20 November.¹⁹

The year 1918 evinced an obvious similarity with the revolutionary year 1848 as regards the scenario for organising and conducting the national holiday. Thus, like in 1848, when the Blaj national holiday of 3-5 May was resumed and reiterated by the Romanians in many parts of Transylvania, in the form of local national holidays dedicated mostly to paying homage to freedom and the abolition of serfdom, in 1918 the model national assembly of the Romanians was that of Alba Iulia, from 1 December: the Romanian communities later organised small national holidays, at the local level, which celebrated the end of the Dualist period and the power takeover by the Romanian councils and national guards. In the case of Cluj, the first local national holiday of this type was the above-mentioned holiday of 3 November 1918, when the Romanian National Senate of Transylvania was constituted. The entrance of several Romanian army units in Cluj, on 24 December 1918, was another moment of Romanian national triumph that displayed the typical features of a national holiday. In the operations log of the 7th Division, the entry referring to this day is as follows: "On their entrance into Cluj, our troops were greeted with utmost enthusiasm. The Romanian population of this and the neighbouring localities took part in this manifestation of joy in extraordinarily high numbers. The Cluj that the Hungarians had turned into a strong centre of Magyarisation amidst the Romanian population living in the surrounding region had terminated its mission. The Romanian tricolour proudly fluttered on the Hungarian chauvinistic institutions, as the symbol of the right to life not only of the Romanian people, but of all the nations whose life and fortune the folds of this majestic tricolour and the Romanian soldier's bayonet were going to protect henceforth."²⁰ In the historical registry of another Romanian military unit that participated in the takeover of Cluj in those days, the 15th Dorobanți Regiment, it was also recorded that on this occasion, the first Te-Deum was celebrated at the monument of King Matthias Corvinus, with the broad participation of the Romanian population.²¹ The image of 24 December being celebrated as a Romanian national holiday in Cluj is also confirmed by a Hungarian source, namely the report submitted by Captain Botka from Cluj to the Ministry of War in Budapest, dated the same day: "the Romanians have now occupied Cluj and organised a great feast in the main square. [...] The Romanian inhabitants of the surrounding villages have marched with flags and greeted the troops with frantic enthusiasm."²² The information from that time proves the existence of certain crucial moments that marked the events of the autumn of 1918, whereby power was transferred from the Hungarians to the Romanians in Cluj. In terms of the scenario, evolution and discourse characterising these moments, they were fully compliant with the model of the local national holidays.

¹⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 157.

¹⁹ *Ibidem*, pp. 434-436.

²⁰ Apud O. Buzea, *op. cit.*, pp. 58-59.

²¹ *Ibidem*, p. 59.

²² Ion Ardeleanu et alii, *1918 la români. Desăvârșirea unității național-statale a poporului român. Documente externe 1916-1918*, vol. II, Bucharest, 1983, p. 1279.

The political-national festive nature of the local national holidays which symbolically marked, in 1918, the political-administrative inclusion of Transylvania in the new statal framework evinced essentially the same scenario in most of the towns and villages in the region. I shall mention a few more examples, some located in the proximity of Cluj and within the range of action of the National Senate established here on 3 November. Thus, a notice issued by the National Committee of Alba Iulia on 7 November 1918 prescribed the insignia of the Romanian National Guard that was about to be set up: "The sign of the guard shall be a white armband around the left arm and the tricolour shall be worn by every guardsman on his cap."²³ The oath of the National Guard from Săliște, on 21 November 1918, grounded the national concepts on religious values, just like in 1848, using a relevant expression for the transfer of sacrality: "the holiness of the national flag."²⁴ At Câmpeni, the protocol taken on the establishment of the local Romanian National Council on 8 November 1918 recorded that: "After the election of the committee, those present take the official oath on the most h[oly] cross, raising three fingers of the left hand and placing the right hand over the heart; then, with the h[oly] cross and the three-coloured banner leading the way, they sing the national anthem "Awaken Thee, Romanian!" and "Union Is Written on Our Flag" and march around the square, and then the banner is carried and hoisted on the building of the communal house."²⁵ The account concerning the founding of the Romanian National Council in Comloșul Bănățean, entitled *One Lord, One Faith, One Baptism*, presents a triad in which traditional religious elements are invoked with a view to sacralising the national elements: one Lord - the Romanian National Party, one faith - the unification of all the Romanians, one baptism - from the Dniester to the Tisza,²⁶ while in the resolution adopted by the constituting assembly of the Romanian National Council on 14 November in the locality Mihai Viteazu, the U.S. President Wilson was called "the great apostle and fighter for the liberation of the subjugated peoples."²⁷

One of the amplest accounts presenting the national holiday atmosphere was the above-cited report submitted by Emil Dandea on 20 November 1918, concerning the state of mind of the inhabitants from the Apuseni Mountains. Dandea led a delegation of the National Senate from Cluj with the mission to pacify the area, which was rumoured to be a hotbed of turbulence and popular uprisings. After passing through Turda, the team travelled along the Arieș Valley, reaching Abrud, Câmpeni, and then going all the way to Vidra, the village of Avram Iancu, the leader of the *Moți* in 1848. In this extremely picturesque mountain village, Dandea's arrival occasioned a popular assembly that fully and completely contained the scenario ingredients of a revolutionary holiday. Thus, on 12 November, the 2.000 people who had gathered at Avram Iancu's home listened first to a few speeches delivered by the Father Arieșan from Câmpeni, followed by Emil Dandea as the envoy of the National Senate from Cluj; then they ovated the Romanian National Council, Romania's Allied European Powers, and

²³ *1918 la români*, vol. VII, p. 146.

²⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 197.

²⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 178.

²⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 181.

²⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 340.

Wilson; all those present took an oath of fidelity to the Romanian National Council; and then the consecration of the national flag was celebrated by the four priests from Vidra.²⁸

For the Transylvanian Romanians, the history of the year 1918 represented an exceptional course of events that led to the unification between the provinces previously ruled by Austria-Hungary and Romania. The events of this period had a public appearance that fully reflected the phenomenon of sacrality expanding from the traditional religious universe into the national political sphere. The sacralisation of the concepts, the oath of allegiance to the Romanian nation and its representative bodies, the hoisting of the Romanian flags in public places or the display of the Romanian national colours in other forms (the uniforms worn by the national guards), the religious services for the consecration of the national flag: all these represented national holiday elements and moments of celebration that re-enacted, at least partly, the national holiday scenario from the time of the 1848 Revolution. In Cluj, as well as in Alba Iulia, Vidra or Sighetul Marmăției, the Romanian tricolour flags were the signs of a new reality, a concrete political expression of the principle of the peoples' right to self-determination, which was formulated at the end of World War I by the U.S. President Woodrow Wilson, who was dubbed by the Romanians the "great apostle of the subjugated peoples."

²⁸ *Ibidem*, pp. 434-436.

PERIOD PHOTOGRAPHS FROM THE PATRIMONY OF THE NATIONAL HISTORY MUSEUM OF TRANSYLVANIA

Abstract: This paper presents the temporary exhibition *The Memory of Images - Everyday Aspects in the Clichés and Photographs of the Nineteenth-Twentieth Centuries* (held from 23 July to 5 November 2012, at the “Octavian Goga” County Library in Cluj) and the Cluj photographers whose works were displayed in that exhibition.

Cluj was represented in this exhibition primarily through a selection of *cliché-verres* made by Ferenc Veress, the first renowned photographer in Transylvania, but also through the photographs taken by József Kato and the brothers Kálmán and Ferenc Dunky.

All these photographers can be considered genuine masters of the photographic art, who were familiar with the latest photographic techniques of the time and obtained numerous medals and awards at world exhibitions in Berlin, Paris or London.

Keywords: nineteenth- and twentieth-century photographs; *cliché-verres*; Ferenc Veress, József Kató, the Kálmán and Ferenc Dunky brothers

The organisation of the temporary exhibition entitled *The Memory of Images - Everyday Aspects in the Clichés and Photographs of the Nineteenth-Twentieth Centuries*, during the summer of 2012,¹ gave us the opportunity to write this article on the Transylvanian photographic art of the nineteenth century and the early twentieth century.

The exhibition presented various types of cameras, *cliché-verres* and reproductions of these, as well as numerous original photographs from the late nineteenth century and the first half of the twentieth century. These exhibits are part of the patrimony of the history museum from Cluj and come from older or more recent donations, ranging from donations made by Count Géza Kuún or Countess Ottilia Wass, to that made by Eugenia Rațiu, a descendant of the family of Ioan Rațiu, the leader of the Transylvanian Memorandum.

The clichés and the photographs taken during this period showed, most commonly, faces and images of men, women and children from Transylvania at that time. They usually came from wealthy social backgrounds, being either high-society aristocrats or members of bourgeois families of doctors, lawyers or professors.

The characters portrayed are immortalised in sober and elegant poses. The suits, dresses and other clothing accessories, as well the background of the photography studios where the images were made emphasised the special social status of those who posed before the camera.

¹ The exhibition was open between 23 July and 5 November 2012. It was organised in collaboration with “Octavian Goga” County Library in Cluj, on the latter’s premises. We would like to once again express our gratitude to the manager, Mrs. Sorina Stanca, and to the assistant director, Mrs. Viorica Moșoiu, for the kindness with which they supported this project.

The display of this social status, the cult of family values and the adoption of the *Biedermeier* lifestyle, which developed in the second half of the nineteenth century in Central Europe, were the reasons that fostered, in this period, the public interest in photographs - an ideal way to immortalise the individuals and the community to which they belonged.²

Most of these images were made in photography studios from the former Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, especially in the city of Cluj, but also in Budapest (the Goszleth István Studio) or Vienna (the Adèle Studio). There also appeared, however, photographs taken in other European countries, such as France or Italy.

Another thematic category of photographs displayed in the exhibition captures the outstanding personalities of political and cultural life, either European or local. Such were, for example, the composer **Giuseppe Verdi**; the famous soprano of the nineteenth century **Adelina Patti**, who also sang for President Abraham Lincoln at the White House; the Italian Professor **Roberto Fava** (a sympathiser of the Romanian Memorandists); the Romanian politician **Teodor Mihali** or the Hungarian politicians **Ferenc Deák** and **József Eötvös**. In this gallery of personalities, we may also see the young Countess **Ottília Wass**, the future patron of the museum in Cluj, represented in a family photograph. Another valuable exhibit was the album of Ioan Rațiu's family, which contained photographs of the famous family of Romanian militants.

Dating back to the twentieth century, there is a series of photographs from the family collections of Eugen F. Moga, the mayor of Huedin and a prominent member of the National Liberal Party in the interwar period, the academician Constantin Daicoviciu or from a recent donation made by Mrs. Carpia Petridean, the daughter of the former director of the Theatre of Chernivtsi, Trifon Nello Bucevschi.

Special attention should be devoted to the *passepartouts* and, especially, the frames in which photographs were once placed. Regardless of the material from which they were made (wood, white metal, brass, silver, gilded silver and so on), the frames were, most of the times, genuine works of art themselves, bearing the mark of the artistic styles of the time, which ranged from *Biedermeier* to *Art Nouveau*.

*

Cluj was present in this exhibition primarily through a selection of *cliché-verres* made by **Ferenc Veress**, the first renowned photographer in Transylvania, the owner of a photography studio which was opened in 1853, on 16 Emil Isac Street (at that time, *Sétatér* utca). Veress was the editor of a specialised magazine, *Fényképészeti Lapok* (*Photographic Sheets*) and a professor of photography at "Franz Joseph" University in Cluj.³

He also distinguished himself through the fact that he supported the idea of setting up a joint (Hungarian-Romanian-Saxon) commission, aimed at immortalising -

² Kreilisheim György, *Régi magyar fényképezés [Hungarian Photographs of Yore]*, Budapest, 1941, p. 3.

³ For the life and activity of Ferenc Veress, see: Miklósi Sikes Csaba, *Fényképészek és műtermek Erdélyben 1839-1916 [Photographers and Photography Studios in Transylvania. 1839-1916]*, *Odorheiu Secuiesc*, 2001, pp. 51-64 and 210-215; Sas Péter, *A Szamos-parti Athén [The Athens by the River Someș]*, Cluj, 2003; Melinda Mitu, "Locuitori ai Clujului în fotografii realizate de Ferenc Veress (sfârșitul secolului al XIX-lea)" ["Inhabitants of Cluj in the Photographs Taken by Ferenc Veress (The End of the Nineteenth Century)"], in *Acta Musei Napocensis*, 39-40. II/History, 2002-2003, pp. 431-436.

through photography - the cultural and historical monuments from the patrimony of the three Transylvanian ethnic communities.⁴

Photographic work in Cluj was also conducted by **József Kató**, who, in 1890, took over Veress's studio and worked here for seven years.⁵

Other photographers featured in the exhibition were **Kálmán** and **Ferenc Dunky**. The activity of the *Dunky brothers* was so well appreciated at the time that, in 1898, they were awarded the position of "Court photographers." They opened studios in several cities of the former Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, including in downtown Cluj, in the house of Countess Otília Wass, and on what is currently King Ferdinand Street.⁶

All the photographers illustrated in this exhibition (Veress, Kató and the Dunky brothers) were true masters of the art of photography, being familiar with the latest photographic techniques of the time and being awarded numerous medals and distinctions at world exhibitions in Berlin, Paris or London.

Their works have become genuine period documents. The images they captured immortalised numerous personalities from Cluj, Transylvania and Hungary, as well as streets, towers, buildings, monuments of yore or events of daily life in the city by the Someş River. It is to Ferenc Veress, the pioneer of Transylvanian photography, that we owe - for example - two albums (entitled *Kolozsvár képekben [Cluj in Pictures]*) containing 45 photographs of the most representative buildings and areas in Cluj, taken in as early as 1859!⁷

In their turn, the Dunky brothers are considered to be the founders of journalistic photography, capturing in images many special events in the history of the city, such as the visit of Emperor Franz Joseph to Cluj in 1895, or the unveiling of the statue of King Matthias Corvinus in 1902.⁸

The two brother-photographers had outstanding merits in rendering some aspects related to the film projections in Cluj during the years 1913-1918. In the studio founded by Jenő Janovics, the director of the theatre in this city, the two photographers were commissioned to photograph scenes from movies, the work instruments, the scenography and the scenery, and those photographs would then be displayed in the cinema windows. These images have become even more valuable today, as most of these films were destroyed during the two world wars.⁹

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In the exhibition *The Memory of Images*, **Ferenc Veress** was presented through an entire series of clichés made on glass, which were then processed digitally and listed

⁴ Udvarhelyi Orbán Lajos, "A színes fényképezés kolozsvári úttörője" ["The Pioneer of Colour Photography from Cluj"], in *Korunk*, 1959, no. 7-8, p. 1185.

⁵ On the photographer József Kató, see Miklósi Sikes Csaba, *op.cit.*, pp. 141-142.

⁶ On the photographers Kálmán and Ferenc Dunky, see Miklósi Sikes Csaba, *op.cit.*, pp. 116-117.

⁷ Today, the two albums are preserved at "Lucian Blaga" Central University Library in Cluj, the "Special Collections" Room.

⁸ Miklósi Sikes Csaba, *op.cit.*, p. 117.

⁹ See Izsák Mária, in the presentation text of the exhibition *The Dunky Brothers and Film*. The exhibition was organised at Miskolc (where there existed another important studio of the two brothers), between 10 September and 27 November 2010, at the address <http://www.miskolcigaleria.hu/index.php?pid=10020>.

through modern techniques. By contrast, the photographs developed in that period are much rarer.

One of these rare photographs from the Veress studio depicts two women and a child “in folk costumes from the parts of Transylvania.” The photograph highlights the special interest in folk culture and traditions manifested in that period. The patrimony of the Museum from Cluj also includes dozens of *cliché-verres* from the Veress studio, showing ladies from the Bánffy, Tisza and Teleky families, who took great pleasure in having their pictures taken in popular Hungarian, Saxon or Romanian costumes from different parts of Transylvania.

Insofar as **József Kató** is concerned, two photographs taken in his studio were selected for this exhibition, showing Elisa Bodocan, the headmistress of Civil School for Girls in Blaj, in the early twentieth century.

The photographs taken by the brothers **Kálmán and Ferenc Dunky** that were included in this exhibition presented members of aristocratic families from Cluj: children or young girls from the Bánffy, Bethlen or Boér families, in romantic postures and “scenarios.” Thus, Zoltán Bánffy, as a child, was rendered playing the flute, in a setting that mimicked the natural environment; Baronesses Elsa Bánffy and Margit Boér appeared as angels and Countess Vilma Bethlen was captured in a dreamy pose, with flowers in her hair and on her dress.

All these theatrical compositions emphasised naivety, purity and honesty, values and attitudes that were highly appreciated by the elites of the time, especially when it came to the education of children and young girls.¹⁰

Other photographs from the studio of the two brothers portrayed Etelka Hóry, who became, after marriage, Mrs. Zsigmond Gyarmathy, a renowned personality in the Hungarian culture of the time for her novels and ethnographic writings.

*

The History Museum from Cluj does not own very vast collections of photographs taken by the above-mentioned artists, many of which are preserved in museums or libraries from Romania and Hungary,¹¹ as well as in various private collections. The exhibition *The Memory of Images - Everyday Aspects in the Clichés and Photographs of the Nineteenth-Twentieth Centuries* envisaged displaying only those found in the patrimony of our institution. These photographs show, nonetheless, that on the cusp between the nineteenth and the twentieth centuries, Cluj could indeed boast its own outstanding representatives of the photographic art.

¹⁰ F. Dózsa Katalin, *Letűnt idők, eltűnt divatok* [Bygone Epochs, Vanished Fads], accessible at <http://fdk.hu/tanulmanyok/letunt-idok-eltunt-divatok/iii-amire-a-divat-hat/>.

¹¹ Ferenc Veress's photographs are preserved at “Lucian Blaga” Central University Library in Cluj, while those of the Dunky brothers are kept in the museums of Miskolc and Budapest.

Figure 1.

Photograph taken by Ferenc Veress (M 7281)

Figure 2.

Photograph taken by József Kató, representing Elisa Bodocan, the headmistress of the Civil School for Girls from Blaj (M 7285)

Figure 3.

Photograph taken by József Kató, representing Elisa Bodocan, the headmistress of the Civil School for Girls from Blaj (M 7286)

Figure 4.

Photograph taken by *the Dunky Brothers*, representing Baron Zoltán Bánffy (M 4030)

Figure 5.

Photograph taken by *the Dunky Brothers*, representing Countess Vilma Bethlen (M 4033)

Figure 6.

Photograph taken by *the Dunky Brothers*, representing Margit Boér, as an angel (M 4032)

Figure 7.

Photograph taken by *the Dunky Brothers*, representing Elsa Bánffy, as an angel (M 4029)

Figure 8.

Photograph taken by *the Dunky Brothers*, representing Elsa Bánffy, as an angel (4031)

Figure 9.

Photograph taken by *the Dunky Brothers*, representing Countesses Ilona and Vilma Bethlen, dressed up as Antigone and Ismene (M 4028)

Figure 10.

Photograph taken by *the Dunky Brothers*, representing Mrs. Zsigmond Gyarmathy (M 12.554)

Figure 11

Photograph taken by *the Dunky Brothers*, representing Mrs. Zsigmond Gyarmathy (M 12.555)

Figure 12

Countess Ottília Wass, in her youth, in 1869, (the bottom row, in the middle), next to Countesses Irma Kuún and Irma Kozma, Count Géza Kuún, Baron Béla Kemény (M 4132)

Figure 13

Giuseppe Verdi (M 4025)

Figure 14

Adelina Patti (M 4023)

Figure 15

Roberto Fava. In the photograph's corner, a dedication written by the Italian professor to the Romanian politician Elie Dăianu (M 6448)

Figure 16

Politician Teodor Mihali – with a dedication: “With kind regards”(M 6128)

Figure 17.

Photograph frames, made of brass or white metal, cu vegetal or avian motifs, stylised in the Art Nouveau manner

Figure 18-19.

Logos for the photography studios of Ferenc Veress and *the Dunky Brothers*



Foto 1



Foto 2



Foto 3



Foto 4



Foto 5



Foto 6



Foto 7



Foto 8



Foto 9

Dunky Fivérek
cs. és kir. udv. fényképészek

Kolozsvár Mátyáskirály-tér 10.		Miskolcz Városház-tér 20.
Dés Felső-séta-tér.		S. A. Újhely Pó-tér 9.

Dunky
FIVÉREK.

KOLOZSVÁR
MISKOLCZ
S. A. ÚJHELY
DÉS.

Foto 10



Foto 11



Foto 12

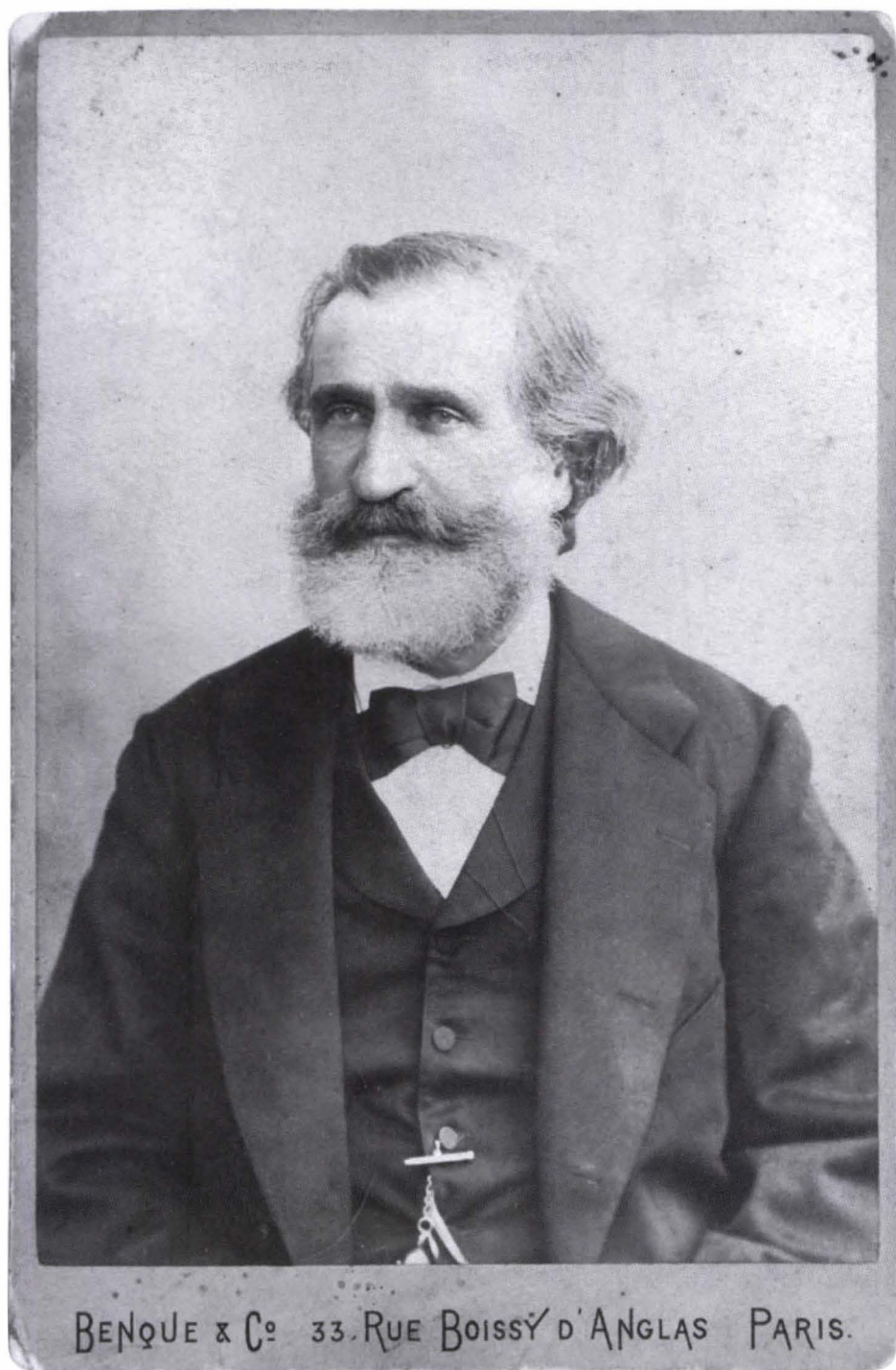


Foto 13



Foto 14



Foto 15



Foto 16



Foto 17

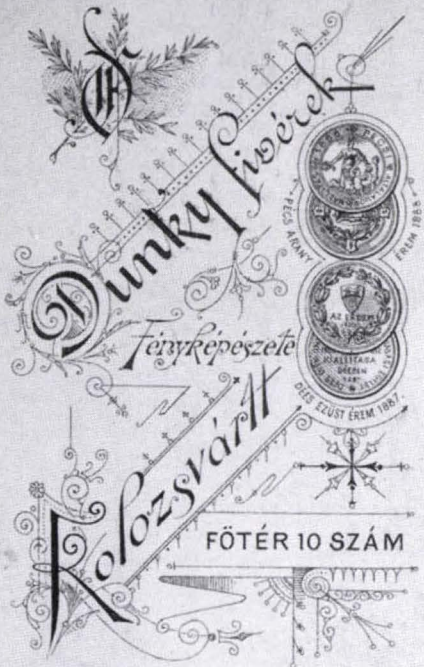


Foto 18

Be. Bonyi. Bonyi. Loltan

IV. 3200. M. 4030

321.



Után rendeléseket évek mulva is eszközünk.

STGM. HONÓY WILK

Bonyi. Bonyi. Bonyi. Bonyi.

IV. 3202

M. 4032

323.



BUDAPEST

V. Nagy korona utca 9.

Lipótvárosi templom és

KOLOZSVÁRT

Fötér 10 szám.

Után rendeléseket évek mulva is eszközünk.

STGM. HONÓY WILK

CHRISTIAN WERMUTH'S GALLERY OF ROMAN EMPERORS (II)

Abstract. In what follows, we shall present the second part of the medal collection signed by the engraver Christian Wermuth. Mention should be made that the first part of this paper appeared in the previous issue of the journal *Acta Musei Napocensis*, 48/II 2011, pp. 189-269.

Keywords: emperor, medal, Roman, empire, dynasty.

THE EASTERN ROMAN EMPIRE

THE THEODOSIAN DYNASTY

130. Medal dedicated to Emperor Arcadius (395-408, Flavius Arcadius). D=31,8 mm; m.c.¹; VF²; inv. N³ 60576 (reminted);

Obv.: C· PR· CÆS·; encircling legend: D·[ominus] N·[oster] FLAVI⁹·[us] ARCADIVS P·[ius] F·[elix] AVG·[ustus] ⊕ *[Domnul nostru Flavius Arcadius, cel pios, cel fericit, cel august]; [Our Lord Flavius Arcadius, the pious, the blessed, the august];* in the field: diademed, draped and cuirassed bust right of Arcadius;

Rev.: in the field: PATRE/ THEODOSIO MATRE AELIA FLACCILLA/ A PATRE A·[nno] 383· [ante diem] XIV · K[a]L·[endas] FEBR·[uarias]/ {AVG}⁴AVGVSTVS DICTVS/ CVM⁵ EO A·[nno] 386· CONSTANTINOPOLI/ TRIVMPHVM EGIT· ILLO/ DEFVNCTO ORIENTEM SORTIT⁹·[us]/ TVTORE RVFINO SED PERFIDO/ GOTHOSQVE EVOCANTE QVI CVM ALIIS BARBARIS/ IMPERIVM HORRIBILITER / VEXARVNT·/ ARCADIVS ETIAM CIVILIBVS/ BELLIS IMPLICITVS/ CHRYSOSTOMOQ·[ue] INFENS⁹·[us]/ CONSTANTINOPOLI/ DECESSIT/ A·[nno] CCCCVIII·/ KAL·[endas] MAI·[as] *[(Născut) din tatăl Theodosius și mama Aelia Flaccilla, (a fost) numit împărat de tatăl (său) în anul 383 la 19 ianuarie; a sărbătorit un triumf împreună cu acesta în anul 386 la Constantinopol. După ce acesta a murit, i-a revenit la soți Orientul, tutore fiindu-i Rufinus. Dar pe când (acest) trădător îi chema pe goți, care împreună cu alți barbari au chinuit într-un mod îngrozitor Imperiul, Arcadius, încurcat chiar și în războaie civile și după ce a fost dușmănit și de Chrysostomus, a murit la Constantinopol în anul 408 la 1 mai]; [(Born) of the father Theodosius and the mother Aelia Flaccilla, (he was) appointed emperor by (his) father in the year 383 on 19 January; he*

¹ The initials of the engraver's name.

² In very fine condition; hereinafter VF.

³ Inventory number; N stands for Numismatic collection.

⁴ Engraving error.

⁵ VM in ligature.

celebrated a triumph with the latter in Constantinople in 386. After the latter died, he won the Orient in the end, his guardian being Rufinus. But when (this) traitor called the Goths, who along with other barbarians threatened the Empire horrendously, Arcadius, embroiled even in civil wars and after being maligned even by Chrysostomus,⁶ died in Constantinople on 1 May in the year 408];

131. Medal dedicated to Emperor Theodosius II (408-450, Flavius Theodosius).

D=31,8 mm; m.c.; VF; inv. N 60562;

Obv.: **C· W· C· PR· CÆS·**; encircling legend: **D·[ominus] N·[oster] FLAV·[ius] THEODOSIVS IVNIOR· P·[ius] F·[elix] AVG·[ustus]** ⊕ *[Domnul nostru Flavius Theodosius cel Tânăr, cel pios, cel fericit, cel august]; [Our Lord Flavius Theodosius the Younger, the pious, the blessed, the august];* in the field: diademed and draped bust right of Theodosius II;

Rev.: **C· W·**; in the field: **NATVS/ X· APRIL·[is] A·[nno] 401-/ PATRE ARCADIO/ MATRE EUDOCIA/ AB EO X· IANVAR·[ii] A·[nno] 402-/ IN CVNIS AVGVSTVS DICTVS· SVB ISDIGERDIS PERSARVM REGIS/ ET PLACIDIAE SORORIS TVTELA/ PATRE DEFVNCTO IMPERARE COEPIT/ IOANNEM TYRANNVM OPPRESSIT/ A GENSERICO VANDALALORVM REGE/ ET ATTILA HVNNORVM IMPETITVS/ PACEM CVM VTROQUE FECIT/ AVCTOR SYNODI EPHESINAE/ CODICISQVE/ THEODOSIANI/ MORTVVS/ XXIX· IVLII/ A·[nno] CCCL· (sic!)⁷** *[Născut la 10 aprilie anul 401, din tatăl tatăl Arcadius și mama Eudochia, (a fost) numit împărat de către acesta la 10 ianuarie 402 în leagănul de purpură imperială, sub tutela regelui perșilor Yezdegerd și a surorii (sale) Placidia; după ce tatăl a murit, a început să domnească. L-a zdrobit pe tiranul Ioan; atacat de Genseric, regele vandalilor, și de Attila (regele) hunilor, a făcut pace cu fiecare; (este) autorul sinodului de la Ephes și al Codului Theodosian; a murit la 29 iulie în anul 450]; [Born on 10 April in the year 401, from the father Arcadius and the mother Eudocia, (he was) appointed emperor by the former on 10 January 402 in the cradle of imperial purple, under the tutelage of the Persian king Yezdegerd and (his) sister Placidia; after the father died, he began to reign. He crushed the tyrant John; attacked by Genseric, King of the Vandals, and by Attila (king) of the Huns, he made peace with each; (he is) the author of the synod of Ephesus and of the Theodosian Code; he died on 29 July in the year 450];*

132. Medal dedicated to the usurper Anicius Maximus. D=32,1 mm; m.c.; VF; inv. N 60577;

Obv.: **C· PR· CÆS·**; encircling legend: **D·[ominus] N·[oster] FL·[avius] ANICIVS MAXIMVS PII·[us] F·[elix] AVG·[ustus]** ⊕ *[Domnul nostru Flavius Anicius Maximus, cel pios, cel fericit, cel august]; [Our Lord Flavius Anicius Maximus, the pious, the blessed, the august];* in the field: draped bust right of Anicius Maximus;

⁶ Saint John Chrysostom, the Golden Mouth (*Chrysostomus*), Archbishop of Constantinople.

⁷ Correctly: CCCCL.

Rev.: C· W·; in the field: FILIVS/ MAXIMI/ TYRANNI/ A THEODOSIO M·[agno] CAESI/ BIS CONSVL/ VALENTINIANO IMPERATORI/ OB VXOREM STVPRATAM/ STRVXIT INSIDIAS/ EOQVE INTEREMTO/ [ante diem] XVI· KAL·[endas] APRIL[es] A·[nno] CCCCLV·/ OCCIDENTIS IMPERIVM INVASIT/ EVDOKIAM VALENTINIANI/ VIDVAM SIBI DESPONSAVIT/ QVÆ⁸ PRIORIS MARITI CAEDEM VLTVRA/ GENSERICVM IN ITALIAM EVOCAT/ QVO TERRITVS MAXIMVS/ FVGAMQVE COGITANS/ A ROMANIS DISCERPITVR/ XII· IVNII/ EOD·[em] ANNO· [Fiul tiranului Maximus ucis de Theodosius cel Mare, consul de două ori; pentru că i-a fost necinstită soția, i-a întins o cursă împăratului Valentinianus și, după ce acesta a fost ucis la 17 martie în anul 455, a pus mâna pe domnia Occidentului (și) s-a logodit cu Eudoxia, văduva lui Valentinianus, care, voind să răzbune moartea primului soț, l-a chemat în Italia pe Genseric; (iar) Maximus, înspăimântat de acesta, vrând să fugă, a fost sfâșiat în bucăți de romani la 12 iunie în același an]; [The son of the tyrant Maximus killed by Theodosius the Great, twice consul; because his was wife dishonoured, he set a trap to Emperor Valentinianus and after the latter was killed on 17 March in the year 455, heseized thereign of the West (and) got engaged to Eudoxia, the widow of Valentinianus, who wishing to avenge the death of her first husband, called Genseric⁹ to Italy; (and) Maximus, frightened by him, wanting to flee, was torn to pieces by the Romans on 12 June of the same year];

133. Medal dedicated to Emperor Marcianus (450-457). D=32,0 mm; m.c.; VF; inv. N 60581;

Obv.: C· PR· CÆS·; encircling legend: D·[ominus] N·[oster] FL·[avius] VAL·[erius] MARCIANVS P·[ius] FEL·[ix] AVG·[ustus]/[Domnul nostru Flavius Valerius Marcianus, cel pios, cel fericit, cel august]; [Our Lord Flavius Valerius Marcianus, the pious, the blessed, the august]; in the field: diademed and draped bust right of Marcianus;
Rev.: C· W·; in the field: NATIONE/ ILLYRICVS/ TRIBVN9[us] MILITIA CLAR9[us]/ MORTVO THEODOSIO¹⁰ IVNIORE/ IMPERIVM AB EIVS SORORE/ AELIA PVLCHERIA ACCEPIT/ QVAM IN VXOREM DVXIT/ SED VIRGINITATEM SERVARE PERMISIT/ XXV· AVGVSTI A·[nno] 450· A· SENATV/ ET EXERCITV IMPERATOR DICTVS/ SYNODV CHALCEDONENSEM¹¹ CONVOCAVIT¹² SVB EO ITALIA MISERERE VASTATA/ ROMAQ·[ue] A VANDALIS DIREPTA/ LICET ATTLA HVNNORVM ET/ THORISMVND9[us] GOTHORVM REX/ MAGNA CLADE AFFECTI SINT/ IPSE PACEM COLVIT/ QVOAD POTVIT/ DEFVNCT9[us] A·[nno] CCCCLVII·/ AETATIS· LXV· [De neam illyr, tribun strălucit în armată, după ce Theodosius cel Tânăr a murit, a primit domnia de la sora acestuia, Aelia Pulcheria, pe care a luat-o de soție, dar i-a permis să-și păstreze fecioria; la 25 august în anul 450 a fost numit împărat de Senat și

⁸ VÆ in ligature.

⁹ This was the first king of the Vandals in Africa, the author of devastation of Rome in 455.

¹⁰ HE in ligature.

¹¹ NE in ligature.

¹² AV in ligature.

armată. A convocat sinodul de la Chalcedon; în vremea lui a fost devastată Italia în chip vrednic de milă și Roma a fost prădată de vandali, chiar dacă Attila, (regele) hunilor, și Thorismundus, regele goților, au fost loviți de un mare dezastru; el însuși a păstrat pacea până când a putut. Mort în anul 457 la vârsta de 65 (de ani)); [Of Illyrian extraction, a brilliant tribune in the army, after Theodosius the Younger died, he received the reign from the latter's sister, Aelia Pulcheria, whom he married, but all owed to keep her virginity; on 25 August in the year 450, he was named emperor by the Senate and the army. He convened the synod of Chalcedon; in his time, Italy was devastated pitifully, and Rome was plundered by the Vandals, although Attila (king) of the Huns, and Thorismundus, King of the Goths, were struck by a major disaster¹³; he maintained the peace himself while he could. He died in 457, at age of 65 (years)];

THE LEONID DYNASTY

134. **Medal dedicated to Emperor Leo I.** D=32,4 mm; m.c.; G¹⁴; inv. N 60583;
 Obv.: **C· PR· CAES·**; encircling legend: **D·[ominus] N·[oster] FLAVIVS LEO PERPETVVS AVGVSTVS·**[*Domnul nostru Flavius Leon, perpetuu august*]; [*Our Lord Flavius Leon, eternal august*]; in the field: diademed and draped bust right of Leo I;
 Rev.: **C· W·**; in the field: **THRAX/ TRIBVNVS/ ET DVX MILITARIS/ PRAESIDII SELYMBRIAE/ MARCIANO EXTINCTO/ ASPARIS FACTIONE/ IMPERATOR DICTVS/ [ante diem] VII· ID·[us] FEBR·[uarias] A·[nno] CCCCLVII·/ ORIENTE CONTENTO[us] MAIORIANVM/ OCCIDENTI IMPERATOREM DEDIT/ CVM¹⁵ OSTROGOTHIS ET VANDALIS/ BELLVM GESIT/ VARIAS CONSTANTINOPOLI/ BASILICAS EREXIT/ IBIQUE DECESSIT/ MENSE IANVARIO/ A·[nno] CCCCLXXIV·** [*Trac (de neam), tribun și comandant militar al garnizoanei Selymbria, după ce Marcianus s-a stins, a fost numit împărat de facțiunea lui Aspar la 7 februarie în anul 457; mulțumit cu Orientul, l-a dat pe Maiorianus ca împărat al Occidentului; cu ostrogoții și vandalii a purtat război, a ridicat diferite biserici la Constantinopol, și tot acolo a murit în luna ianuarie din anul 474*]; [*A Thracian (by birth), a tribune and the military commander of the Selymbriagarrison, after Marcianus passed away, he was named emperor by the faction of Aspar on 7 February in the year 457; satisfied with the Orient, he gave Maiorianus as emperor of the West; he waged war against the Ostrogoths and the Vandals, raised various churches in Constantinople, and it was the place where died in January of the year 474*];

135. **Medal dedicated to Emperor Leo II.** D=32,0 mm; m.c.; VF; inv. N 60589;
 Obv.: **C· PR· CAES·**; encircling legend: **D·[ominus] N·[oster] FLAVI[us] LEO IVNIOR PERPETV[us] AVG·[ustus]** [*Domnul nostru Flavius Leon cel Tânăr, perpetuu*

¹³ An allusion to the plague epidemic of the year 452 that struck the barbarians who had invaded Italy.

¹⁴ In good condition; hereinafter G.

¹⁵ VM in ligature.

august]; [*Our Lord Flavius Leon the Younger, eternal august*]; in the field: diademed, draped and cuirassed bust right of Leo II;

Rev.: C· W·; in the field: PATRE/ ZENONE/ MATRE ARIADNA/ LEONIS IMP·[eratoris] FILIA/ AB AVO AN·[no] CCCCLXXIII·/ IMPERATOR CORONATVS/ EO¹⁶ EXTINCTO ZENONEM¹⁷ PATREM¹⁸/ NOVO PIETATIS EXEMPLO/ AVGVSTVM DIXIT/ IPSEQVE VALETVDINARI9[us]/ CVM LAVDE IMPERII/ ACCVRATE ADMINISTRATI/ MENSE NOVEMBRI/ A·[nno] CCCCLXXIV·/ OBIIT· [(Născut din) tatăl Zenon și mama Ariadna, fiica împăratului Leon, (a fost) încoronat împărat de către bunicul (său) în anul 473; după ce acesta s-a stins, ca un nou exemplu de pietate, l-a numit împărat pe tatăl (său), Zenon, și el însuși (fiind) bolnav a murit în luna noiembrie din anul 474, cu meritul de a fi administrat cu iscusință Imperiul]; [(Born of) the father Zeno and the mother Ariadne, the daughter of Emperor Leo, he (was) crowned emperor by his (his) grand father in 473; after the latter died, as another example of piety, he appointed (his) father, Zeno, as emperor, and (being) sick himself, he died in November of the year 474, with the merit of having or skilfully administered the Empire];

136. Medal dedicated to Emperor Basiliscus (475–476). D=32,0 mm; m.c.; VF; inv. N 60593;

Obv.: C· PR· CAES·; encircling legend: D·[ominus] N·[oster] FL·[avius] BASILISCVS PERPETV9[us] AVGVSTVS· ☉ [Domnul nostru Flavius Basiliscus, perpetuu august]; [*Our Lord Flavius Basiliscus, eternal august*]; in the field: bust front of Basiliscus, wearing a plumed helmet, a richly adorned armour, a shield in his left hand and carrying a spear on his right shoulder;

Rev.: C· W·; in the field: VIR/ CONSVLARIS/ FRATER VERINAE/ LEONIS AVG·[usti] VIDVAE/ A QVA ZENONE/ CHALCEDONE DEGENTE/ A·[nno] 476· AVGVSTVS DICTVS/ VXORI ZENONIDAE/ EANDEM DIGNITATEM/ FILIOQ·[ue] MARCO CONTVLIT/ INTERIM ZENO CVM VXORE/ AD ISAVROS/ FVGIT/ SED A·[nno] 477· REVOCATVS/ BASILISCVM¹⁹ SVIS/ IN CAPPADOCIAM/ RELEGAVIT/ FAME ET FRIGORE/ PEREVNTES [Bărbat (de rang) consular, fratele Verinei, văduva împăratului Leon, de către care a fost numit împărat în anul 476 pe când Zenon se afla la Chalcedon; a acordat aceeași demnitate soției (sale) Zenonida și fiului (său) Marcus. Între timp Zenon a fugit împreună cu soția (lui) la isaurieni, dar (fiind) rechemat în anul 477 l-a exilat pe Basiliscus împreună cu ai săi în Cappadocia, (aceștia) pierind de foame și frig]; [A man of consular (rank), the brother of Verina, the widow of Emperor Leo, by whom he was appointed emperor in the year 476 when Zenon was in Chalcedon; he granted the same dignity to (his) wife Zenonida and (their) son Marcus. Mean while Zenon fled with (his) wife to the Isaurians, but

¹⁶ The letter E is found inside the letter O.

¹⁷ NE in ligature.

¹⁸ TR in ligature.

¹⁹ A CVM is missing (probably because of a confusion with the ending of the previous word).

(being) recalled in 477, he banished the Basiliscus along with his suite to Cappadocia, where (they) perished of hunger and cold];

137. Medal dedicated to Emperor Zeno (coemperors of 9 February 474; emperor 476-491). D=32,0 mm; m.c.; VF; inv. N 60590 (reminted);

Obv.: C· PR· CÆS·; encircling legend: D-[ominus] N-[oster] FL-[avius] ZENO PERPETVVS AVGVSTVS ☉ [Domnul nostru Flavius Zenon, perpetuu august]; [Our Lord Flavius Zenon, eternal august]; in the field: bust right of Zeno wearing a medieval garb and a circlet;

Rev.: C· W·; in the field: GENTE/ ISAVRVV/ PATRE/ ROVSOMBLADEOTA/ IPSE TARASICODISA/ PRIMVM DICTVS/ ARIADNA LEONIS IMP-[eratoris] FILIA/ AN-[no] CCCCLIX· DVCTA/ ET DVX ORIENTIS CREATVS/ A SOCERO/ ZENONIS NOMEN ASSVMSIT-/ ANIMO ET CORPORE DEFORMIS/ IMPERIO MINVS IDONEVS/ A SOCERO PRAETERITVS/ A FILIO SENATVQVE ASSVMTVS/ MENSE FEBR-[uarii] A-[nno] CCCCLXXIV-/ BASILISCVM AEMVLVM/ PRIMO FVGIT DEINDE OPPRESSIT/ MISERABILI MORTE/ VIVVS SEPVLCRO INCLVS⁹[us]/ [ante diem] VIII· ID-[us] APRIL-[es]/ A-[nno] CCCXCII· [Isaurian de neam, din tatăl Rousombladeotas, el însuși numit la început Tarasicodisa, după ce s-a căsătorit cu Ariadna, fiica împăratului Leon, în anul 459 și a fost numit conducător al Orientului de către socrul (său), a luat numele de Zenon; urât la suflet și la trup, puțin priceput la domnie, desconsiderat de socru, acceptat de fiul (acestuia) și de Senat, în luna februarie din anul 474 mai întâi a fugit de rivalul (său) Basiliscus, apoi, l-a nimicit printr-o moarte cumplită; a fost îngropat de viu în mormânt la 8 aprilie în anul 492]; [An Isaurian by birth, from the father Rousombladeotas, himself originally called Tarasicodisa, after he married Ariadne, the daughter of Emperor Leo, in 459 and was appointed leader of the Orient by (his) father, he took on the name Zeno; ugly in soul and body, little skilled as a ruler, disregarded by his father-in-law, accepted by (the latter's) son and the Senate, in February of the year 474, he first ran away from (his) rival Basiliscus, then crushed him through a terrible death; he was buried alive in a tomb on 8 April in the year 492];

138. Medal dedicated to Emperor Anastasius (491-518). D=32,2 mm; m.c.; VF; inv. N 60594;

Obv.: encircling legend: D-[ominus] N-[oster] FL-[avius] ANASTASIVS PERPETV⁹[us] AVGVSTVS ☉ [Domnul nostru Flavius Anastasius, perpetuu august]; [Our Lord Flavius Anastasius, eternal august]; in the field: draped and diademed bust right of Anastasius;

Rev.: C· WERM· F·C· PR· CÆS·; in the field: NATVS/ PARENTIBVS/ ARIANIS/ EX SILENTIARIO/ IMPERATOR AN-[no] 491-/ PRO CVRANTE ARIADNA/ ZENONIS VIDVA/ QVAM STATIM DVXIT/ DONATIVVM MILITIBVS DANS/ CHRYSARGYRVN OMNIB⁹[us] REMISIT/ ISAVROS SVPERAVIT/ CVM VITALIANO BELLVM GESSIT/ CVM AGARENIS PACEM FECIT/ SVM⁹[us] EVTYCHIANORVM PATRON⁹[us]/

FVLMINE ICTVS/ INTERIIT/ [ante diem] VII· ID·[us] IVLII²⁰/ A·[nno] C·[hristi] CCCCXVIII·/ *⊗*[Născut din părinți arieni, fost *silentiarius*, împărat din anul 491 prin grija Ariadnei, văduva lui Zenon, cu care de îndată s-a căsătorit. Acordând soldaților *donativum*, le-a restituit tuturor darea în aur și argint (*chrysargyrum*); i-a învins pe isaurieni, a purtat război cu Vitalianus, cu păgânii a făcut pace; (a fost) cel mai mare ocrotitor al adepților lui Eutychius. A pierit lovit de fulger la 9 iulie în anul 518 de la Cristos]; [Born to Arian parents, a former *silentiarius*, an emperor from the year 491 through the care of Ariadne, the widow of Zeno, whom he married soon. Granting the soldiers *donativum*, he returned all the tax in gold and silver (*chrysargyrum*); he defeated the Isaurians, he waged war against Vitalianus, made peace with the heathens²¹; (he was) the greatest protector of the followers of Eutychius.²² Hedied on July 9, struck by lightning, in the year 518 after Christ];

THE JUSTINIAN DYNASTY

139. Medal dedicated to Emperor Justin I (518-527). D=32,4 mm; m.c.; VF; inv. N 60595;

Obv.: C· PR· CÆS·; encircling legend: D·[ominus] N·[oster] FLAVI9[us] VALERI9[us] IVSTINVS PI9[us] FEL·[ix] AVG·[ustus] ⊗[Domnul nostru Flavius Valerius Iustinus, cel pios, cel fericit, cel august]; [Our Lord Flavius Valerius Iustinus, the pious, the blessed, the august]; in the field: draped, cuirassed and diademed bust right of Justin I;

Rev.: C· W·; in the field: THRAX/ GENERE/ OBSCVRVS/ EX SVBVLCO BVBVL CVS/ PER VARIOS MILITIAE GRAD9[us]/ COMES EXCVBITORVM/ ET CVROPALATA/ MILITVM SENATVSQ·[ue] FAVORE²³/ IMPERATOR IX· IVLII A·[nno] 518·/ CHALCEDONENSE[m] CONCILIVM TVETVR/ ORTHODOXOS EXILIO LIBERAT/ EX ORIENTE ARIANOS PELLIT/ CAETERA REIP·[ublica] GERENDAE/ MINVS IDONEVS/ IVSTINIANVM SORORIS FILIVM/ A·[nno] 527· K[a]L·[endis] APRIL·[ibus] ADOPTANS/ IMPERII CONSORTIEM FECIT/ ET K[a]L·[endis] AVG·[ustis]/ DECESSIT· [Trac umil de neam, fost porcar ajuns văcar, parcurgând diferite grade militare, (devenit) *comes excubitorum* și *curopalates*, (a ajuns) împărat fiind preferat de soldați și de Senat la 9 iulie în anul 518. A condus conciliul de la Chalcedon, i-a eliberat pe ortodocși din exil, pe arieni i-a expulzat din Orient; mai puțin priceput în celelalte treburile ale cârmuirii, l-a făcut pătaș la domnie pe Iustinian, fiul surorii (sale), adoptându-l la 1 aprilie în anul 527 și a murit la 1 august]; [A humble Thracian by nation, a former wineherd turned drover, going through different military ranks, (he became) *comes excubitorum* and *curopalates*, (he became) emperor being preferred by the soldiers and by the Senate on 9 July in the year 518.

²⁰ Correctly: IVLIAS.

²¹ *Agarenes* means "pagans" (in the Biblical sense); the reference here is to the Persians.

²² The monophysite sect.

²³ AV in ligature.

He led the council of Chalcedon, freed the Orthodox from exile, expelled the Arians from the Orient; less skilled in the other matters of leadership, he made Justinian a partaker of his reign, (his) sister's son, adopting him on 1 April in the year 527 and died on 1 August;

140. Medal dedicated to Emperor Justinian I the Great (527-565). D=31,8 mm; m.c.; VF; inv. N 60596;

Obv.: C· W· FEC·C· P· CÆS·; encircling legend: D·[ominus] N·[oster] FLAVI9[us] ANICIVS IVSTINIANVS PI9[us] FEL·[ix] AVG·[ustus] ⊕ *[Domnul nostru Flavius Anicius Iustinianus, cel pios, cel fericit, cel august]; [Our Lord Flavius Anicius Iustinianus, the pious, the blessed, the august];* in the field: bust frontof Justinian I in armour, wearing a splendid diadem for a helmet over his long, curly hair; he has a shield in his left hand and a globe in his right hand, on which Victory stands, holding a laurel wreath in her right hand and a palm branch in her left hand;

Rev.: 17 C· W· / F· 02·; in the field: NAT9[us] TAVRISII/ IN ILLYRICO/ V· MAII CIRCA AN·[num] 482·/ PATRE SABATIO/ MATRE VIGILANTIA/ IVSTINI IMP·[eratoris] SORORE/ A QVO AN·[no] 527· KAL·[endis] APRIL·[ibus]/ SVCCESOR DESIGNATVS/ EO DEFVNCTO SOLVS IMPERANS/ DVCIBVS BELLISARIO ET NARSETE/ PERSAS TRANS EVPHRATEM REIECIT/ REGNVN VANDALORVM²⁴ IN AFRICA/ GOTHORVM IN ITALIA DELEVIT/ CODICEM IVRIS VVLGAVIT/ SOPHIAE TEMPLVM CONDIDIT/ SENIO MORBISQ·[ue] CONFECT9[us]/ D·[ie] XIX· NOV·[embris] A·[nno] 565·/ OBIIT· *[(S-a) născut la Taurisium în Illyricum, la 5 mai cam prin anul 482, din tatăl Sabatius și mama Vigilantia, sora împăratului Iustinus, de care (a fost) desemnat succesor în anul 527 la 1 aprilie. După ce acesta a murit, domnind singur, comandanți militari fiind Belisarius și Narses, i-a aruncat pe persi dincolo de Eufrat, a distrus regatul vandalilor în Africa și al goților în Italia, a publicat Codul de legi, a întemeiat biserica (Sfintei) Sofia. Mistuit de bătrânețe și de boli, a murit în ziua de 19 noiembrie în anul 565]; [(He was) born at Taurisium in Illyricum, on 5 May, in about the year 482, from the father Sabatius and the mother Vigilantia, the sister of Emperor Iustinus, who (was) appointed successor in the year 527 on 1 April. After he died, ruling alone, the military commanders being Belisarius and Narses, he threw the Persians beyond the Euphrates, destroyed the kingdom of the Vandals in Africa, and of the Goths in Italy, published the Code of laws, founded the church (of Saint) Sophia.²⁵ Consumed by old age and illness, he died on 19 November in 565];*

141. Medal dedicated to Emperor Justin II (565-578). D=32,1 mm; m.c.; VF; inv. N 60597;

Obv.: C· PR· CÆSAR·; encircling legend: D·[ominus] N·[oster] FLAV·[ius] IVSTINVS IVNIOR PERPET·[uus] AVGVST9·[us] ⊕ *[Domnul nostru Flavius Iustinus cel Tânăr,*

²⁴ VA in ligature.

²⁵ Pun on words: because in Greek *Sophia* means "wisdom," *Sophiae templum* might also be translated as the "temple of wisdom."

perpetuu august]; [Our Lord Iustinus the Younger, eternal august]; in the field: diademed and draped bust rightof Justin II, wearing an armour;

Rev.: C· W·; in the field: PATRE/ DVLCISSIMO/ MATRE VIGILANTIA/ IVSTINIANI IMP·[eratoris] SORORE/ EX CVROPALATA/ A·[nno] 565· ID·[ibus] NOVEM·[bribus] IMPERATOR/ EXARCHATVM²⁶ RAVENNAE²⁷ INSTITVIT/ AMOVENS CVM²⁸ IGNOMINIA NARSETEM/ LONGOBARDOS VINDICTAE CAVSSA²⁹/ IN ITALIAM POSTEA EVOCANTEM·/ PELAGIANIS ADHAESIT/ CONSVLATVM³⁰ PERPETVVM³¹ REDDIDIT/ PERSIS BELLVM INDIXIT/ EX CLADIS AB ILLIS ILLATAE/ NVNTIO PHRENESI/ AC MORTE/ CORREPTVS/ [ante diem] III· NON·[as] OCT·[obres]/ A·[nno] DLXXVIII· [(Născut din) tatăl Dulcissimus și mama Vigilantia, sora împăratului Iustinian, fost **curopalates**, (a devenit) împărat în anul 565 la 13 noiembrie. A întemeiat exarhatul de Ravenna îndepărtându-l în chip dezonorant pe Narses, cel care mai apoi i-a chemat pe longobarzi în Italia pentru ca să se răzbune; a aderat la pelagieni, a reintrodus consulatul pe viață, a declarat război perșilor. (A fost) atins de nebulie la vestea măcelurilor comise de aceștia și de moarte la 5 octombrie în anul 578]; [(Born) of the father Dulcissimus and the mother Vigilantia, the sister of Emperor Justinian, a former **curopalates**, (he became) emperor in the year 565 on 13 November. He founded the Exarchate of Ravenna, driving Narses away in adis honorable way, who then called the Longobards in Italy in order to take revenge; he adhered to the Pelagians,³² reintroduced the consulate for life, declared war on the Persians. (He was) touched by madness at the news of the massacres they had committed and by death on 5 October in the year 578];

142. Medal dedicated to Emperor Tiberius II Constantine (578-582). D=31,8 mm; m.c.; F³³; inv. N 60598;

Obv.: C· PR· CÆSAR·; encircling legend³⁴: D·[ominus] N·[oster] TIBERIVS II· CONSTANTINVS[us] PERPET·[uus] AVGVSTVS[us] [Domnul nostru Tiberius al II-lea Constantin, perpetuu august]; [Our Lord Tiberius II Constantine, eternal august]; in the field: bust front of Tiberius Constantine, wearing a plumed helmet, adorned with a pearl string; he is holding a cross-bearing orb in his right hand; Rev.: C· W·; in the field: THRAX/ NATIONE/ EX NOTARIO/ COMES EXCVBITORVM/ A IVSTINO IMP·[eratore] AEGROTANTE/ SVCCESOR ET CAESAR/ DESIGNATVR A·[nno] 574· MENS·[e] XBR·³⁵/ IMPERATOR CORONATVS[us] A·[nno] 578· 25·

²⁶ VM in ligature.

²⁷ AV and NN in ligature.

²⁸ VM in ligature.

²⁹ Correctly CAVSA.

³⁰ VM in ligature.

³¹ VM in ligature.

³² The Christian sect of the Pelagians.

³³ In fine condition; hereinafter F.

³⁴ This is the first medal whose legend begins on the right of the head and not below the bust like the previous ones.

³⁵ DECEMBRI.

7ER³⁶/ IVSTINI ET NARSETIS/ THESAVROS REPERIT/ CONTRA PERSAS VICTOR EVASIT/ CVM³⁷ LONGOBARDIS PACEM FECIT/ IN ELEEMOSYNIS PROMTVS³⁸/ IN IVDICANDO CAVTVS/ DESIGNATO MAVRITIO³⁹ GENNERO/ IN SVCCESOREM/ OBIIT XIV· AVG·[usti]/ A·[nno] 582· [De neam trac, fost *notarius*, *comes excubitorum*, (a fost) desemnat succesor și caesar de către împăratul Iustinus, (acesta) fiind bolnav, în anul 574 luna decembrie (și) încoronat împărat în anul 578 la 25 septembrie. A obținut tezaurele lui Iustinus și Narses; a ieșit victorios împotriva perșilor, a făcut pace cu longobarzii; (a fost) generos cu milosteniile, prudent cu judecățile. A murit la 14 august în anul 582, după ce ginerele (său) Mauritius a fost desemnat successor]; [Of Thracian descent, a former *notarius*, *comes excubitorum*, (he was) appointed successor and Caesar by Emperor Iustinus, (who) was ill, in the year 574 in the month of December (and) crowned emperor in the year 578 on 25 September. He obtained the treasures of Iustinus and Narses; he emerged victorious against the Persians, made peace with the Longobards; (was) generous with the alms, cautious with the judgments. He died on 14 August in the year 582, after (his) groom Mauritius was named successor];

143. Medal dedicated to Emperor Maurice (582-602, Flavius Mauricius Tiberius).

D=32,0 mm; m.c.; F; inv. N 60599;

Obv.: C· PR· CÆSAR·; encircling legend: D·[ominus] N·[oster] FLAVI9[us] MAVRICIVS TIBERI9[us] PERP·[uus] AVGVST9·[us] [Domnul nostru Flavius Mauricius Tiberius, perpetuu august]; [Our Lord Flavius Mauricius Tiberius, eternal august]; in the field: bust frontof Maurice in a parade costume, wearing a crown split in the middle, a short beard and a moustache; in the cleavage of the crown, there is a medallion with the image of God surmounted by a cross; he is holding a cross-bearing orb in his right hand;

Rev.: C· W·; in the field: ROMA/ EX COMITE/ EXCVBITORVM/ ET MAGISTRO/ MILITIAE ORIENTIS/ A TIBERIO AVG·[usto] CAESAR/ DICTVS V· AVGVSTI A·[nno] 582·/ XIII· EIVSD·[em] MENS·[is] IMPERATOR/ DESPONSATA CONSTANTINA/ TIBERII FILIA·/ PERSAS ET ARMENIOS FVDIT/ SCYTHAS MOESIA REPVLT/ LONGOBARDOS REPRESSIT/ HVNNOS PANNONIIS EIECIT/ OB IMMENSAM AVARITIAM/ A MILTIBVS DESERTVS/ CVM FILIIS OCCISVS/ A PHOCA A·[nno] DCII·/ [ante diem] V· KAL·[endas] DECEM·[bres] [Fost *comes excubitorum* la Roma și comandant al armatei din Orient, (a fost) numit caesar de împăratul Tiberius la 5 august în anul 582; (a devenit) împărat la 13 ale aceleiași luni, după ce s-a logodit cu Constantia, fiica lui Tiberius. I-a risipit pe perși și pe armeni, pe sciți i-a alungat din Moesia, i-a respins pe longobarzi, pe huni⁴⁰ i-a scos din Pannonii. Părăsit de

³⁶ SEPTEMBRIS.

³⁷ VM in ligature.

³⁸ Correctly PROMPTVS.

³⁹ AV in ligature.

⁴⁰ The reference is to the Avars; the space envisaged is the S-E corner of Pannonia (the Srem region) and, maybe, the S-W corner (the Slovenian plateau and West Croatia).

soldăți din cauza uriașei sale lăcomii, (a fost) ucis de Phocas împreună cu fii (săi) în anul 602 la 27 noiembrie]; **[A former comes excubitorum in Rome and a commander of the army in the Orient, (he was) appointed Caesar by Emperor Tiberius on 5 August in the year 582; (he became) emperor on 13 of the same month, after having become engaged to Constantia, the daughter of Tiberius. He cattered away the Persians and the Armenians, he drove the Scythians⁴¹ away from Moesia, he rejected the Longobards, he chased the Huns out of Pannonia. Abandoned by the soldiers because of his huge greed, (he was) killed by Phocas with (his) sons in the year 602 on 27 November];**

144. Medal dedicated to Emperor Phocas (602-610, Flavius Phocas). D=31, 8 mm; m.c.; VF; inv. N 60600;

Obv.: C· PR· CÆSAR·; encircling legend: D·[ominus] N·[oster] FLAVI9[us] PHOCAS PERPET·[uus] AVGVSTVS· *[Domnul nostru Flavius Phocas, perpetuu august]; [Our Lord Flavius Phocas, eternal august]; in the field: bust frontof Phocas, wearing a cap adorned with pearls, surmounted by a cross, a short beard and a moustache; he is holding a cross-bearing orb in his right hand;*

Rev.: C· W·; in the field: NATIONE/ CAPPADOX/ TRIBVNVS MILITVM/ AVG[u]STVS ACCLAMATVS/ XXIII· NOVEM·[bris] A·[nno] DCII·/ BIDVO POST CONSTANTINOPOLIN/ NVLLO RESISTENTE INGRESS9[us]/ MAVRITIVM FILIOSQVE OCCIDIT·/ QVOD INDIGNE FERENS/ CHOSROES PERSARVM REX/ MAXIMAM CHRISTIANIS CLADEM/ VASTANDO INTVLIT/ MVLTA[SQ]·[ue]⁴² PROVINCIAS OCCVPAVIT⁴³/ TANDEM CONTRA PHOCAM VENIT/ HERACLIVS EX AFRICA/ EVMQVE VICTVM/ CREMARI IVSSIT/ V· OCTOB·[ris] A·[nno] DCX· *[Cappadocian de neam, tribun militar, (a fost) aclamat împărat la 23 noiembrie în anul 602 și, după două zile, a sosit la Constantinopol fără nici o împotrivire; i-a ucis pe Mauritius și pe fiii (lui), (fapt) de care indingându-se regele perșilor, Chosroes, (acesta) a provocat prin devastări un uriaș măcel de creștini și a ocupat multe provincii; în sfârșit, împotriva lui Phocas a venit Heraclius din Africa și odată acesta învins a poruncit să fie ars la 5 octombrie în anul 610]; [A Cappadocian⁴⁴ by birth, a military tribune, (he was) acclaimed Emperor on 23 November in the year 602 and after two days, he arrived at Constantinople without any resistance; he killed Mauritius and (his) sons, (a fact) which outraged the Persians, Chosroes,⁴⁵ (and he) caused through devastation a massive slaughter of Christians and occupied several provinces; finally, Heraclius came from Africa against Phocas and once the latter was overcome, he ordered him to be burned on 5 October in year 610];*

⁴¹ These were the Slavs.

⁴² **MV** in ligature.

⁴³ **AV** in ligature.

⁴⁴ Contemporary research considers it a Thracian people (see *Russu 1976*, p.)

⁴⁵ The Sassanid Emperor Chosroes II (590-628).

THE HERACLIAN DYNASTY

145. Medal dedicated to Emperor Heraclius (610-641, Flavius Heraclius). D=32,3 mm; m.c.; VF; inv. N 60601;

Obv.: **C· W· C· PR· CÆSAR·**; encircling legend: **D·[ominus] N·[oster] FLAVI9[us] HERACLIVS PERPETV9·[us] AVGVSTVS** ⊕ *[Domnul nostru Flavius Heraclius, perpetuu august]; [Our Lord Flavius Heraclius, eternal august];* in the field: bust front of Heraclius, wearing a helmet adorned with pearls and surmounted by a cross;
 Rev.: **C· W·**; in the field: **PATRE/ HERACLIO/ PATRICIO/ MATRE EPIPHANIA/ CVM CLASSE A PATRE/ CONTRA PHOCAM MISSVS/ CONSTANTINOPOLIN VENIT/ EOQVE INTEREMTO IMPERATOR/ CORONATVS VI· OCTOBR·[is] A·[nno] DCX·/ POSTREMV9 IMPPP·[eratorum] A MILITIBVS/ ELECTORVM/ PERSAS MAGNAM CHRISTIANIS/ CLADEM INFERENTES PROFLIGAVIT/ PLVRIBVS PRAELIIS/ SED MVHAMMEDANI MVLTA/ IMPERIO⁴⁶ PROVINCIAS ERIPVERVNT·/ HERACLIVS IN SENECTVTE/ MAGIAE VETITISQ·[ue] AMORIBVS/ DEDITVS OCCVBVIT/ [ante diem] V· ID·[us] MART·[iis]/ A·[nno] DCXLI·** *[(Născut din) tatăl patriciul Heraclius și mama Epifania, (a fost) trimis de către tată cu flota împotriva lui Phocas; a sosit la Constantinopol și, după ce acesta a fost ucis, (a fost) încoronat împărat la 6 octombrie în anul 610, (fiind) ultimul dintre împărații aleși de soldați. Pe perșii care săvârșeau un mare măcel de creștini i-a zdrobit; dar mohamedanii au smuls Imperiului multe provincii. Heraclius, la bătrânețe dedat magiei și iubirilor nepermise, a murit la 11 martie în anul 641]; [(Born from) the patrician father Heraclius and the mother Epifania, (he was) sent by the father with the fleet against Phocas; he arrived in Constantinople and, after he was killed, (he was) crowned emperor on 6 October in the year 610, (being) the last of the emperor selected by the soldiers. He crushed the Persians who committed a great slaughter of Christians⁴⁷; but the Mohamed matched many provinces away from the Empire.⁴⁸ Heraclius, who in the old age indulged in magic and forbidden love, died on 11 March in the year 641];*

146. Medal dedicated to Emperor Heraclius Constantine III (11 February-24 May 641, Flavius Heraclius Constantinus). D=32,1 mm; m.c.; VF; inv. N 60602;

Obv.: **C· PR· CÆS·**; encircling legend: **D·[ominus] N·[oster] FL·[avius] HERACL⁹[us] CONSTANTINVS IV⁴⁹· PERPET·[uus] AVG·[ustus]** ⊕ *[Domnul nostru Flavius Heraclius Constantinus al IV-lea, perpetuu august]; [Our Lord Flavius Heraclius Constantinus IV, eternal august];* in the field: bust front of Heraclius Constantine, wearing a helmet surmounted by a cross, a short beard and a moustache;

⁴⁶ **IMP** in ligature.

⁴⁷ This was the great victory from Ninive (12 December 627), which marked the victory of the Byzantine Empire in the extended internecine conflict with the Sassanid Empire (604-629).

⁴⁸ Between 633 and 642, the Arabs conquered Syria, Palestine, Mesopotamia and Egypt, and all of North Africa by 670.

⁴⁹ Correctly: **III**.

Rev.: in the field: NATVS/ III· MAIL A·[nno] 612-/ CONSTANTINOPOLI/ PATRE HERACLIO IMP·[eratore]/ MATRE EVDOCIA/ XXII· IAN·[uarii] A·[nno] 613-/ A PATRIARCHA BAPTIZAT9[us]/ A PATRE CAESAR DICTVS/ HOC DEFVNCTO IMPERATOR/ CVM FRATRE HERACLEONA/ POST QVATVOR⁵⁰ IMPERII⁵¹ MENSES⁵²/ NOVERCAE MARTINAE/ ET⁵³ PATRIARCHAE⁵⁴ INSIDI[i]S/ VENENO SVBLATVS/ XXII· IVNII·/ A·[nno] 641· *[Născut la 3 mai anul 612 la Constantinopol, din tatăl împăratul Heracliu și mama Eudochia, botezat de patriarh la 22 ianuarie în anul 613, (a fost) numit caesar de către tată; după ce acesta a murit, împărat împreună cu fratele (său) Heracleonas, după patru luni de domnie (a fost) suprimat cu otravă prin uneltirile mamei vitrege, Martina, și ale patriarhului, la 22 iunie în anul 641]; [Born at Constantinople on 3 May in the year 612, from the father Emperor Heraclius and the mother Eudocia, baptised by the patriarch on 22 January in the year 613, (he was) appointed Caesar by the father; after he died, an emperor along with (his) brother Heracleonas, after four months of reigning (he was) suppressed with poison by the plots of the step mother, Martina, and of the patriarch, on 22 June in the year 641];*

147. Medal dedicated to Emperor Heracleonas (11 February - the end of September 641, Flavius Heracleonas). D=31,8 mm; m.c.; F; inv. N 60603;

Obv.: C· P· CÆS·; encircling legend: D·[ominus] N·[oster] FLAVIVS HERACLEONAS PERPETV9[us] AVGVST9·[us] ⊕ *[Domnul nostru Flavius Heracleonas, perpetuu august]; [Our Lord Flavius Heracleonas, eternal august];* in the field: bust front wearing a helmet with a cross;

Rev.: C.W.; in the field: NATVS/ CIRCA A·[nno] 626/ PATRE HERACLIO IMP·[eratore]/ MATRE MARTINA/ A PATRE A·[nno] 630. CAESAR/ A·[nno] 639· IMPERATOR DICTVS/ ET TESTAMENTO SVCCESOR/ CVM FRATRE ET MATRE/ SED ILLO MATRIS INSIDIIS OCCISO/ SOLVS PER SEMESTRE AVGVSTVS/ A SENATV IMPERIO NASOQVE/ VT MATER LINGVA PRIVATVS/ ET IN EXILIVM ACTVS/ CIRCA MENSEM/ DECEMBREM/ A·[nno] 641· *[Născut pe la anul 626, din tatăl împăratul Heraclius și mama Martina, (a fost) numit caesar de către tatăl (său) în anul 630, împărat în anul 639 și succesori împreună cu fratele (său) și mama (sa) prin testament; dar, după ce acela a fost ucis prin uneltirile mamei, (a fost) singur împărat o jumătate de an; (a fost) lipsit de domnie și de nas, precum mama (lui) de limbă de către Senat și trimis în exil prin luna decembrie din anul 641]; [Born in the year 626, from the father Emperor Heraclius and the mother Martina, (he was) appointed Caesar (his) father in the year 630, emperor in the year 639 and successor or together with (his) brother and (his) mother by way of testament; but after*

⁵⁰ Correctly: QVATTVOR.

⁵¹ MP in ligature.

⁵² ME in ligature.

⁵³ ET in ligature.

⁵⁴ TR in ligature.

that one⁵⁵ was killed through the will of the mother, (he was) emperor alone for one half of a year; (he was) deprived of reign and nose, like (his) mother of her tongue by the Senate and sent into exile in around the month of December in the year 641];

148. Medal dedicated to Emperor Constans II the Bearded (641-668, Flavius Heraclius Constans). D=32,4 mm; m.c.; F; inv. N 60604;

Obv.: encircling legend: **D·[ominus] N·[oster] FL·[avius] HERACLIVS CONSTANS II· PERP·[etuu]s] AVGVSTVS** ☉ [Domnul nostru Flavius Heraclius Constans al II-lea, perpetuu august]; [Our Lord Flavius Heraclius Constans II, eternal august]; in the field: bust front of Constans II, wearing a circle adorned with pearls surmounted by a cross;

Rev.: **C· W· C· PR· CAES·**; in the field: **NATVS/ VII· NOV·[embris] A·[nno] 630·/PATRE/ HERACLIO/ CONSTANTINO AVG·[usto]/ MATRE GREGORIA·/ PVLSO HERACLEONA A·[nno] 641·/ CONSTANTINOPOLI CORONATVS/ CONSTANTINI SIVE CONSTANTIS/ COGNOMEN A POPVLO ACCEPIT/ MONOTHELETAS FOVENS/ MARTINVM PAPAM VEXAVIT/ A·[nno] 654· A SARACENIS VICTVS/ A·[nno] 659· FRATRE SVO THEODOSIO/ INTERFECTO CONSCIENTIAE/ STIMVLIS AGITATVS/ IN ITALIAM SICILIAMQVE/ SECESSIT/ SEXENNIO SYRACVSIS/ HAERENS/ A SVIS IN BALNEO/ INTEREMT·[us] 15· IVLII/ A·[nno] 668·** [Născut la 7 noiembrie în anul 630, din tatăl împăratul Heraclius Constantinus și mama Gregoria, (a fost) încoronat la Constantinopol, după ce Heracleonas a fost alungat, în anul 641; a primit de la popor cognomenul de Constantinus sau Constans. Ocrotindu-i pe monotheliți l-a supărat pe papa Martinus; în anul 654 a fost învins de sarazini; în anul 659, după ce fratele său Theodosius a fost ucis, chinuit de mustări de conștiință s-a retras în Italia și Sicilia rămânând șase ani la Syracuse; (a fost) ucis de ai săi în baie la 15 iulie în anul 668]; [Born on 7 November in the year 630, from the father Emperor Heraclius Constantinus and the mother Gregoria, (he was) crowned at Constantinople, after Heracleonas was banished in the year 641; he received from the people the cognomen of Constantinus or Constans. Protecting the Monothelites,⁵⁶ he upset Pope Martinus; in 654 he was defeated by the Saracens⁵⁷; in the year 659, after his brother Theodosius was killed, tormented by remorse he retired to Italy and Sicily, remaining at Syracuse for six years; (he was) killed by his ilk in the bathroom on 15 July in the year 668];

149. Medal dedicated to Emperor Constantine IV (668-685, Flavius Constantinus).

D=32,2 mm; m.c.; VF; inv. N 60605;

Obv.: encircling legend: **D·[ominus] N·[oster] FLAV·[ius] CONSTANTINVS V·⁵⁸ PERP·[etuu]s] AVGVSTVS** ☉ [Domnul nostru Flavius Constantinus al V-lea, perpetuu

⁵⁵ Heraclius Iunior.

⁵⁶ A sect founded by Emperor Heraclius, which sought to reconcile Nicene Christianity with Monophysitism and was considered heretical.

⁵⁷ Arabs.

⁵⁸ Correctly: IV.

august]; [Our Lord Flavius Constantinus V, eternal august]; in the field: bust front of Constantine IV, wearing a crown shaped like a helmet, adorned with pearls surmounted by a cross; his hair is covering his ears, and he has a long beard and a moustache;

Rev.: C· W· C· PR· CÆS·; in the field: A PATRE/ CONSTATE IMP·[eratore]/ A·[nno] 654· KAL·[endss] MARTII⁵⁹/ IMPERATOR DICTVS/ ILLIVS MORTEM VLTVRVS/ IN SICILIAM IMBERBIS SOLVIT/ SED MIZIZIO TYRANNO DELETO/ PROMISSA BARBA REDVX/ POGONATI COGNOMEN TVLIT/ SARACENOS CONSTANTINOPOLIN/ OBSIDENTES PROMISSO/ ANNVO TRIBVTO PACAVIT/ SEXTO CONCILIO GENERALI/ CONSTANTINOPOLI HABITO/ MONOTHELETAS EIECIT/ INEVNTE SEPTEMBRI/ DEFVNCTVS/ A·[nno] 685· [(A fost) numit împărat de tatăl (său), împăratul Constans, la 1 martie în anul 654; pentru a răzbuna moartea acestuia a pornit spre Sicilia fără a avea barbă, dar, promițând (că-și va lăsa) barbă după ce tiranul Mizizius a fost nimicit, odată întors a adoptat cognomenul de Pogonatus; i-a potolit pe sarazinii care asediau Constantinopolul promițându-le un tribut anual; după ce a ținut al șaselea conciliu general la Constantinopol i-a alungat pe monotheliți; mort la începutul lui septembrie în anul 685]; [(He was) appointed emperor by (his) father, Emperor Constans, on 1 March in the year 654; to avenge the latter's death, he went to Sicily without having a beard, but promising (that he would grow) a beard after the tyrant Mizizius was destroyed, once back, he adopted cognomen of Pogonatus; he assuaged the Saracens who had besieged Constantinople, promising the man annual tribute; after he held the sixth general council⁶⁰ at Constantinople, he drove the Monothelites away; died in early September in the year 685];

150. Medal dedicated to Emperor Justinian II (685-695). D=32,0 mm; m.c.; VF; inv. N 60606;

Obv.: C· PR· CÆS·; encircling legend: D·[ominus] N·[oster] IVSTINIANVS II· PERPETV9[us] AVGVSTVS ⊕ [Domnul nostru Iustinianus al II-lea, perpetuu august]; [Our Lord Iustinianus II, eternal august]; in the field: bust left of Justinian II, wearing a diadem adorned with pearls;

Rev.: C· W·; in the field: PATRE/ CONSTANTINO IMP·[eratore]/ MATRE ANASTASIA/ IN IMPERII CONSORTIVM/ A PATRE A·[nno] 681· ADSCITVS/ HOC DEFVNCTO SOL⁹[us] REGNANS/ A BVLGARIS AC SARACENIS/ NON SEMEL PROFLIGATVS/ CRVDELITATE ET RAPACITATE/ IN SVBDITOS SAEVIENS/ A LEONTIO IMPERIO NASOQVE/ PRIVATVS RHINOTMETI/ COGNOMINE DICTVS/ A·[nno] 695· IN CHERSONAM/ RELEGATVS/ SED RECEPTO A·[nno] 705· IMPERIO/ NIMIA CRVDELITATE A·[nno] 711·/ CHERSONITAS DELETVRVS/ CVM FILIO TIBERIO/ A PHILIPPICO/ IVGVLATVR· [(Născut din) tatăl împăratul Constantin și

⁵⁹ Correctly: MARTIIS.

⁶⁰ Ecumenical.

mama Anastasia, (a fost) primit de către tatăl (său) la conducerea Imperiului în anul 681; după ce acesta a murit, domnind singur, zdrobit nu o dată de bulgari și de sarazini, înverșunându-se în cruzime și lăcomie asupra supușilor, după ce (a fost) lipsit de domnie și de nas de către Leontius, (a fost) denumit cu cognomenul Rhinotmetus (și a fost) exilat în anul 695 la Cherson; dar după ce a reprimat domnia în anul 705, vrând dintr-o cruzime exagerată să-i distrugă pe cei din Cherson, în anul 711 i s-a tăiat gâtul împreună cu fiul său Tiberius de către Philippicus]; [(Born of) the father Constantine and the mother Anastasia, (he was) received by the (his) father to the leadership of the Empire in the year 681; after he died, ruling alone, not once crushed by the Bulgarians and the Saracens, indulging in to cruelty and greed over the subjects, after (he was) deprived of his reign and nose by Leontius, (he was) named with the cognomen Rhinotmetus (and was) exiled to Cherson⁶¹ in the year 695; but after he got back his reign in the year 705, wishing out of excessive cruelty to destroy the people of Cherson, in the year 711 he had his and his son Tiberius's throats cut by Philippicus];

151. Medal dedicated to Emperor Leontius (695-698). D=32,1 mm; m.c.; VF; inv. N 60607;

Obv.: C· W· C· P· CÆS·; encircling legend: D·[ominus] N·[oster] LEONTIVS PERPETVVS AVGVSTVS ⊕⊕⊕ [Domnul nostru Leontius, perpetuu august]; [Our Lord Leontius, eternal august]; in the field: bust right of Leontius, wearing a radiate crown and a short beard;

Rev.: C· W·; in the field: NATVS/ CONSTANTINOPOLI/ GENERE PATRICIO/ DVX QVONDAM/ ORIENTALIVM COPIARVM/ EX CARCERE TRIENNALI/ A IVSTINIANO LIBERATVS/ ET AD EXERCITVM PER GRAECIAM/ REGENDVM MISSVS/ IMPERIVM⁶² A MONACHIS PRAEDICTVM/ OCCVPANS PLEBEM COMMOVIT/ ADVERSVS IVSTINIANVM/ QVEM NASO MVTLATVM/ IN CHERSONAM RELEGAVIT/ SED TERTIO IMPERII ANNO/ CLASSE IN AFRICAM MISSA/ PRIMO FELICI INDE INFELICI/ A TIBERIO NARIB9[us] MVTLAT9[is]/ MONASTERIO INCLVSVS/ A IVSTINIANO RESTITVTO/ CAPITE TRVNCATVS/ A·[nno] DCCV· [Născut la Constantinopol, de neam patrician, mai demult comandant al trupelor orientale, (a fost) eliberat dintr-o detenție de trei ani de către Iustinian și trimis la oaste spre a conduce Grecia; răvnind domnia (ce îi fusese) prezisă de călugări, a asmuțit plebea împotriva lui Iustinian, pe care l-a exilat la Cherson cu nasul tăiat. Dar, în al treilea an de domnie, după ce a trimis flota în Africa mai întâi cu noroc, apoi fără noroc (în bătălie), (a fost) închis într-o mănăstire de către Tiberius, cu nările mutilate. După ce Iustinianus a fost readus, (a fost) decapitat în anul 705]; [Born in Constantinople, of patrician⁶³ birth, earlier having been a commander of

⁶¹ The city of Chersonessus, in Crimea.

⁶² MP in ligature.

⁶³ No connection with the patricians from early Rome; this means only that the family benefited from the rank of *patricius*, that is, they were associate members of the imperial family.

the Oriental troops, he (was) released from a three-year detention by Justinian and sent in to the army to lead Greece; coveting the reign (which had been) predicted to him by monks, he incited the rabble against Justinian, whom he exiled to Cherson with his nose cut. But in the third year of his reign, after sending the fleet to Africa with luck at first, then with no luck (in battle), (he was) imprisoned in a monastery by Tiberius, with his nostrils maimed. After Justinianus was brought back, (he was) beheaded in 705];

152. Medal dedicated to Emperor Tiberius III (698-705). D=32,1 mm; m.c.; VF; inv. N 60608;

Obv.: C· PR· CAES·; encircling legend: D·[ominus] N·[oster] FLAVI9[us] TIBERIVS III· PERPETV9[us] AVGVSTVS ⊕ *[Domnul nostru Flavius Tiberius al III-lea, perpetuu august]; [Our Lord Flavius Tiberius III, eternal august];* in the field: bust right of Tiberius III, wearing a radiate crown and a short beard;

Rev.: C· W·; in the field: ANTEA/ ABSIMARVS/ NVNCVPATVS/ A LEONTII CLASSE/ REBVS INFELICITER GESTIS/ REVERTERE NOLENTE/ A·[nno] 698· MENSE IVLIO CARTHAGINE/ IMPERATOR APPELLATVS/ INDE⁶⁴ CONSTANTINOPOLIN ADVECT9[us]/ VRBEM LEONTIVM QVE CEPIT/ ET NASO MVTLATVM/ DALMATIAE MONASTERIO INCLVSIT/ VARIA FORTVNA CVM SARACENIS PER DVCE DIMICANS/ A IVSTINIANO/ IMPERIVM RECIPIENTE/ CVM LEONTIO/ IVGVLATVR/ A·[nno] 705· *[Numit mai înainte Absimar, nevoind să se întoarcă de la flota lui Leontius pe care a condus-o în chip nefericit, (a fost) numit împărat în luna iulie din anul 698 la Carthagina; de aici întors la Constantinopol, a capturat orașul și pe Leontius și l-a închis cu nasul mutilat într-o mănăstire dalmată; purtând război cu sorți schimbători cu sarazinii prin comandanții (săi), a fost ucis împreună cu Leontius de Justinianus care relua domnia în anul 705]; [Called Absimar before,⁶⁵ unwilling to return from Leontius's fleet which he led in unhappy manner, (he was) appointed emperor in July of the year 698 in Carthage; returning from here to Constantinople, he captured the city and Leontius and imprisoned him with a mutilated nose in a Dalmatian monastery; waging war with changing fate against the Saracens through (his) commanders, he was killed along with Leontius by Justinianus, whose sumed his reign in the year 705];*

153. Medal dedicated to Emperor Philippicus (711-713). D=32,5 mm; m.c.; VF; inv. N 60609;

Obv.: C· W· C· PR· CAES· F· GOTHA; encircling legend: D·[ominus] N·[oster] PHILIPPICVS PERPETV9[us] AVGVSTVS ⊕ *[Domnul nostru Philippicus, perpetuu august]; [Our Lord Philippicus, eternal august];* in the field: bust front of Philippicus, wearing a hoop crown, long curly hair, a moustache and a short beard; in his right hand, he is holding an orb on which a dove is resting;

⁶⁴ ND in ligature.

⁶⁵ Correctly: APSIMARVS.

Rev.: C· W·; in the field: NATVS/ CONSTANTINOPOLI/ PATRE NICEPHORO/ PATRITIO⁶⁶/ BARDANES PRIVS DICTVS/ OB VISVM IMPERII AVGVIRVM/ A TIBERIO IMP·[eratore] A·[nno] 701·/ IN CEPHALONIAM RELEGATVS/ A DVCIBVS CLASSIS QVAM/ IVSTINIANVS IMP·[erator] AD DELENDOS/ CHERSONITARVM⁶⁷ PARVVLOS MISIT/ DIRVM FACINVS EXECRANTIBVS/ A·[nno] 711· IMPERATOR APPELLATVS/ PHILIPPICI NOMEN ACCEPIT/ IVSTINIANVM TRVCIDAVIT/ MONOTHELETAS REDVXIT/ BVLGARIS MAGNA AFFECT₉[us] CLADE/ A CONIVRATIS A·[nno] 713·/ PRIDIE PENTECOSTES/ OCVLIS PRIVATVS· [Născut la Constantinopol din tatăl patriciul Nicephorus, numit mai întâi Bardanes, (a fost) exilat la Cephalaria de către împăratul Tiberius în anul 701 din cauza unui vis prevestitor de domnie. (A fost) numit împărat în anul 711 de către comandanții flotei pe care împăratul Iustinianus a trimis-o spre a-i nimici pe copiii celor din Cherson, dezgustați de (această) cumplită ticăloșie; a primit numele de Philippicus, l-a măcelărit pe Iustinianus, i-a rechemat pe monotheliți; lovit de bulgari cu un mare măcel, (a fost) lipsit de ochi de către conjurați în anul 713 cu o zi înainte de Rusali]; [Born in Constantinople from the patrician father Nicephorus, called Bardanes at first, (he was) exiled to Cephalaria by Emperor Tiberius in the year 701 because of anonymous dream of reigning. (He was) appointed emperor in 711 by the commanders of the fleet that Iustinianus had sent to destroyt he children of those in Cherson, disgusted by (this) sheer act of villainy; he received the name of Philippicus, slaughtered Iustinianus, recalled the Monothelites; struck with great slaughter by the Bulgarians, (he was) deprived of his eyes by conspirators in the year 713, one day before Pentecost];

154. Medal dedicated to Emperor Anastasius II Artemios (713-715). D=32,1 mm; m.c.; VF; inv. N 60611;

Obv.: C· PR· CÆS·; encircling legend: D·[ominus] N·[oster] ANASTASIVS II· PERPETVVS AVGVSTVS ⊕ [Domnul nostru Anastasiu al II-lea, perpetuu august]; [Our Lord Anastasius II, eternal august]; in the field: bust frontof Anastasius II, wearing a helmet adorned with pearls and surmounted by two winglets; in his left hand, he is holding a shield, and in his right hand, a spear on his shoulder;

Rev.: C· W·; in the field: PRIVS/ ARTEMIVS/ APPELLATVS/ ET PROTOS SECRETARIVS/ PHILIPPICI IMPERATORIS/ HOC EXACTO A·[nno] 714· IMPERATOR/ DIE PENTECOSTES CORONAT₉[us]/ MOX CONIVRATOS/ QVI PHILIPPICVM EXCAECARANT/ EFFOSSIS ITERVM OCVLIS/ IN EXILIVM MISIT⁶⁸/ MONOTHELETAS EIECIT/ SED ALTERO IMPERII ANNO/ CEDENS THEODOSIO AEMVLO/ A CLASSE SEDITIOSA ELECTO/ A·[nno] 716· MONACH₉[us] FACTVS ET/ THESSALONICAM⁶⁹

⁶⁶ Correctly: PATRICIO.

⁶⁷ HE in ligature.

⁶⁸ Correctly: MISSIT.

⁶⁹ HE in ligature.

RELEGAT9[us]/ A-[nno] 719· LEONEM⁷⁰ IMP.⁷¹[eratore] DEIE=/=CTVR9[us] CAPIT E PRI=/=VAT9[us] EST· *[Numit mai întâi Artemius și protosecretarius al împăratului Philippicus, după ce acesta a fost răsturnat în anul 714 (a fost) încoronat în ziua de Rusalii; curând după aceea i-a trimis în exil pe conjurații care îl orbiseră pe Philippicus, după ce, la rândul lor, li s-au scos ochii. I-a alungat pe monotheliți, dar în anul următor al domniei, retrăgându-se în fața rivalului Theodosius, ales (împărat) de flota răsculată, a fost făcut călugăr și exilat la Thessalonica în anul 716. În anul 719, voind să-l răstoarne pe împăratul Leon, a fost decapitate];* *[First called Artemius and protosecretarius of Emperor Philippicus, after the latter was overthrown in 714 (he was) crowned on the day of Pentecost; soon after wards, he sent in to exile the conspirators who had blinded Philippicus after they had, in their turn, their eyes removed. He drove away the Monothelites, but in the next year of his reign, retreating before the rival Theodosius, elected (emperor) by the insurgent fleet, he was made a monk and exiled to Thessalonica in the year 716. In 719, wanting to overthrow Emperor Leo, he was beheaded];*

155. Medal dedicated to Emperor Theodosius II (715-717). D=32,0 mm; m.c.; VF; inv. N 60610;

Obv.: **C· PR· CAES·**; encircling legend: **D-[ominus] N-[oster] THEODOSIVS III· PERPETV9[us] AVGVSTVS·** ☉ *[Domnul nostru Teodosiu al III-lea, perpetuu august];* *[Our Lord Theodosius III, eternal august];* in the field: bust right wearing a helmet adorned with pearls Theodosius II;

Rev.: **C· W·**; in the field: **NATVS/ ADRAMITTY/ OBSCVRIS PARENTIB9[us]/ TRIBVTORVM EXACTOR/ A CLASSE ANASTASII REBELLI/ INVIT9[us] AD IMPERIVM ADACT9[us]/ A-[nno] 716· SEX MENSIVM SPATIO/ CVM ANASTASIO DISCEPTANS/ THRACIA ET CONSTANTINOPOLI/ OCCVPATA ILLVD CAPESSIT/ SED [ante diem] VIII· KAL-[endas] APRIL[es] A-[nno] 717·/ LEONI SPONTE CESSIT/ CVMQVE FILIO TONSVS/ IN CLERICVM/ VITAE RELIQVVM/ IN OTIO/ TRANSEGIT·** *[Născut la Adramyttus din părinți de condiție modestă, perceptor al impozitelor (a fost) împins la domnie fără voie de flota răsculată a lui Anastasius în anul 716. După ce a tratat cu Anastasius vreme de șase luni și după ce Tracia și Constantinopole au fost ocupate, a dobândit (tronul); dar la 25 martie în anul 717 s-a retras de bună voie în favoarea lui Leon. Restul vieții si l-a petrecut în liniște ca membru al clerului, (fiind) tuns împreună cu fiul (său)];* *[Born at Adramyttus from parents of modest condition, a collector of taxes (he was) unwillingly pushed to reign by the insurgent fleet of Anastasius in the year 716. After he negotiated with Anastasius for six month sand after Thrace and Constantinople were occupied, he acquired (the throne); but on 25 March in the year 717 he withdrew voluntarily in favor of Leo. He spent the rest of his life quiet ly as a member of the clergy (receiving) a tonsure together with (his) son];*

⁷⁰ NE in ligature.

⁷¹ MP in ligature.

THE ISAURIAN DYNASTY

156. Medal dedicated to Emperor Leo III (717-741). D=32,1 mm; m.c.; VF; inv. N 60612;

Obv.: **C· W· F·C· PR· CÆS·**; encircling legend: **D·[ominus] N·[oster] LEO III· PERPETVVS AVGVSTVS** ☉ *[Domnul nostru Leon al III-lea, perpetuu august]; [Our Lord Leon III, eternal august];* in the field: bust front of Leo III, with curly hair covering his ears, a short beard and a moustache; he has arhomboid aureole above his head;

Rev.: **C· W·**; in the field: **NATVS/ IN ISAVRIA/ OBSCVRO GENERE/ A IVSTINIANO SPATHARI9[us]/ AB ANASTASIO DVX ORIENTIS/ FACTVS HVIVS PARTES AGENS/ A SARACENIS ET AMORIENSIB9[us]/ EXERCITVQVE IMPERATOR DICTVS/ THEODOSIO SPONTE CEDENTE/ A·[nno] 717· [ante diem] VIII· KAL·[endas] APRIL[es] CORONATVS/ SARACENOS CONSTANTINOPOLIN/ OBSIDENTES REPVLT/ AEMVLOS IMPERII SVPRESSIT/ A·[nno] 726· OB ICONOMACHIAM/ A PAPA EXCOMMVNICATVS/ IMPERIOQ·[ue] ITALIAE PRIVATVS/ FRVSTRA OBSISTENS/ EX INTERCVTE/ OBIIT XVIII· IVN·[ii]/ A·[nno] 741·** *[Născut în Isauria, dintr-un neam modest, (a fost) făcut **spatharius** de Iustinianus și cârmuitor al Orientului de către Anastasius. Pe când acționa în părțile acelea (a fost) proclamat împărat de către armată, de către sarazini și de către amorieni; în timp ce Theodosius se retrăgea de bună voie, (a fost) încoronat la 25 martie. I-a respins pe sarazinii care asediau Constantinopolul, i-a zdrobit pe rivalii la domnie; în anul 726 (a fost) excomunicat de papă din cauza disputei în jurul icoanelor și a pierdut domnia asupra Italiei, opunându-se zadarnic. A murit la 18 iunie în anul 741 de hidropizie]; [Born in Isauria, from a humble family, (he was) made **spatharius** by Iustinianus and ruler of the Orient by Anastasius. While he was active in those parts (he was) proclaimed emperor by the army, the Saracens and the Amorians⁷²; while Theodosius withdrew voluntarily, (he was) crowned on 25 March. He rejected the Saracens who besieged Constantinople, he crushed the rivals to the throne; in the year 726 (he was) excommunicated by the pope because of the dispute around the icons⁷³ and lost his reign over Italy, resisting this in vain. He died from dropsy on 18 June in the year 741];*

157. Medal dedicated to Emperor Constantine V Copronymus (741-775). D=32,1 mm; m.c.; VF; inv. N 60613;

Obv.: **C· PR· CÆS·**; encircling legend: **D·[ominus] N·[oster] CONSTANTINVS VI·⁷⁴ PERPET·[uus] AVGVST9[us]** ☉ *[Domnul nostru Constantinus al VI-lea, perpetuu august]; [Our Lord Constantinus IV, eternal august];* in the field: bust front of

⁷² The inhabitants of the province Amorion in Asia Minor.

⁷³ A reference to the conflict between the iconoclastic movement, triggered and sustained by the emperor in 726, and the worshipers of the icons.

⁷⁴ Correctly: V.

Constantine V, wearing a trilobed hoop crown, adorned with pearls and surmounted by a cross; he is holding a cross-bearing orb in his right hand;

Rev.: C· W·; in the field: PATRE/ LEONE IMP·[eratore]/ MATRE MARIA/ NATVS A·[nno] DCCXIX·/ ET SEQENTI⁷⁵ A PATRE/ IMPERATOR DICTVS/ HOC DEFVNCTO ARTABASDVM/ AEMVLVM AFFINEMQ·[ue] OPPRESSIT/ IMAGINIBVS MONACHISQVE/ INFENSOR/ MVLTORVM IN SE ODIA CONCIVIT/ COPRONYMI COGNOMINE INFAMIS/ SIVE OB POLLVTVM FONTEM SACRV⁷⁶/ SIVE ALIAS OB CAVSAS/ SARACENOS BVLGAROS SLAVOS/ HVNNOS FELICITER PROFLIGAVIT/ IN CASTRO STRONGYLO/ PROPE CONSTANTINOPOLIN/ DEFVNCTVS/ XIV· SEPT·[embris] A·[nno] 775· *[Născut în anul 719 din tatăl împăratul Leon și mama Maria și numit împărat de către tatăl (său) în (anul) următor. După ce acesta a murit, l-a suprimat pe rivalul și ruda sa, Artavazd. Mai dușmănos față de icoane și față de călugări, a pricinuit ura multor apropiati; a primit porecla batjocoritoare de Copronimul, s-a aliat cu slavii bulgari dar a fost învins de huni în castrul de la Strongylo, aproape de Constantinopol; a murit la 14 septembrie în anul 775]; [Born in the year 719 from the father Emperor Leo and the mother Maria and appointed emperor by (his) father in the following (year). After the latter died, he suppressed his rival and relative, Artavazd. More inimical towards icons and towards the monks, heat tracted the hate of many close collaborators; he received the mockingnickname of Copronymus, allied himself with the Bulgarian Slavs, but was defeated by the Huns in the castrum from Strongylo, near Constantinople; he died on 14 September in the year 775];*

158. Medal dedicated to Emperor Leo IV the Khazar (775-780). D=32,1 mm; m.c.; VF; inv. N 60614;

Obv.: C· W· CVM PRIVIL· CÆSAR·; encircling legend: D·[ominus] N·[oster] FLAVIVS LEO. IV· PERPETV9[us] AVGVSTVS ⊕ *[Domnul nostru Flavius Leon al IV-lea, perpetuu august]; [Our Lord Flavius Leon IV, eternal august];* in the field: bust front of Leo IV, wearing a hoop crown haped like a helmet, adorned with pearls and surmounted by a cross;

Rev.: C· W·; in the field: NATVS/ XXV· IAN·[uarii] A·[nno] 750·/ PATRE⁷⁷ CONSTANTINO IMP·⁷⁸[eratore]/ MATRE IRENE/ CHAZARORV⁷⁹[m] CHAGANI FILIA⁸⁰/ VNDE IS CHAZARVS AVDIIT/ A·[nno] 751· PENTECOSTES FESTO/ A PATRIARCHA CORONATVS/ PATRI DEFVNCTO SVCCEDENS/ MONACHIS ET IMAGINIB9[us] AEQVIOR/ IACOBITAS SYROS TRANSTVLIT⁸¹/ SARACENOS BIS

⁷⁵ Correctly: SEQVENTI.

⁷⁶ VM in ligature.

⁷⁷ TR in ligature.

⁷⁸ MP in ligature.

⁷⁹ The letter v has a horizontal line above.

⁸⁰ The letter I is placed inside the letter L.

⁸¹ IT in ligature.

REVLIT/ SED A[nn]ō IMPERII QVINTO/ ICONOMACH9[us] FACTVS/ FEBRI ARDENTI DECES-/SIT 8· SEPT-[embris] 780· [*Născut la 25 ianuarie în anul 750, din tatăl împăratul Constantin și mama Irina, fiica chaganului cazarilor, de unde i s-a spus **Chazarul**, (a fost) încoronat de către patriarh în anul 751 de sărbătoarea de Rusalii; urmând (la tron) tatălui decedat (a fost) mai drept față de călugări și de icoane; i-a mutat pe iacobiții sirieni, i-a respins de două ori pe sarazini, dar, în al cincelea an de domnie, a devenit iconoclast; a murit de o febră mistuitoare la 8 septembrie 780*]; [*Born on 25 January in the year 750, from the father Emperor Constantine and the mother Irene, the daughter of the Khazars' Chagan, which is why he was called the Khazar, (he was) crowned by the patriarch in the year 751 on the feast of Pentecost; following the deceased father (to the throne) (he was) more just to the monks and the icons; he moved the Syrian Jacobites, he rejected the Saracens twice, but in the fifth year of his reign, he became an iconoclast; he died of a consuming fever on 8 September 780*];

159. Medal dedicated to Emperor Constantine VI (780-790/790-797). D=32,1 mm; m.c.; VF; inv. N 60615;

Obv.: **C· W· F· CVM PR· CAESAR·**; encircling legend: **D·[ominus] N·[oster] FL·[avius] CONSTANTIN9[us] VII·⁸² PERPET·[uus] AVGVSTVS** ⊕ [*Domnul nostru Flavius Constantinus al VII-lea, perpetuu august*]; [*Our Lord Constantinus VII, eternal august*]; in the field: bust front of Constantine VII, wearing a hoop crown adorned with pearls and surmounted by a cross; he is holding a cross-bearing orb in his right hand;

Rev.: **C· W·**; in the field: **NATVS/ XIV· IAN·[uarii] A[nn]o 771-/ PATRE LEONE IMP-[eratore]/ MATRE IRENE/ CORONATVS A[nn]o 776-/ PATRE EXTINCTO IMPERIVM/ CVM⁸³ MATRE ADMINISTRAVIT/ CONIVRATIS DELETIS/ IMAGINVM CVLTV RESTITVTO/ ADVERS9[us] SARACENOS ET⁸⁴ PVLGAROS⁸⁵/ VARIO MARTE PVGNAVIT/ CAROLI MAGNI AMICITIAM/ CVM MATRE AMBIIT/ MATRIS INSIDIIS OB VARIAS SIMVL TATES/ TANDEM EXCAECAT9[us]/ M·[ense] AVG·[usto] 797·** [*Născut la 14 ianuarie în anul 771, din tatăl împăratul Leon și mama Irina, (a fost) încoronat în anul 776; după ce tatăl s-a stins, a cârmuit împărăția împreună cu mama (sa). După ce complotiștii au fost nimiciți și cultul icoanelor a fost restaurat, a luptat cu sorți schimbători împotriva sarazinilor și bulgarilor; împreună cu mama (sa) a căutat prietenia lui Carol cel Mare. Din cauza diferitelor invidii, prin uneltirile mamei (sale), (a fost), în cele din urmă, orbit în luna august din anul 797*]; [*Born on 14 January in the year 771, from the father Emperor Leo and the mother Irene, (he was) crowned in the year 776; after his father died, he governed the empire with (his) mother. After the plotters were destroyed and the cult of icons was restored,*

⁸² Correctly: **VI**.

⁸³ **VM** in ligature.

⁸⁴ **TE** in ligature.

⁸⁵ Correctly: **BVLGAROS**. The letter s is placed inside the letter O.

he fought with changing fate against the Saracens and the Bulgarians; together with (his) mother, he sought the friendship of Charles the Great. Because of different jealousies, through the wiles of (his) mother, he (was), eventually, blinded in the month of August in the year 797];

THE WESTERN ROMAN EMPIRE

THE CAROLINGIAN DYNASTY

160. Medal dedicated to Emperor Charles the Great (768-814). D=32,4 mm; m.c.; VF; inv. N 60622;

Obv.: encircling legend: **CAROLVS ★ MAGNVS ★ IMPERATOR ★ AVGVSTVS ★** [*Carol cel Mare, împărat august*]; [*Charles the Great, august emperor*]; in the field: laureate bust right Charles the Great wearing a short beard and a moustache;

Rev.: **16 C W 95**; in the field: **TOTVM/ FRANCORVM REGNVN/ OBTINUIT A·[nno] C·[hristi] DCCLXXI/ DESIDERIO LONGOB·[ardorum] REGE/ VICTO A·[nno] C·[hristi] DCCLXXIV/ PRINCIPATV·[m]⁸⁶ AC PATRICIATVM/ VRBIS ROMANAE ACCEPIT/ A· LEONE 3· PAPA· A·[nno] DCCCI·⁸⁷ ROMÆ/ CORONAT₉[us] ET⁸⁸ AB VNIVER·[so] POPVLO/ IMPERATOR AVGVSTVS/ SALVTATVS EST/ OBIIT SEPTVAGENARIVS/ A·[nno] C·[hristi] DCCCXIV/ [ante diem] V· CAL·[endas] FEBR·[uarias]** [*A obținut întregul regat al francilor în anul 771 de la Cristos; după ce a fost învins Desiderius, regele longobarzilor, a primit titlul de principe și cel de patrician al Romei; a fost încoronat împărat august de către papa Leon al III-lea la Roma în anul 801 și salutat de întregul popor; a murit septuagenar la 28 ianuarie în anul 814 de la Cristos*]; [*He obtained the entire kingdom of the Franks in the year 771 after Christ; after Desiderius, the King of the Lombards, was defeated, he received the title of prince and that of patrician of Rome; he was crowned as august emperor by Pope Leo III in Rome in the year 801 and welcomed by the whole people; he died as a septuagenarian on 28 January in the year 814 after Christ*];

161. Medal dedicated to Emperor Louis I the Pious. (814-840) D=32,2 mm; m.c.; VF; inv. N 60623;

Obv.: encircling legend: **HLVDVICVS PIVS IMPERATOR AVGVSTVS ★** [*Ludovic cel Pios, împărat august*]; [*Louis the Pious, august emperor*]; in the field: laureate bust right of Louis the Pious wearing a short beard and a moustache;

Rev.: **C W 1695**; in the field: **NATVS/ A·[nno] C·[hristi] DCCLXXVI/ PVER PENE⁸⁹ AQVITANIE/ PRINCIPATVM OBTINENS/ HISPANORVM TYRANNOS/ SVBIVGAVIT POST PATRIS/ CAROLI M·[agni] OBITVM/ AQVIS GRANI IMP·[erator]**

⁸⁶ V has a dash above it.

⁸⁷ Correctly: DCCC.

⁸⁸ TE in ligature.

⁸⁹ Correctly: PAENE.

SALVTAT₉[us]/ DIVERSAR[um] GENTIVM LEGATOS/ AVDIVIT PACEM CONFIRMANS/ HINC DACIS⁹⁰ ITALIS/ ET BRITONIBVS⁹¹ DOMITIS/ IMPERIVM IN FILIOS NI-/MIA VSVS INDVLGENTIA/ INCAVTE DIVISIT-/ A QVIBVS CAPT₉[us] PAVLOQ[ue]/ POST LIBERAT₉[us] OBIIT-/ A-[nno] C-[hristi] DCCCXL- ÆT-[ate] LXIV/ IMPER-[avit] XXVII-; [*Născut în anul 776 de la Cristos, primind principatul Aquitaniei aproape copil, i-a supus pe tiranii spaniolilor; după moartea lui Carol cel Mare, la Aachen (a fost) salutat ca împărat. I-a ascultat pe delegații diferitelor neamuri, confirmând pacea; apoi, după ce danezii, italienii și bretonii au fost supuși, a împărțit în chip imprudent Imperiul, având o generozitate exagerată față de fiii (săi), de către care (a fost) luat prizonier și eliberat puțin după aceea; a murit în anul 840 de la Cristos în vârstă de 64 (de ani) și o domnie de 27 (de ani));*] [*Born in the year 776 after Christ, receiving the principality of Aquitaine almost as a child, he subjected the Spaniards' tyrants; after the death of Charles the Great, in Aachen⁹² (he was) hailed as emperor. He listened to the delegates of the various nations, confirming peace; then, after the Danes, the Italians and the Bretons were subjected, he split the Empire in an imprudent manner, with an exaggerated generosity to (his) children, by whom (he was) taken prisoner and released shortly there after; he died in the year 840 after Christ at the age of 64 (years) and a reign of 27 (years));*]

162. Medal dedicated to Emperor Lothar I (843-855). D=32,3 mm; m.c.; F; inv. N 60624;

Obv.: encircling legend: **HLOTHARIVS IMPERATOR AVGVSTVS** ☉ [*Lothar, împărat august*]; [*Lothar, august emperor*]; in the field: laureate bust right of Lothar I, wearing a short beard and a moustache;

Rev.: **16· C· W· 95·**; in the field: **NATVS/ CIR-[ca] A-[nnum] C-[hristi] DCCXCV-/ PATRE LVDOVIC[us] PIO/ MATRE HIRMGARDE/ A-[nno] DCCCVII· A PATRE/ AQVIS GRANI CORONATVS/ MALAM IPSI POSTEA GRATIAM/ RETVLIT ET PERPETVA FERE CV⁹³[m]/ FRATRIB₉[us] DISSIDIA BELLAQ[ue] FOVIT⁹⁴/ RARO MELIORA PROBANS/ DETERRIMA QVAEQ[ue] SEQVVT⁹[us]/ TANDEM/ INFORTVNIOVRVM PERTAES⁹[us] SEX/ ANTE OBITVM DIEBVS IN-/ MONASTERIVM PRVMIENSE/ SECESSIT DEFVNCT⁹[us]/ A-[nno] C-[hristi] DCCCLV-/ [ante diem] III· KAL-[endas] OCT-[obres]** [*Născut pe la anul 795 de la Cristos din tatăl Ludovic cel Pios și mama Ermengarda, (a fost) încoronat de tatăl său la Aachen în anul 807; apoi i-a arătat acestuia o rea recunoștință și a întreținut cu frații (săi) conflicte și războaie aproape permanente; rareori încuviințând (lucrurile) cele mai bune, a fost alături de toate*]

⁹⁰ It refers to the Danes. In the premodern age, Denmark (*Dania*) was often confused with *Dacia*. The confusion was triggered by the writings of Jordanes, who considered the Getae the ancestors of the Goths. The Danish kings boasted thus an illustrious ancestry from the classical world.

⁹¹ *Britones* refers to the Celts in the Bretagne Peninsula (France), which formed its own state in this period.

⁹² In medieval Latin: **AQVAE GRANII**.

⁹³ V has a dash above it.

⁹⁴ **VIT** in ligature.

cele mai rele; apoi, dezgustat de nenorociri, cu șase zile înainte de moarte s-a retras în mănăstirea Prumiensis; mort la 29 septembrie în anul 855 de la Cristos]; [Born in the year 795 after Christ, from the father Louis the Pious and the mother Ermengarda, (he was) crowned by his father at Aachen in 807; then he showed the latter poorgratitude and main tained almost permanent conflicts and wars against (his) brothers; rarely consenting to the best of (things), he was on the side of the worst; then, disgusted by afflictions, six days before his death, he retired to the monastery of Prumiensis; he was died on 29 September in the year 855 after Christ];

163. Medal dedicated to Emperor Louis II (of the Franks) (843-876). D=32,3 mm; m.c.; G; inv. N 60625;

Obv.: **C· PR· CÆS·**; encircling legend: **HLVDVICVS II· IMPERATOR AVGVST₉[us]** ☉ *[Ludovic al II-lea, împărat august]; [Louis II, august emperor]; in the field: laureate bust right of LouisII;*

Rev.: **C· W·**; in the field: **NATVS/ CIRCA AN·[num] 822-/ PATRE LOTHARIO IMP·[eratore]/ MATRE HERMINGARDA/ A·[nno] 844· LONGOBARDORVM REX/ A SERGIO⁹⁵ PAPA CORONATVS/ SOLAM ITALIAM TENVIT/ LICET A PATRE A·[nno] 849-/ IMPERI¹ CONSORS FACTVS/ ET SEQVENTI A LEONE⁹⁶ PAPA/ IMPERATOR VNCTVS/ A·[nno] 851: SARACENOS ITALIAM/ VASTANTES VICIT ET FVGAVIT/ CVM BASILIO GRAECORVM IMP·[eratore]/ DE IMPERATORIS NOMINE/ CO[nt]ROVERSIAM HABVIT/ MAVRIS DENVO PVLSIS/ ADALG[isu]M???? REBELLEM/ REST[it]VIT/ DEFVN[c]T₉[us] MED[i]OLANI/ A·[nno] C·[hristi] 875· *[Născut pe la anul 822 din tatăl împăratul Lothar și mama Ermengarda, rege al lombarzilor în anul 844, încoronat de papa Sergius, a deținut numai Italia, chiar dacă a fost făcut părtaș la Imperiu de către tatăl (său) în anul 849 și (a fost) uns împărat de papa Leon în anul următor; în anul 851 i-a învins și i-a alungat pe sarazinii care devastau Italia; a avut o controversă cu Vasile, împăratul grecilor, cu privire la titlul imperial; după ce maurii au fost respinși a doua oară, l-a readus (la curte) pe răzvrătitul Adalgisus; mort la Milano în anul 875 de la Cristos]; [Born in the year 822, from the father Emperor Lothar and the mother Ermengarda, King of the Lombards in the year 844, crowned by Pope Sergius, he owned only Italy, even though he was made partaker of the Empire by (his) father in the year 849 and (was) anointed emperor by Pope Leon the next year; in the 851, he defeated and drove away the Saracens, who had devastated Italy; he had a controversy with Basil, Emperor of the Greeks,⁹⁷ on the imperial title; after the Moors were fought off the second time, he brought back (to court) the rebel Adalgisus; he died in Milan in the year 875 after Christ];***

⁹⁵ Pope Sergius II (844-847).

⁹⁶ Pope Leon IV (847-855).

⁹⁷ The Byzantine Emperor Basil I Macedonian (867-886).

164. Medal dedicated to Emperor Charles II the Bald (876-877). D=32,4 mm; m.c.;

VF; inv. N 60626;

Obv.: **C· PR· CÆS·**; encircling legend: **CAROLVS II· ROMANORVM IMPERATOR AVGVSTVS** ⊕ [*Carol al II-lea, împărat roman, august*]; [*Charles II, Roman, august emperor*]; in the field: laureate bust front of Charles II, slightly turned to the right, wearing a moustache;

Rev.: **C· W·**; in the field: **NATVS/ AN·[no] DCCCXXIII·/ FRANCOF·[orti] AD MOENVN·/ PATRE LVDOV·[ico] PIO IMP·[eratore]/ MATRE IVDITHA/ A CALVITIE COGNOMINAT9[us]/ IN DIVISIONE FRATERNA/ A·[nno] 840· FRANCIAM SORTITVS/ VARIAS ADVERSITATES/ SIBIMET CONCILIAVIT/ AVDITA LVDOVICI II· IMP·[eratoris] MORTE/ ROMAM ADVOLANS/ IMPERIVM POTIVS EMIT/ QVAM ELECTIONE ACCEPIT/ A PAPA⁹⁸ CORONATVS A·[nno] 876·/ GRAECVM SIBI HABITVM SVMSIT/ A·[nno] 877· ADVERSVS SARACENOS/ A PAPA REVOCATVS/ OB CAROLOMANNI ADVENTVM/ IN GALLIAM REVERSVR9[us]/ MEDICI IVDAEI FRAVDE/ VENENO⁹⁹ EXTINCT9[us]/ A·[nno] 877·**

[Născut în anul 823 la Frankfurt pe Main din tatăl împăratul Ludovic cel Pios și mama Iudita, poreclit "Pleșuvul," prin împărțeala între frați din anul 840 a primit la sorți Francia. A împăcat diferite dușmăanii împotriva sa; după ce s-a auzit de moartea împăratului Ludovic al II-lea, venind în goană la Roma, mai degrabă a cumpărat domnia decât a primit-o prin alegere; (a fost) încoronat de papă în anul 876; a adoptat veșmântul grecesc; în anul 877, rechemat de papă împotriva sarazinilor, voind să se întoarcă în Gallia din cauza venirii lui Carloman, (a fost) ucis cu otravă prin vicleșugul unui medic evreu în anul 877]; [Born in the year 823 in Frankfurt am Main from the father Emperor Louis the Pious and the mother Judith, nicknamed the "Bald," through the division between brothers from the year 840 he received Francia as his lots. He reconciled various enmities against him; after news was heard of the death of Emperor Louis II, rushing to Rome, he purchased rather than received the reign through election; (he was) crowned by the pope in the year 876; he adopted the Greek garb¹⁰⁰; in the year 877, recalled by the pope against the Saracens, wishing to return to Gaul because of the coming of Carloman, (he was) killed with poison through the ruse of a Jewish physician in 877];

165. Medal dedicated to the Roman King Louis III. D=31,9 mm; m.c.; VF; inv. N 60616; reminted;

Obv.: **C· WERMVTH· F· C· P· CÆ·**; encircling legend: **LVDOVICVS III· ROMANORVM REX AVGVSTVS** ⊕ [*Ludovic al III-lea, rege al romanilor, august*]; [*Louis III, King of the Romans, august*]; in the field: bust front of Louis III, wearing a circlet with five fleurons, a short beard and a moustache;

Rev.: in the field: **FILIVS/ CAROLI CALVI/ EX HIRMINTRVDE/ BALBVS DICTVS/ OB LINGVAE TARDITATEM/ PATRE DEFVNCTO/ FRANCIAE REGNVN/ ITALIAEQVE IMPERIVM/ VARIIS FACTIONIBVS TVRBATVM/ SVSCEPIT A IOANNE PAPA/ IN**

⁹⁸ Pope John VIII (872-882).

⁹⁹ NE in ligature.

¹⁰⁰ Byzantine.

GALLIAM PROFVGO/ TRECIS A[nn]o 878· CORONATVS/ SED NIHIL GESSIT MEMORABILE/ IN BERNARDVM MARCHIONEM/ DENIQUE MOTVRVS/ VENENO PERIIT/ COMPENDII/ [ante diem] IV· ID·[us] APRIL·[es]/ A[nn]o 879· *[Fiul lui Carol cel Pleșuv (născut) din Hermintruda, zis “Bâlbâitul” din pricina încetinelii limbii, după ce tatăl său a murit a luat regatul Franciei și împărăția Italiei ce era tulburată de diferite grupări rivale; (a fost) încoronat în anul 878 la Trecis de către papa Ioan, fugăr în Gallia, dar nu a săvârșit nimic demn de luat în seamă; apoi, pornit împotriva marchizului Bernard, pe drum a pierit de otrăvă la 10 aprilie în anul 879]; [The son of Charles the Bald (born) from Hermintruda, called the “Stammerer” because of the slowness of his speech, after his father died, he took of the Kingdom of Francia and the Empire of Italy which was disturbed by different rival factions; (he was) crowned in 878 at Trecis¹⁰¹ by Pope John,¹⁰² a fugitive in Gaul, but did not commit anything worthy of attention; then, turning against Marquis Bernard, he died poisoned on the road on 10 April in the year 879];*

166. Medal dedicated to Emperor Charles III the Fat (884 – 887). D=32,1 mm; m.c.; VF; inv. N 60618;

Obv.: C· PR· CÆS·; encircling legend: **CAROLVS III· ROMANORVM IMPERATOR AVGVSTVS** ☉ *[Carol al III-lea, împărat roman, august]; [Charles III, Roman, august emperor];* in the field: laureate bust right of Charles III;

Rev.: in the field: PATRE/ LVDOVICO/ GERMANIAE REGE/ MATRE EMMA/ A CORPORE OBESO/ CRASSVS COGNOMINATVS/ SVB PATRE BELLIS ADSVETVS/ MAVROS A[nn]o 877· ITALIA EXPVLIT/ HINC MORTVO LVDOVICO BALBO/ TAM FRANCIAE REGNVN SVSCEPIT/ QVAM¹⁰³ IMPERATOR¹⁰⁴ A[nn]o 880· A PAPA CORONAT[us]/ DEFVNCTIS FRATRIBVS SVIS/ CAROLOMANNO ET LVDOVICO/ ITALIAE GERMANIAEQ[ue] REGNIS AVCT[us]¹⁰⁵/ SED A FORTVNA MOX DESERTVS/ ADVERS[us] NORMANNOS INFELIX/ IN RICHARDAM CONIVGEM CRVDELIS/ IMPERIO REGNISQVE PRIVATVS/ IN EXTREMA INOPIA/ DECESSIT/ XII· IANVAR·[ii]/ A[nn]o 888· *[(Născut din) tatăl Ludovic, rege în Germania, și mama Emma, obez la trup, (a fost) poreclit “cel Gros.” Sub tatăl său s-a obișnuit cu războaiele; în anul 877 i-a alungat pe mauri din Italia. Apoi, după ce Ludovic cel Bâlbâit a murit, a primit atât regatul Franciei cât și (a fost) încoronat împărat de papă în anul 880; după ce frații săi, Carloman și Ludovic, au murit, și-a adăugat regatele Italiei și Germaniei. Dar apoi, părăsit de noroc, fără succes împotriva normanzilor, crud față de soția Richarda, (a fost) lipsit de domnie și de regate; a murit în cea mai mare sărăcie la 12 ianuarie în anul 888]; [(Born from) the father Louis, king in Germany, and the mother Emma, obese in body, (he was) nicknamed “the Fat.” Under his father, he became used towards; in the year 877 he drove the*

¹⁰¹ Probably Troyes.

¹⁰² Pope John VIII (872-882).

¹⁰³ VA in ligature.

¹⁰⁴ MP in ligature.

¹⁰⁵ AV in ligature.

Moors away from Italy. Then, after Louis the Stammerer died, he both received the Kingdom of Francia and (was) crowned emperor by the pope¹⁰⁶ in the year 880; after his brothers, Carloman and Loui, died, he added the Kingdoms of Italy and Germany. But then, left by luck, unsuccessful against the Normans, cruel to his wife Richard, (he was) deprived of his reign and kingdoms¹⁰⁷; he died in the greatest poverty on 12 January in the year 888];

167. Medal dedicated to Emperor Arnulf of Carinthia (887-899, Duke of Bavaria and Governor of Carinthia from 880). D=32,2 mm; m.c.; VF; inv. N 60617;

Obv.: C· PR· CÆS·; encircling legend: ARNVLPHVS IMPERATOR AVGVSTVS
⊗ [Arnulf, împărat august]; [Arnulf, august emperor]; in the field: laureate bust right of Arnulf;

Rev.: C· W·; in the field: FILIVS/ NATVRALIS/ CAROLOMANNI/ BAVARIAE REGIS/ EX LITOVINDA/ REB9[us] EORTITER¹⁰⁸ GESTIS/ CAROLO CRASSO DEPOSITO/ A·[nno] 887· GERMANIÆ REX ELECTVS/ ADVERSVS MORAVOS SLAVOS/ NORMANNOS FELIX/ IN ITALIAM FACTIONIB9[us] DEDITAM/ A FORMOSO PAPA¹⁰⁹ A·[nno] 894· VOCATVS/ ROMA CAPTA IMPERATOR CORONAT9[us]/ FIRMIANVM OBSIDENS/ VENENO CORRVPVS/ GERMANIAM REPETIT/ PHTHIRIASI MISERE/ EXTINCTVS/ OETINGAE/ XXIX· NOVEMB·[ris]/ A·[nno] 899· [Fiul natural al lui Carloman, rege al Bavariei, (născut) din Litovinda, comportându-se cu vitejie, după ce Carol cel Gros a fost depus, (a fost) ales rege al Germaniei în anul 887. (A fost) norocos împotriva moravilor, slavilor, normanzilor; chemat în Italia, căzută pradă facțiunilor, de către papa Formosus în anul 894, (a fost) încoronat împărat după ce a luat Roma; pe când asedia Firmianum, măcinat de otrăvă, s-a reîntors în Germania. S-a stins în chip demn de milă de ftizie la Oettingen în 29 noiembrie în anul 899]; [The natural son of Carloman, King of Bavaria, (born) from Litovinda, be having bravely, after Charles the Fat was deposed, (he was) elected King of Germany in the year 887. (He was) lucky against the Moravians, the Slavs, the Normans; called to Italy, fallen prey to factions, by Pope Formosus in 894, (he was) crowned emperor after taking Rome; while besieging Firmianum,¹¹⁰ consumed by poison, he returned to Germany. He died in a pitiful way from phthisis in Oettingen on 29 November in the year 899];

168. Medal dedicated to Emperor Louis IV the Child (900-911). D=32,1 mm; m.c.; VF; inv. N 60619;

Obv.: C· P· CÆS·; encircling legend: LVDOVICVS IV· IMPERATOR AVGVST9[us]
⊗ [Ludovic al IV-lea, împărat august]; [Louis IV, august emperor]; in the field: bust right of Louis IV, wearing a diadem;

¹⁰⁶ The same Pope John VIII (see *supra*).

¹⁰⁷ Following the general rebellion of the nobility in Germany, he was deposed by the Diet of Tribur in 887.

¹⁰⁸ Correctly: FORTITER.

¹⁰⁹ 891-896.

¹¹⁰ Probably Formia (Italy).

Rev.: C· W·; in the field: FILIVS/ ARNVLPHI IMP·[eratoris]/ MATRE IVTA/ PATRI MORIENTI/ SEPTENNIS SVCCEDENS/ VLTIMVS E MASCVLV/ CAROLI MAGNI PROSAPIA/ FORCHEIMII IN REGEM ELECT₉[us]/ HATTONI ARCHIEPISC·[opo] MOGVNT·[iaci]/ OTTONIQVE· SAXONIAE DVCI/ TVTELA A PRINCIPIB₉[us] COMMISSA/ HVNGAROS GERMANIAM VASTANTES/ SINISTRA FORTVNA AGGRESS₉[us]/ ADELBERTVM COMITEM/ ASTV HATTONIS DECEPTVM/ CAPITE TRVNCAVIT/ MOERORE TANDEM/ CONFECTVS/ OBIIT/ XXI· DECEM[bris]/ A·[nno] 911· *[Fiul împăratului Arnulf, din mama Jutta, succedându-i tatălui muribund la vârsta de șapte ani, (fiind) ultimul din spița masculină a lui Carol cel Mare, (a fost) ales rege la Forcheim; tutela (a fost) încredințată de principii lui Hatto arhiepiscop de Mainz, și lui Otto duce de Saxonia. Pe când îi ataca fără noroc pe ungurii care devastau Germania, înșelat de viclenia lui Hatto, l-a decapitat pe contele Adalbert, apoi a murit la 21 decembrie în anul 911, mistuit de regret]; [The son of Emperor Arnulf, from the mother Jutta, succeeding to his dying father at the age of seven, (being) the last of the male line of Charles the Great, (he was) elected king at Forcheim; his guardianship (was) entrusted by the princes to Hatto, Archbishop of Mainz, and to Otto, Duke of Saxony. While lucklessly attacking the Hungarians who devastated Germany, deceived by the cunning of Hatto, he beheaded Count Adalbert, then died on 21 December in the year 911, consumed by regret];*

THE (SALIAN) DYNASTY OF FRANCONIA

169. Medal dedicated to the Roman King Conrad the Younger I (911-918). D=31,8 mm; m.c.; VF; inv. N 60620;

Obv.: C· WERMVTH· F· C· PR· CAES·; encircling legend: CONRADVS I· ROMANORVM REX AVGVST₉[us] ⊗ *[Konrad I, rege al romanilor, august]; [Conrad I, King of the Romans, august];* in the field: bust front wearing a hoop crown;

Rev.: in the field: PATRE/ COGNOMINE/ FRANCORVM COMITE/ POST LVDOVICI IMP·[eratore] OBITVM/ OTTONIS SAXONVM DVCIS/ IMPERIVM RECVSANTIS CONSILIO/ ERITS LARIAE A·[nno] 911° PRINCIPIB₉[us]/ IN REGEM ELECTVS/A·[nno] SEQVENTI AB NATTONE MOGVNT[iacense]/ AQVIS GRANI CORONATVS/ HVNGAROS GERMANIAM VASTANTES/ FELICITER PROFLIGAVIT/ ANNITENTE INPRIMIS/ HENRICO SAXONIAE DVCE/ CVI PROPTEREA INFENSVS/ BELLVM MOVIT/ CONRADVS SED FRVSTRA/ QVA RE MORTI PROXIMVS/ EIDEM REGNI INSIGNIA MISIT¹¹¹/ QVEDLINBVRGI/ DEFVNCTVS/ XXIII· DECEMB·[ris]/ A·[nno] 919· *[(Purtând) numele tatălui (său), (fiind) conte de Franconia, după moartea împăratului Ludovic, la sfatul lui Otto duce de Saxonia, care a refuzat domnia, (a fost) ales rege de către principii la Fritzlar în anul 911 și în anul următor (a fost) încoronat la Aachen de către Hatto de Mainz. l-a zdrobit în chip norocos pe ungurii care devastau Germania, în primul rând prin strădania lui Henric, duce de*

¹¹¹ Correctly: MISSIT.

Saxonia; (fiind) mâniat tocmai de aceea, Konrad I-a atacat pe acesta, dar în zadar; din acest motiv, aflat pe moarte, i-a încredințat acestuia însemnele domniei. Mort la Quedlinburg în 23 decembrie în anul 919]; [(Wearing) (his) father's name, (being) Count of Franconia, after the death of Emperor Louis, on the advice of Otto Duke of Saxony, who refused the reign, (he was) elected king by the princes at Fritzlar in the year 911 and in the next year (he was) crowned at Aachen by Hatto of Mainz. He crushed in a fortunate manner the Hungarians who had devastated Germany, primarily through the efforts of Henry, Duke of Saxony; (being) angered because of that, Conrad attacked him, but in vain; for this reason, lying on his death bed, he entrusted the latter there insignia. He died at Quedlinburg on 23 December in the year 919];

THE SAXON DYNASTY (THE LIUDOLFINGS)

170. Medal dedicated to Emperor Henry I the Fowler (919-936, Duke of Saxony from 912). D=31,9 mm; m.c.; VF; inv. N 60621;

Obv.: **C· P· CAES·**; encircling legend: **HENRICVS I· IMPERATOR AVGVST₉[us]** ⊕ *[Henric I, împărat august]; [Henry I, august emperor]; in the field: bust right of Henry I, wearing a circlet, a short beard and a moustache;*

Rev.: **C· W·**; in the field: **NATVS/ CIRCA AN·[num] 876·/ PATRE OTTONE/ SAXONVM DVCE/ MATRE LIVTGARDA/ ARNVLPHI IMP·[eratoris] FILIA/ AVCVPIO INTENTVS ACCEPIT/ IMEPRII INSIGNIA A CONRADO/ IMPERATORE SIBI DESTINATA/ VNDE COGNOMEN EI HAESIT/ A·[nno] 919· IN REGEM A PRINCIPIBVS/ FRITSLARIAE ELECTVS/ VNCTIONEM & CORONAT·[ionem] RECUSAVIT¹¹²/ DVCE REBELLES DOMVIT/ LOTHARINGIAM IMPERIO REDDIDIT/ HVNNOS MAXIMA CLADE VICIT/ VRBES EXTRVI IVSSIT/ MARCHIAM BRANDENBVRG·[i]/ AC MISNENSEM¹¹³ CONSTITVIT/ TORNEAMENTORVM¹¹⁴ AVCTOR¹¹⁵/ OBIIT [ante diem] VI· NON·[as] IVL·[ias]/ A·[nno] 936·** *[Născut pe la anul 876, din tatăl Otto ducele Saxoniei și mama Liutgarda fiica împăratului Arnulf, pasionat de vânarea păsărilor, a luat însemnele domniei destinate lui de împăratul Konrad, de aceea i-a rămas această poreclă. (A fost) ales rege de către principii în anul 919 la Fritzlar; a refuzat ungerea și încoronarea, i-a potolit pe ducii rebeli, a redat Imperiului Lotharingia, i-a învins pe huni cu un mare măcel, a poruncit să se ridice orașe, a întemeiat mărcile de Brandenburg și de Meissen; autor al (multor) schimbări (?????), a murit la 2 iulie în anul 936;] [Born in around the year 876, from the father Otto Duke of Saxony and the mother Liutgarda, the daughter of King Arnulf, an enthusiast of bird hunting, he took the reign insignia Emperor Conrad*

¹¹² AV in ligature.

¹¹³ NE in ligature.

¹¹⁴ NE, ME and VM in ligature.

¹¹⁵ AV in ligature.

had destined him, which is why this nickname¹¹⁶ stuck. (He was) elected king by the princes in Fritzlar in the year 919; he refused anointment and coronation, he appeased the rebellious dukes, he restored Lotharingia to the Empire, defeated the Huns¹¹⁷ with a great slaughter, ordered that towns should be built, he founded the marks of Brandenburg and Meissen; the author of (many) changes (?????), he died on 2 July in the year 936];

171. Medal dedicated to Emperor Otto I the Great (936-973, Duke of Saxony as Otto II between 936-961, King of Italy from 951 and Roman emperor from 962). D=32,1 mm; m.c.; VF; inv. N 60633;

Obv.: C· PR· CÆS·; encircling legend: OTTO I· ROMANOR·[um] IMPERAT·[or] SEMP·[er] AVGVST[us] ⊕ *[Otto I, împărat roman, veșnic august]; [Otto I, Roman emperor, eternal august]; in the field: laureate bust right of Otto I, wearing a beard and a moustache;*

Rev.: C· W·; in the field: PATRE/ HENR·[ico] AVCPE/ MATRE MECHTILDE/ IMPERIVM¹¹⁸ A PATRE¹¹⁹ DESTINATVM¹²⁰/ [ante diem] VI· NON·[as] IVL·[ias] A·[nno] 936· SVSCEPIT/ CORONATVS AQVIS GRANI/ AB HILDEBERTO MOGVNTINO/ BELLA A CONSANGVINEIS ALIISQ·[ue]/ MOTA FELICITER CONFECIT/ ITALIAM A TYRANNIS LIBERATAM/ IMPERIO RESTITVIT/ ROMAE A·[nno] 962· A PAPA¹²¹ CORONAT[us]/ SLAVOS CHRISTO¹²² IMPERIOQ·[ue] SVBDENS¹²³/ ARCHIEPISC·[opatum] MAGDEB·[urgi] FVNDavit/ HVNGAROS AD INTERNECIONEM/ DELETOS GERMANIA EXPVLIT/ VARIIS IN RE SACRA & CIVILI/ SALVBRITE ORDINATIS/ DEFVNCTVS/ NONIS MAI·[is]/ A·[nno] 973· *[(Născut) din tatăl Henric Păsărarul și mama Mechtilde, a primit domnia (ce-i fusese) destinată de tată la 2 iulie în anul 936; (a fost) încoronat la Aachen de Hildebert de Mainz. A încheiat cu succes războaiele pornite de rudele sale și de alții, a redat împărăției Italia eliberată de tirani, (a fost) încoronat de papă la Roma în anul 962; supunându-i pe slavi lui Cristos și Imperiului, a întemeiat arhiepiscopia de Magdeburg; i-a alungat din Germania pe unguri, nimiciți aproape cu totul. După ce diferite treburile religioase și de stat le-a rânduit în chip sănătos, a murit la 7 mai în anul 973]; [(Born) from the father Henry the Fowler and the mother Mechtilde, he received the reign (that had been) destined to him by his father on 2 July in the year 936; (he was) crowned at Aachen by Hildebert of Mainz. He successfully ended the*

¹¹⁶ A pun on words in Latin: ACCIPERE = to take, to receive; ACCIPITER = bird of prey, thief; AVCVPIVM = bird hunting, waylaying; AVCVPIS, AVCEPS = bird hunter, fowler.

¹¹⁷ Hungarians; this was about their victory at Riade (933).

¹¹⁸ MP and VM in ligature.

¹¹⁹ TR in ligature.

¹²⁰ VM in ligature.

¹²¹ Pope John XII (955-964).

¹²² HR in ligature.

¹²³ DEN in ligature.

wars started by his relatives and by others,¹²⁴ he restored to the empire Italy releasing it from the tyrants, (he was) crowned by the Pope in Rome in the year 962; subjecting the Slavs to Christ and the Empire, he founded the Archdiocese of Magdeburg; he drove the Hungarians away from Germany, almost totally destroyed.¹²⁵ After soundly organising various religious and state affairs, died on 7 May in the year 973];

172. Medal dedicated to Emperor Otto II the Red (973-983, King of the Romans and King of Italy from 961, Roman emperor from 967). D=32,2 mm; m.c.; VF; inv. N 60635;

Obv.: C· P· CAES·; encircling legend: OTTO II· ROMANORVM IMPERATOR SEMPER AVGVST[us] ⊗ [Otto al II-lea, împărat roman, veșnic august]; [Otto II, Roman emperor, eternal august]; in the field: bust right of Otto II, wearing a diadem adorned with pearls;

Rev.: C· W·; in the field: NAT[us] A·[nno] 955·/ PATRE OTTONE IMP·[eratore]/ MATRE ADELHEIDE/ SEPTENNIS A PATRE/ CONSORS IMPERII FACTVS/ A·[nno] 961· AQVISGRANI/ A·[nno] 968· ROMAE CORONATVS¹²⁶/ POST PATREM SOL[us] IMPERANS/ HENRICVM PATRVELEM DOMVIT/ A·[nno] 978· A GALLIS PRIMO CIRCVMVENIT/ POENAS DEINDE SVMSIT/ LOTHARINGIAMQVE RECEPIT/ A·[nno] 982· VICT[us] IN APVLIA A GRAECIS/ CAPTVS A PIRATIS/ ASTV AVFVGIENS/ MAGNAM CLADEM SARACE-/NIS INTVLIT/ BENEVENTO DELETA¹²⁷/ ROMAM REVERS[us]/ OB[it]· A·[nno] 983· [Născut în anul 955, din tatăl împăratul Otto (și) mama Adelheide, la vârsta de șapte ani (a fost) făcut părtaș la domnie de tatăl (său); (a fost) încoronat la Aachen în anul 961 (și) la Roma în anul 968. Domnind singur după tatăl (său), l-a potolit pe vărul (său) Henric în anul 978. Mai întâi a fost înșelat de galli, i-a pedepsit apoi și a recăpătat Lotharingia. Învins în Apulia în anul 982, capturat de greci, scăpând de pirați prin vicleșug, le-a pricinuit sarazinilor un mare măcel. După ce Beneventul a fost distrus, întors la Roma, a murit în anul 983]; [Born in 955, from the father Emperor Otto (and) the mother Adelheid, at the age of seven (he was) made partaker of the reign by (his) father; (he was) crowned at Aachen in 961 (and) in Rome in the year 968. Reigning alone after (his) father, he appeased (his) cousin Henry in the year 978. First he was deceived by the Gauls,¹²⁸ then he punished them¹²⁹ and regained Lotharingia. Defeated in Apulia in the year 982,¹³⁰ captured by the Greeks,¹³¹ escaping the pirates through cunning, he

¹²⁴ The greatfeudals'rebellionsfromFranconiaand Lotharingia, repressedthroughthe victory fromAndernach (939).

¹²⁵ The Battle of Lechfeld (955).

¹²⁶ By Pope John XIII (965-972).

¹²⁷ Correctly **DELETO**.

¹²⁸ Frenchmen.

¹²⁹ The victory over Franței from 978.

¹³⁰ The battle against the Arabs from Crotona (982), which the emperor lost.

¹³¹ Byzantines.

caused a great slaughter to the Saracens.¹³² After Benevent was destroyed, returning to Rome, he died in the year 983];

173. Medal dedicated to Emperor Otto III (983-1002, King of Italy and Roman emperor from 996). D=32,1 mm; m.c.; VF; inv. N 60634;

Obv.: C· P· C·; encircling legend: OTTO III· ROMANORVM IMPERATOR AVGVST₉[us] ⊕ *[Otto al III-lea, împărat roman, august]; [Otto III, Roman emperor, eternal august]; in the field: bust front of Otto III, wearing a circlet; he is wearing an ermine mantle, an upward-pointing sword in his right hand and a cross-bearing orb in his left hand;*

Rev.: C· W·; in the field: PATRE/ OTTONE II· IMP·[eratore]/ MATRE THEOPHANIA/ VIX DVOS ANNOS NATVS/ A·[nno] 983· VERONAE REX ELECTVS/ AQVISGRANIA WILLIGISO MOGVNT·[iacense]/ NATALI CHRISTI CORONATVS/ AEMVLOS IMPERII OPPRESSIT/ RES ITALIAE DVBLAS¹³³ COMPOSUIT/ CORONATVS¹³⁴ ROMAE AN·[no] 996·/ CERTAMINA PAPARVM SVSTVLIT/ A·[nno] 1000· POLONIS REGEM DEDIT/ A·[nno] 1001· A ROMANIS CAPTVS/ SED ELAPSVS/ REPARATO EXERCITV/ VRBI APPROPINQVANS/ VENENO PERIIT/ IN ITINERE/ [ante diem] V· K[a]L·[endas] FEB·[ruarias]/ A·[nno] 1002· *[(Născut din) tatăl împăratul Otto al II-lea (și) mama Teofania, în vârstă de abia doi ani, în anul 983, (a fost) ales rege la Verona (și) încoronat la Aachen de Willigis de Mainz în ziua nașterii lui Christos. I-a zdrobit pe dușmanii imperiului, a potolit două conflicte în Italia; încoronat la Roma în anul 996, a avut de suferit din cauza disputelor papilor. În anul 1000 le-a dat un rege polonilor. Capturat de romani în anul 1000, a scăpat. După ce și-a refăcut armata, pe când se apropia de Urbe, a pierit pe drum de otrăvă la 28 ianuarie în anul 1002]; [(Born from) the father Emperor Ottoll (and) the mother Theophanu, barely two year sold in the year 983, (he was) elected king in Verona (and) crowned at Aachen by Willigis of Mainz on the day of the birth of Christ. He crushed the enemies of the empire, he quieted two conflicts in Italy' crowned at Rome in the year 996, he had to suffer from the disputes of the popes. In the year 1000, he gave a king to the Poles. Captured by the Romans in the year 1000, he escaped. After he rebuilt his army, while approaching the City, he died from poison on the road on 28 January in the year 1002];*

174. Medal dedicated to Emperor Henry II the Saint (1002-1024, Duke of Bavaria between 995-1004 and 1009-1018 and Roman emperor from 1041). D=31,8 mm; m.c.; VF; inv. N 60636;

Obv.: C· W· F· C· PR· CAES·; encircling legend: HENRICVS II· ROMANOR·[um] IMPERAT·[or] AVGVST₉·[us] ⊕ *[Henric al II-lea, împărat roman, august]; [Henry II, Roman emperor, august]; in the field: bust front of Henry II, wearing a circlet, long*

¹³² The Arabs in North Africa, who then ruled Sicily and some points in the south of Italy.

¹³³ Correctly DVPLAS.

¹³⁴ By Pope John XV (985-996) or by Pope Gregory V (996-999).

hair, a long beard and a moustache (the figure of a Christian ascetic); he has a cross on his right shoulder;

Rev.:in the field: NATVS/ AN-[nno] 972-/ PRID-[ie] NON-[as] MAI-[as]/ PATRE HENRICO II-/ DVCE BAVARIAE/ MATRE GISLA BVRGVNDA/ OTTONE III· DEFVNCTO/ A-[nno] 1002· A PRINCIPIBVS ELECTVS/ A WILLIGISO MOGVNT-[iacensi] CORONAT9[us]/ AEMVLOS IMPERII IN GERMANIA/ ITALIAQVE DEBELLAVIT/ BOHEMOS ET VANDALOS/ TRIBVTARIOS FECIT/ LOTHARINGIAM ET FLANDRIAM/ OCCVPAVIT/ SARACENOS ITALIA EXPVLIT/ VICTOR A-[nno] 1014· A PAPA¹³⁵ ROMAE/ CORONATVS/ EPISCOPATVM BAMBERGAE/ EREXIT· HVNGAROS/ CHRISTO ADDVXIT/ DEFVNCT9[us] 13· IVL-[ii]/ A-[nno] 1024· [Născut în anul 972 la 6 mai, din tatăl Henric al II-lea, duce al Bavariei, (și) mama Gisla de Burgundia, după ce a murit Otto al III-lea în anul 1002 (a fost) ales de principi și încoronat de Willigis de Mainz. I-a zdrobit pe dușmanii Imperiului în Germania și în Italia, i-a supus la tribut pe cehi și pe vandali, a ocupat Lotharingia și Flandra, pe sarazini i-a alungat din Italia. (Fiind) învingător, (a fost) încoronat de papă la Roma în anul 1014.A înființat episcopatul de Bamberg; pe unguri i-a adus la Christos. Mort la 13 iulie în anul 1024]; [Born in the year 972 on 6 May, from the father Henry II, Duke of Bavaria, (and) the mother Gisela of Burgundy, after Otto III died in 1002 (he was) elected by the princes and crowned by Willigis of Mainz. He crushed the enemies of the Empire in Germany and in Italy, he subjected the Czechs and the Vandals¹³⁶ to taxes, he occupied Lotharingia and Flanders, he drove the Saracens away from Italy. (Being) a victor, (he was) crowned by the pope¹³⁷ in Rome in the year 1014. He founded the Diocese of Bamberg; he brought the Hungarians to Christ. He dies on 13 July in the year 1024];

THE (SALIAN) DYNASTY OF FRANCONIA

175.Medal dedicated to Emperor Conrad II (1024 -1039, King of Italy from 1026 and Roman emperor from 1027). D=32,2 mm; m.c.; VF; inv. N 60638;

Obv.:C· P· C·; encircling legend: CONRADVS II· ROMANORVM IMPERATOR AVGVSTV5⊕[Conrad al II-lea, împărat roman, august]; [Conrad II, Roman emperor, august]; in the field: bust right of Conrad II, wearing an ancient crown, a beard and a moustache;

Rev.:in the field: PATRE/ HENRICO/ FRANCORVM DVCE/ MATRE ADELA/ AB ANTECESSORE HENRICO/ IMPERIO DESTINATVS/ NON OBSTANTE PRINCIPVM/ QVORVNDAM DISSENSV/ A-[nno] 1024· VIII· SEPT-[embris] MOGVNTIAE/ IN

¹³⁵ Pope Benedict VIII, lay name Theophylactus (1012-1024).

¹³⁶ It probably refers not to the Poles (the wars against Boleslaw the Brave between 1003-1005, 1007-1009, 1015-1018, concluded with the Peace of Bautzen, Poland recognising the suzerainty of the Empire), who are listed separately - see *infra* no. 176, but to the Normans in southern Italy, who were then fighting the Arabs and the Byzantines (their first settlement dates from 1016).

¹³⁷ Pope Benedict VIII (1012-1024).

GERMANIAE REGEM CORONAT9[us]/ AEMVLOS¹³⁸ SVBDITOSQVE DIFFICILES/ IN GERMANIA ITALIAQVE/ IN ORDINEM REDEGIT/ ROMAE A·[nno] 1027· IN DIE PASCHATIS/ A PAPA CORONATVS/ VANDALOS HVNGAROS POLONOS/ BOHEMOS BVRGVNDOS DEVICIT/ TRAIECTI PENTECOSTEN/ CELEBRATVRVS/ DECESSIT/ [ante diem] II· NON·[as] IVL·[ias]¹³⁹/ A·[nno] 1039· [(Născut din) tatăl Henric duce al franconilor (și din) mama Adela, (a fost) desemnat pentru domnie de predecessorul (său) Henric; fără a se ține seama de dezacordul unora dintre principi, (a fost) încoronat ca rege al Germaniei la Mainz în anul 1024. În Germania și în Italia i-a tratat cu dispreț pe rivali și pe supușii refractari.(A fost) încoronat de papă la Roma în anul 1027, în ziua de Paști. I-a învins pe vandali, pe unguri, pe poloni, pe cehi (și) pe burgunzi. A murit la 6 iulie în anul 1039, pe când se pregătea să sărbătorească Rusaliile]; [(Born from) the father Henry Duke of Franconia (and) the mother Adela, (he was) appointed to rule by (his) predecessor Henry; without taking into account the disapproval of some of the princes, (he was) crowned King of Germany at Mainz in 1024. In Germany and in Italy he treated the rivals and the intractable subjects with contempt. (He was) crowned by the Pope¹⁴⁰ in Rome in the year 1027, on Easter Day. He defeated the Vandals,¹⁴¹ the Hungarians, the Poles, the Czechs (and) the Burgundians. He died on 6 July in the year 1039, while he was preparing to celebrate Pentecost];

176. Medal dedicated to Emperor Henry III (1039-1056, King of the Romans from 1028, Duke of Swabia as Henry I between 1038-1045, Duke of Bavaria as Henry VI between 1027-1041, Duke of Carinthia between 1039-1047, King of Italy from 1039 and Roman emperor from 1046). D=32,1 mm; m.c.; VF; inv. N 60628;

Obv.:C· WERMVTH· f· GOTH· C· PR· CÆS·; encircling legend: HENRICVS III· ROMANORVM IMPERATOR AVGVST9[us] ⊕ [Henric al III-lea, împărat roman, august]; [Henry III, Roman emperor, august]; in the field: bust front of Henry III, wearing a hoop crown, a short beard, a moustache and a fur mantle;

Rev.:in the field: NATVS/ AN·[no] MXVII·/ XXVIII· NOVEMB·[ris]/ PATRE CONRADO IMP·[eratore]/ MATRE GISELA/ AN·[no] MXXVIII· FESTO PASCHATIS/ IN REGEM AQVISGRANI/ CORONATVS ET A PATRE/ ITALIAM PETITVRO RELICTVS/ EOQVE DEFVNCTO SOLVS IMPERANS/ REBELLES BOHEMOS HVNGAROS/ ET LOTHARINGIAE DVCEM DOMVIT/ CERTAMINA PAPARVM SVSTVLIT/ AN·[no] MXLVII· ROMAE CORONATVS/ SARACENOS ITALIA EIECIT/ HVNGAROS DENVO TVMVLTVANTES/ ALIQVOTIES PROFLIGAVIT/ CVNONEM BAVARVM¹⁴² AEMVLVM/ IN EXILIVM AD EOS MISIT/ DEFVNCTVS/ [ante diem] III· NON·[as] OCTOB·[res]/

¹³⁸ MV in ligature.

¹³⁹ An incorrect phrase; in literary Latin it would have been PRIDIE NONAS IVLIAS.

¹⁴⁰ Pope John al XIX-lea, lay name Romanus (1024-1032).

¹⁴¹ ???

¹⁴² VA and VM in ligature.

A-[nno] MLVI- *[Născut în anul 1017 la 28 noiembrie, din tatăl împăratul Conrad (și) mama Gisela, (a fost) încoronat ca rege la Aachen în anul 1028 de sărbătoarea Paștilor și lăsat (pe tron) de tatăl (său), care se îndrepta spre Italia. După ce acesta a murit, domnind singur, i-a potolit pe rebelii unguri (și) cehi și pe ducele Lotharingiei. A avut de îndurat conflictele dintre papi. În anul 1047 (a fost) încoronat la Roma. Pe sarazini i-a alungat din Italia, pe ungurii răsculați a doua oară i-a zdrobit de mai multe ori, pe rivalul Cuno de Bavaria l-a trimis la ei în exil. Mort în anul 1056 la 5 octombrie]; [Born on 28 November in the year 1017, from the father Emperor Conrad (and) the mother Gisela, (he was) crowned king in Aachen in 1028 at Easter celebrations and was allowed (on the throne) by (his) father, who was heading to Italy. After the latter died, ruling alone, he appeased the rebellious Hungarians (and) the Czechs and the Duke of Lotharingia. He had to endure the conflicts between the popes.¹⁴³ In the year 1047 (he was) crowned at Rome.¹⁴⁴ He drove the Saracens away from Italy, he crushed several times the Hungarians who had revolted the second time,¹⁴⁵ he sent his rival Cuno of Bavaria into exile. He died 5 October in the year 1056];*

177. Medal dedicated to Emperor Henry IV (1056-1105, King of the Romans from 1054, Duke of Bavaria as Henry VIII between 1055-1061, Roman emperor from 1084). D=32,2 mm; m.c.; VF; inv. N 60627;

Obv.: **C· PR· CÆS·**; encircling legend: **HENRICVS IV· ROMANOR·[um] IMPERATOR AVGVST[us]** ⊕ *[Henric al IV-lea, împărat roman, august]; [Henry IV, Roman emperor, august]; in the field: bust right of Henry IV, wearing a hoop crown, a beard and a moustache; he is holding a lily flower in his right hand and a sceptre in his left hand;*

Rev.: **C· W·**; in the field: **PATRE/ HENRICO III· IMP·[eratore]/ MATRE AGNETE/ SVB CVIVS TVTELA/ PATRE MORIENTE/ VIX QVINQVENNIS/ IMPERIO ADMOTV EST/ SED PER ANNONEM COLON·[iensem]/ ET ALBERTVM MAGDEBVRG·[iensem]/ AN·[no] MLXII· MATRI EREPTVS/ LICENTIVS AGERE SOLITVS/ MVLTORVM ODIA CONCITAVIT/ SAXONVM MAXIME/ ACCEDENTE ETIAM PAPAE ODIO/ A QVO EXCOMMVNICATVS/ ET AB ANTICAESARIBVS/ VARIIS VEXATVS/ GREGORIVM TAMEN VII·/ IN EXILIVM MISIT/ FILII TANDEM COGNOMINIS/ ARMIS SVCCVMBENS/ OBIIT LEODII/ [ante diem] VII· ID·[us] AVG·[ustas]/ A·[nno] MCVII·** *[(S-a născut din) tatăl împăratul Henric al III-lea (și) mama Agneta, sub tutela căreia, la moartea tatălui (său), în vârstă de abia cinci ani a fost admis la domnie. Dar (fiind) luat de la mama (lui) în anul 1062 de către Hanno de Köln și Albert de Magdeburg (și) obișnuit să se comporte nerușinat, și-a atras ura multora (și) mai ales pe a saxonilor, adăugându-se chiar și ura papei, de care (a fost) excomunicat și*

¹⁴³ In the synods from Pavia, Sutri and Rome (1046), the emperor demanded the dismissal of three competing popes and the election of the Bishop of Bamberg (Suidger) as Pope Clement II – see *supra*.

¹⁴⁴ In the synods from Pavia, Sutri and Rome (1046), the emperor demanded the dismissal of three competing popes and the election of the Bishop of Bamberg (Suidger) as Pope Clement II – see *supra*.

¹⁴⁵ The anti-Christian uprising led by Vatha (1046).

tulburat prin diferiți anti-împărați; totuși l-a trimis în exil pe Grigore al VII-lea. În cele din urmă, fiind învins de armele și de numele fiului (său), a murit la Lodi în 7 august în anul 1107]; [(He was born from) the father Emperor Henry III (and) the mother Agneta, under who setutelage, at his father's (his) death, when he was only five years old, he was admitted to the throne. But (being) taken from (his) mother in the year 1062 by Hanno of Cologne and Albert of Magdeburg (and) used to be having out rageously, he attracted the hatred of many (and) especially that of the Saxons, addingeven the hatred of the pope,¹⁴⁶ by whom he (was) excommunicated and troubled through variousanti-emperors¹⁴⁷; still, he sent Gregory VII in to exile.¹⁴⁸ Eventually, being defeated by the weapons and the name of (his) son, he died at Lodion 7 August in the year 1107];

178. Medal dedicated to Emperor Henry V (1105-1125, King of the Romans from 1099 and emperor from 1111). D=32, mm; m.c.; VF; inv. N 60629;

Obv.: **C· W·C· PR· CÆS·**; encircling legend: **HENRICVS V· ROMANORVM IMPERATOR AVGVSTVS** ⊕ *[Henric al V-lea, împărat roman, august]; [Henry V, Roman emperor, august];* in the field: bust right of Henry V, wearing a circlet, long hair, a long beard and a moustache;

Rev.: in the field: **PATRE/ HENRICO IV· IMP·[eratore]/ MATRE BERTHA/ A[nno] 1081· A PATRE/ IN ITALIAM ABEVNT/ REX GERMANIS DATVS/ A[nno] 1105· PATRI SE OPPOSVIT/ MVLTASQVE CLADES INTVLIT/ SED EO MORTVO SOLVS REGNANS/ ET A[nno] IIII· ROMAM PROFECTVS/ ORTA CLAM· SEDITIONE/ PAPAM CEPIT ET AD CEDENDAM/ EPISCOPATVVM¹⁴⁹ COLLATIONEM¹⁵⁰ ADEGIT¹⁵¹/ AB EODEM SOLENNITER CORONATVS/ AT VIX IN GERMANIAM REVERSVS/ AB ILLO EXCOMMVNICATVR/ A SAXONIB9[us] GRAVI¹⁵² BELLO AFFLICT9[us]/ CONEC A[nno] 1122· IVS INVESTITVRAE/ PONTIFICI CONCEDERET/ IMPROLIS DEFVNCTVS/ [ante diem] XII· KAL·[endas] IVN·[ias]/ A[nno] 1125**

[(Născut din) tatăl împăratul Henric al IV-lea (și) mama Bertha în anul 1081, (a fost) dat ca rege germanilor de către tatăl (său) care se ducea în Italia în anul 1105. S-a împotrivit tatălui (său) și i-a provocat multe înfrângeri; dar, după ce acesta a murit, domnind singur și dus la Roma în al patrulea an (de domnie), după ce s-a iscat pe neașteptate o răzmeriță, l-a capturat pe papă și l-a silit să-i cedeze acordarea episcopatelor. (A fost) încoronat solemn de același (papă), dar abia reîntors în Germania a fost excomunicat de acesta. (A fost) lovit de saxoni cu un greu război, în anul 1122, ca să cedeze papei dreptul de investitură. Mort fără urmași la 21 mai în

¹⁴⁶ Pope Alexandru II, lay name Anselmo da Baggio (1061-1073).

¹⁴⁷ The conflict for investiture, in which the excommunicated emperor had to make penitence at Canossa before the pope (1077).

¹⁴⁸ Pope 1073-1085.

¹⁴⁹ **VM** in ligature.

¹⁵⁰ **NE** in ligature.

¹⁵¹ **IT** in ligature.

¹⁵² **AV** in ligature.

anul 1125]; [(Born from) the father Emperor Henry IV (and) the mother Bertha in the year 1081, (he was) given to the Germans as a king by (his) father, who was going to Italy in 1105. He opposed (his) father and caused him many defeats; but after the latter died, ruling alone and gone to Rome in the fourth year (of his reign), after a riot broke out suddenly, he captured the pope¹⁵³ and forced the latter to cede him the granting of the episcopates.¹⁵⁴ (He was) solemnly crowned by the same (pope), but having only just returned to Germany, he was excommunicated by the latter.¹⁵⁵ (He was) hit hard by the Saxons with a heavy war, in the year 1122, to cede the pope the right of investiture.¹⁵⁶ He died without heir son 21 May in the year 1125];

THE SUPPLINBURG DYNASTY

179. Medal dedicated to Emperor Lothar II (1125-1137, Duke of Saxony between 1106 and 1127, Roman emperor from 1133). D=32,0 mm; m.c.; VF; inv. N 60631;

Obv.: **C· PR· CAES·**; encircling legend: **LOTHARIVS II· ROMANORVM IMPERATOR AVGVST[us]** ⊗ [*Lothar al II-lea, împărat roman, august*]; [*Lothar II, Roman emperor, august*]; in the field: bust right of Lothar II, wearing a circlet, a beard and a moustache;

Rev.: **C· W·**; in the field: **NATVS/ CIRCA A·[nnum] 1070·/ PATRE GEBHARDO/ COMITES¹⁵⁷ SVPLINBVRGICO/ MATRE HEDWIGA/ HENRICO V· IMP·[eratori] INFENSIS¹⁵⁸/ PRAECIPVVS SAXONVM DVCTOR/ EO MORTVO REX ELECTVS/ ET AQVISGRANI XIII· SEPT·[embris] A·[nno] 1125·/ AB ARCHIEPISC·[opo] COLON·[iensi] CORONATVS/ NON SINE MVLTIA CONTRADICTIONE/ CONRADI INPRIMIS SVEVIAE DVCIS/ CVI MVLTAE IN IMPERIO VRBES/ FAVENTES GRAVEM LOTHARII/ MANVM SENSERVNT/ HIC AVTEM A·[nno] 1132· ITALIAM PETENS/ DISSIDIA PAPARVM COMPOSVIT/ ROMAE CORONAM ACCEPIT/ ALIAQVE GLORIOSISSIME EGIT/ INDE POLONOS HVNGAROS/ DANOS SVBIECIT/ SED ALTERA VICE EX ITALIA/ REDIENS IN VILI PASTORIS/ CASA OBIIT III· X[decem]BR·[is]/ A·[nno] 1138·** [*Născut pe la anul 1070, (din) tatăl Gebhard conte de Supplinburg (și) mama Hedwiga, (a fost) principalul conducător al saxonilor dușmănoși față de Henric al V-lea. După ce acesta a murit, (a fost) ales rege și încoronat la Aachen de episcopul de Köln în anul 1125 la 13 septembrie, nu fără multă împotrivire, în primul rând (cea) a lui Konrad, ducele de Suabia, căruia multe*

¹⁵³ Pope Pascal II, lay name Ranieri de Pieda (1099-1118).

¹⁵⁴ This was the famous "right of investiture," that is the power to appoint bishops (an object of dispute among popes and emperors).

¹⁵⁵ The Lateran Council (1111) did not recognise the agreement concluded by the pope under the pressure of force.

¹⁵⁶ A compromise achieved in the same year, under the Concordat from Worms.

¹⁵⁷ Correctly: **COMITE**.

¹⁵⁸ Correctly: **INFENSORVM**.

orașe din Imperiu (fiindu-i) favorabile, au simțit mâna grea a lui Lothar. Acesta apoi, mergând în Italia în anul 1132, a împăcat neînțelegerile dintre papi, a primit coroana la Roma și a săvârșit și altele în chip prea glorios. După aceea i-a supus pe poloni, unguri (și) danezi. Dar, pe când se întorcea a doua oară din Italia, a murit în casa umilă a unui păstor la 3 decembrie în anul 1138]; [Born in around the year 1070, (from) the father Gebhard Count of Supplinburg (and) the mother Hedwig, (he was) the mainleader of the Saxons who were hostile to Henry V. After the latter died, (he was) elected king and crowned at Aachen by the Bishop of Cologne on 13 September in the year 1125, not without muchop position, first of all (that) of Conrad, Duke of Swabia, to whom many cities in the Empire (were) favour a bleand felt the heavy hand of Lothar. The latter then went to Italy in 1132, reconciled the disputes between the popes,¹⁵⁹ received the crown from Rome and committed others things in a most glorious manner. Then he subjected the Poles, the Hungarians (and) the Danesh. But, while he was returning to Italy the second time, he died in ashepherd's humble house on 3 December in the year 1138];

THE HOHENSTAUFEN DYNASTY

180. Medal dedicated to Emperor Conrad III (1138-1152, Duke of Franconia from 1115, Anti-King of the Romans between 1127 and 1135, King of Italy from 1128). D=32,3 mm; m.c.; VF; inv. N 60630;

Obv.: **C· PR· CAES·**; encircling legend: **CONRADVS III· ROMANORVM IMPERATOR AVGVST₉[us]** ⊕ *[Conrad al III-lea, împărat roman, august]; [Conrad III, Roman emperor, august]; in the field: bust front of Conrad III, wearing a circlet, a beard and a moustache;*

Rev.: **C· W·**; in the field: **PAT·[re] FRIDER·[ico]/ DVCE SVEVIAE/ MATRE AGNETE/ HENRICI IV· IMP·[eratoris] FILIA/ DVCATVM FRANCONIAE/ AB HENRICO V· ACCEPIT/ ACER LOTHARII AEMVLVS/ HOC DEFVNCTO CONFLVENTIAE/ IN REGEM ELECTVS/ ET AQVISGRANI CORONATVS/ ACREM ITIDEM AEMVLVM/ HENRICVM¹⁶⁰ SAXON·[iae] ET BAVAR·[iae]¹⁶¹ DVCEM/ LOTHARII GENERVM EXPERTVS/ VTROQVE DVCATV EXVIT/ ET GVELFVM EI₉[us] FRATREM VICIT/ A·[nno] 1146· PRIMAM EXPEDITIONEM/ IN TERRAM SANCTAM SVSCEPIT/ GRAECORVM ASTV IMPEDITAM VNDE REVERSVS TVRBAS/ IN ITALIA COMPOSITVR₉[us]/ REPENTE OBIIT/ 15· FEB·[uarii] A·[nno] 1152·** *[(Născut din) tatăl Frederic duce de Suabia (și) mama Agneta, fiica împăratului Henric al IV-lea, a căpătat ducatul Franconiei de la Henric al V-lea. Rival înverșunat al lui Lothar, după ce acesta a murit (a fost) ales rege la Confluentia (?) și încoronat la Aachen. Pe*

¹⁵⁹ This was a serious crisis in the leadership of the Church, when Pope Innocent II, lay name Gregorio Papareschi (1130-1143), and two antipopes (Anacleit II and Victor IV) functioned simultaneously. The situation was clarified only in 1138.

¹⁶⁰ **HE** in ligature.

¹⁶¹ **AV** in ligature.

Henric, duce de Saxonia și Bavaria, ginerele lui Lothar, dovedit ca un rival tot așa de aprig, l-a lipsit de ambele ducate și l-a învins pe Welf, fratele lui, în anul 1146. A întreprins prima campanie în Țara Sfântă, împiedicată de viclenia grecilor, de unde reîntors pentru a potoli tulburările din Italia, a murit pe neașteptate la 15 februarie în anul 1152]; [(Born from) the father Frederick Duke of Swabia (and) the mother Agneta, the daughter of Emperor Henry IV, he acquired the Duchy of Franconia from Henry V. A bitter rival of Lothar's, after the latter died, (he was) elected king at the Confluentia (?) and crowned in Aachen. He deprived Henry, Duke of Saxony and Bavaria, the son-in-law of Lothar, who had proved to be as fierce a rival, of both duchies and defeated Welf, his brother, in the year 1146.¹⁶² He conducted the first campaign in the Holy Land,¹⁶³ obstructed by the cunning of the Greeks, whence he returned to quell the unrest in Italy, dying suddenly on 15 February in the year 1152];

181. Medal dedicated to Emperor Frederick I Barbarossa I (1152-1190, Duke of Swabia as Frederick III between 1147-1152, emperor from 1155). D=32,1 mm; m.c.; VF; inv. N 60632;

Obv.: **C· PR· CAES·**; encircling legend: **FRIDERIC9[us] I· ROMANORVM IMPERATOR & SEMP·[er] AVGVST·[us]** ⊗ [*Frederic I, împărat roman și veșnic august*]; [*Frederick I, Roman emperor and eternal august*]; in the field: bust front of Frederick I, wearing a hoop crown, a beard and a moustache;

Rev.: **C· W·**; in the field: **NATVS/ WEIBLINGAE/ AN·[no] MCXXI·/ PAT·[re] FRIDER·[ico]/ SVAVIAE DVCE/ MATRE IVTTA BAVAR·[a]/ BARBAROSSA DICTVS/ A CRINIBVS BARBAQVE RVFA/ CONRADO IMP·[eratore] PATRVO MORTVO/ A·[nno] MCLII· FRANCOFVRTI ELECTVS/ AQVISGRANI CORONATVS/ PACEM GERMANIAE RESTITVIT/ BAVARIA HENRICO LEONI REDDITA/ AVSTRIA IN DVCATVM VERSA/ HINC A·[nno] 1155· AD ITALIAE TVRBAS/ COMPONENTAS PROPECTVS/ ROMAE A PAPA CORONATVR/ ET PRIMA ET¹⁶⁴ TRIBVS SEQVENTIBVS/ IN ITALIAM EXPEDITIONIBVS FELIX/ VLTIMA A·[nno] 1173· INFELIX/ PAPAE TAMEN RECONCILIATVS/ A·[nno] 1180· HENRICVM¹⁶⁵ LEONEM¹⁶⁶ DVCATI·/B9[us] PRIVAVIT· IN EXPEDITIONE¹⁶⁷/ SACRA A·[nno] 1189· FELIX·/ ELVMINE¹⁶⁸ SVFFOCATVS/ D·[ie] X· IVN·[ii] A·[nno] 1190· [*Născut la Weibling în anul 1121, (din) tatăl Frederic duce de Suabia (și) mama Jutta de Bavaria, zis Barbarossa datorită pletelor și bărbii roșcate, după ce a murit împăratul Konrad, unchiul său patern, (a fost) ales la Frankfurt și încoronat la Aachen în anul 1152. A redat pacea Germaniei, după ce Bavaria a fost înapoiață lui Henric Leul (și) Austria a fost preschimbată în ducat. Apoi, plecat în anul 1155 pentru a potoli***

¹⁶² The conflict with the great noble rebels, generically called the "Welfs."

¹⁶³ The Second Crusade (1147-1149).

¹⁶⁴ Correctly: **EX**.

¹⁶⁵ **HE** in ligature.

¹⁶⁶ **NE** in ligature.

¹⁶⁷ **NE** in ligature.

¹⁶⁸ Correctly: **FLVMINE**.

tulburările din Italia, a fost încoronat de papă la Roma și (a întreprins) cu succes prima din următoarele trei campanii în Italia, (dar) fără succes în ultima din anul 1173. În cele din urmă, reîmpăcat cu papa în anul 1180, l-a lipsit de ducate pe Henric Leul. Norocos în expediția sfântă din anul 1189, s-a înecat într-un râu în ziua de 10 iunie din anul 1190.]; [Born at Weibling in 1121, (from) the father Frederick Duke of Swabia (and) the mother Jutta of Bavaria, called Barbarossa because of his red dishlong hair and beard, after the death of Emperor Conrad, his paternal uncle, (he was) elected in Frankfurt crowned at Aachen in the year 1152. He restored peace to Germany after Bavaria was returned to Henry the Lion (and) Austria was turned into a duchy. Then, leaving in 1155 to quell the unrest in Italy, he was crowned by the pope¹⁶⁹ in Rome and successfully (conducted) the first of the next three campaigns to Italy, (but) without success the last one in the year 1173.¹⁷⁰ Eventually, reconciled with the pope¹⁷¹ in the year 1180, he deprived Henry the Lion of duchies. Lucky in the holy expedition from the year 1189,¹⁷² he drowned in a river on 10 June in the year 1190.];

182. Medal dedicated to Emperor Henry VI (1190-1197, King of the Romans from 1169 and emperor from 1191, King of Sicily from 1194). D=32,3 mm; m.c.; VF; inv. N 60642;

Obv.: **C·W·C·PR·CAES·A·1703·**; encircling legend: **HENRICVS VI·ROM·[anorum] IMP·[erator] REX SICILIAE ET SEMP·[er] AVG·[ustus]** ⊗ *[Henric al VI-lea, împărat roman, rege al Siciliei și veșnic august]; [Henry VI, Roman emperor, King of Sicily and eternal august];* in the field: bust right of Henry VI, wearing a hoop crown, long hair, a long beard and a moustache;

Rev.: in the field: **NAT[us] A·[nno] 1171·/ PATRE FRID·[erico] I· IMP·[eratore]/ MATRE BEATRICE/ PATRE VOLENTE ET CVRANTE/ A·[nno] 1184· MOGVNTIAE ELECTVS/ AQVISGRANI CORONATVS/ PATRE IN ITALIA VERSANTE/ GERMANIAE PREFVIT¹⁷³/ EO DEFVNCTO ROMAM PETENS/ HAC CONDITIO¹⁷⁴ A PAPA CORONATVR/ VT SICILIAE REGNV¹⁷⁵ DOTIS NOMINE¹⁷⁶/ ET¹⁷⁶ VXOREM CONSTANTIAM SIBI COMPETENS¹⁷⁷/ TANCREDO NOTHO ERIPERET/ ECCLESIAEQ·[ue] TRIBVTARIVM¹⁷⁸ REDDERET/ QVOD NEAPOLIN PRIMO**

¹⁶⁹ Pope Eugene III, lay name Bernardo Paganelli di Montemagno (1145-1153).

¹⁷⁰ An allusion to the wars against the Lombard League (1154-1183), avoiding mentioning the failures incurred.

¹⁷¹ Pope Alexander III, lay name Ronaldo Bandinelli (1159-1181); because of the conflicts with the Empire, four successive anti-Popes functioned for a while in parallel.

¹⁷² The Third Crusade (1189-1192).

¹⁷³ Correctly :**PRAEFVIT**.

¹⁷⁴ **NE** in ligature.

¹⁷⁵ **NE** in ligature.

¹⁷⁶ **ET** in ligature.

¹⁷⁷ **MP** in ligature.

¹⁷⁸ **VM** in ligature.

FRVSTRA/ DEIN[de] FELICITER OPPVGNANS/ SVMMA¹⁷⁹ SEVERITATE¹⁸⁰
 VINDICAVIT/ ASPER INDE COGNOMINAT9[us]/ POSTEA VOLVPTATIB9[us]
 D[e]D[i]T9[us]/ DYSENTERIA/ VEL VENENO¹⁸¹ PERIIT/ A·[nno] 1198· 8·
 7[Septem]BR·[is] [Născut în anul 1171, (din) tatăl împăratul Frederic I (și) mama
 Beatrice, în anul 1184 (a fost) ales la Mainz și încoronat la Aachen, tatăl (său) voind
 și îngrijindu-se (de asta). Plecând tatăl (său) în Italia, a stat în fruntea Germaniei.
 După ce acesta a murit, venind la Roma, a fost încoronat de papă cu această
 condiție, (anume) să-i smulgă bastardului Tancred pe soția Constantia cea lui
 cuvenită și regatul Siciliei, cu numele de dotă, și să-l facă tributur Bisericii; ceea ce,
 pe cînd asedia Neapole mai întâi zadarnic apoi cu succes, a și pretins cu toată
 strășnicia, de aici (fiind) numit "cel Aspru." Apoi, dedat plăcerilor, a pierit de
 dizenterie ori de otravă la 7 septembrie în anul 1198]; [Born in the year 1171, (from)
 the father Emperor Frederick I (and) the mother Beatrice, in the year 1184 (he was)
 elected in Mainz and crowned in Aachen, (his) father wanting and taking care of
 (this). He remained as the head of Germany because (his) father went to Italy. After
 the latter died, he came to Rome and was crowned by the pope¹⁸² on this condition,
 (namely) that he shoulds natch away from the bastard Tancred his wife Constantia
 who was due to him and the Kingdom of Sicily, by way of dowry, and make him
 tributary to the Church; which, while besieging Naples first in vain then successfully,
 he also demanded a damantly, hence (being) called "the Rough." Then, indulging in
 pleasures, he died of dysentery or poisonon 7 September in the year 1198];

183. Medal dedicated to Emperor Philip II (1198-1208, Bishop of Würzburg
 between 1190-1192, Duke of Spoleto from 1195, Duke of Swabia from 1196, in
 competition with Otto IV of Braunschweig). D=32,2 mm; m.c.; VF; inv. N 60644;
 Obv.: C· WERMUTH· F· C· PR· CÆS·; encircling legend: PHILIPPVS II· ROMANORVM
 REX ET SEMPER IMPERATOR AVGVST9[us] ⊗ [Filip al II-lea, rege al romanilor și
 împărat veșnic august]; [Philip II, King of the Romans and eternal august emperor];
 in the field: bust front of Philip II, wearing a hoop crown, a short beard, a
 moustache and a fur mantle;
 Rev.: C· W·; in the field: PATRE/ FRIDERICO I· IMP·[eratore]/ MATRE BEATRICE/
 FRATRE HENRICO IMP·[eratore]/ IN SICILIA VERSANTE/ GERMANIAM
 ADMINISTRANS/ EO DEFVNCTO REX MVLHVSAE/ 9. MAI[i]· 1199· A MVLTIS
 PROCERVVM¹⁸³ ELECT[us]/ ET AQVISGRANI CORONATVS/ AB INNOC[entio]· III·
 PAPA REIECTVS/ QVI EIM OTTONEM CAESAREM OPPOSVIT/ HVNC PHILIPPVS
 ALIQVOTIES/ VICTVM ET PROFLIGATVM/ GENERVM TANDEM
 SVCCESOREMQ[ue]/ RENVCIAVIT/ ET QVIETI SE TRADENS/ OTTONIS

¹⁷⁹ VM in ligature.

¹⁸⁰ TE in ligature.

¹⁸¹ NE in ligature.

¹⁸² Pope Celestine III, lay name Giacinto Bobone (1191-1198).

¹⁸³ VM in ligature.

WITTELSBACHII/ SICARIA MANV/ INTEREMTVS EST/ BAMBERGAE/ 21· IVN·[ii] A·[nno] 1208· [(Născut din) tatăl împăratul Frederic I (și) mama Beatrice, administrând Germania pe când fratele (său) împăratul Henric cutreiera Sicilia, după ce acesta a murit (a fost) ales rege de mulți dintre nobili la Mühlhausen în 9 mai 1199 și încoronat la Aachen, (dar a fost) respins de papa Inocențiu al III-lea, care i l-a opus pe caesarul Otto. Pe acesta, deși învins și alungat de mai multe ori, Filip l-a proclamat ginere și succesor, și încredințându-se liniștii a fost răpus de mâna ucigașă a lui Otto de Wittelsbach la Bamberg în anul 1208, la 21 iunie]; [(Born from) the father Emperor Frederick I (and) the mother Beatrice, managing Germany while (his) brother Emperor Henrys coured Sicily, after the latter died (he was) elected king by many of the nobles at Mühlhausen on 9 May 1199 and crowned at Aachen, (but was) rejected by Pope Innocent III,¹⁸⁴ who opposed to him Caesar¹⁸⁵ Otto. Although the latter was defeated and expelled several times, Philip proclaimed him son-in-law and successor, and entrusting him self to silence he was killed by Otto of Wittelsbach's murderous hand in Bamberg in the year 1208, on 21 June];

THE DYNASTY OF WELF

184. Medal dedicated to Emperor Otto IV (1198-1214/1218, Duke of Braunschweig from 1180, Duke of Aquitaine between 1196 and 1199, emperor from 1209, until 1208 in competition with Philip II). D=32,3 mm; m.c.; VF; inv. N 60645; Obv.:C· PR· CAES·; encircling legend: OTTO IV· ROMANORVM IMPERATOR ET SEMPER AVGVST⁹[us] ⊗[Otto al IV-lea, împărat roman și veșnic august]; [Otto IV, Roman emperor and eternal august]; in the field: laureate bust right of Otto IV; Rev.:in the field: PATRE/ HENRICO LEONE/ DVCE BAVAR·[iae] ET SAX·[oniae]/ MATRE MATHILDA ANGL·[iae]/ MORTVO HENRICO VI· IMP·[eratore]/ A PAVCIS IN REGEM ELECTVS/ ET E GALLIIS ACCERSITVS/ AQIVSGRANVM EXPVGNAVIT/ CORONAT⁹[us] IBI AN·[no] 1199· [ante diem] IV· NON·[as] IVL·[ias]/ PAPA ROMANVM¹⁸⁶ PRIMVM FAVENTE/ PHILIPPVMQVE EXCOMMVNICANTE/ POSTEA OTTO A PHILIPPO PROFLIGATVS/ ET A SVORVM PLERISQVE DESERTVS/ CVM PHILIPPO IN GRATIAM REDII/ DVCTA EIVS FILIA MARIA/ EO AVTEM AN·[no] 1208· OCCISO/ HALBERSTADII DENVO ELECTVS/ ANNO SEQUENTI ITALIAM PETIIT/ A PAPA QVIDEM CORONATVS/ SED PATRIMONIVM S·[ancti] PETRI/ OCCVPANS EXCOMMVNICAT⁹[us]/ GRAVIB⁹[us]Q·[ue]¹⁸⁷ TVRBIS IMPLICITVS/ HABZBVRGI PRIVAT⁹[us] VIXIT/ TANDEM ABSOLVTVS DECES·[sus] 19· M·[aii] 1218· [(Născut din) tatăl Henric Leul, duce al Bavariei și Saxoniei,(și) mama Mathilda de Anglia, după ce împăratul Henric al VI-lea a murit, a fost ales rege de

¹⁸⁴ A pope between the years 1198-1216 (lay name Lotario Count of Segni).

¹⁸⁵ In the ancient Roman sense of "prince heir apparent," "a prince from the imperial house."

¹⁸⁶ Correctly: ROMANO.

¹⁸⁷ AV in ligature.

puțini și, chemat din Franța, a cucerit Aachen. Aici (a fost) încoronat în anul 1199, la 2 iulie, papa de la Roma fiindu-i la început favorabil și excomunicându-l pe Filip. Apoi Otto, (fiind) alungat de Filip și părăsit de cei mai mulți dintre ai săi, după ce a reintrat în grația lui Filip luând-o de soție pe fiica lui Maria, și după ce acesta a fost ucis în anul 1208, (a fost) din nou ales la Halberstadt. În anul următor s-a dus în Italia (și a fost) încoronat chiar de papă; dar, ocupând patrimoniul Sfântului Petru, (a fost) excomunicat. Implicat și în grave dezordini, a trăit ca particular la Habsburg; iertat în cele din urmă, a murit la 19 mai 1218]; [(Born from) the father Henry the Lion, Duke of Bavaria and Saxony, (and) the mother Mathilda of England, after King Henry VI died, he was elected king by few and, being summoned from France, he conquered Aachen. Here he (was) crowned in the year 1199, on 2 July, the pope from Rome being at first favorable and excommunicating Philip. Then Otto, (being) chased a way by Philip and abandoned by most of his own, having regaining Philip's favour by marrying his daughter, Maria, and after he was killed in the year 1208, (he was) again elected at Halberstadt. The following year he went to Italy (and was) crowned by the pope himself;¹⁸⁸ but occupying the patrimony of Saint Peter,¹⁸⁹ (he was) excommunicated. Also involved in serious disorders, he lived as a private individual at Habsburg; forgiven eventually, he died on 19 May 1218];

THE DYNASTY OF HOHENSTAUFEN

185. Medal dedicated to Emperor Frederick II (1212-1250, King of Sicily as Frederick I from 1197, Duke of Swabia as Frederick VI between 1208-1235, King of Jerusalem between 1225/1229-1243; between 1220-1234, he ruled with his son Henry VII, who was in opposition between 1234-1237). D=32,0 mm; m.c.; VF; inv. N 60646;

Obv.: C· W· C· P· CÆS·; encircling legend: FRIDERIC[us] II· ROM·[anorum] IMP·[erator] S·[emper] AVG·[ustus] HIERVSAL·[ymi] & SICIL·[iae]¹⁹⁰ REX ⊗ [Frederick al II-lea, împărat roman, veșnic august, rege al Ierusalimului și al Siciliei]; [Frederick II, Roman emperor, eternal august, King of Jerusalem and of Sicily]; in the field: bust front of Frederick II, wearing a circlet, a short beard and a moustache;

Rev.: C· W·; in the field: PATRE/ HENRICO VI· IMP·[eratore]/ MATRE CONSTANTIA/ SICILIAE HAEREDE/ VIX TRIENNIS A·[nno] 1196·/ IMPERIO TAM A PATRE/ QVAM PRINCIPIB[us] DESTINATVS/ EXCOMMVNICATO OTTONE IV·/ AN·[no] 1212· IN GERMANIAM VENIT/ MAGNO OMNIVM APPLAVSV EXCEPT[us]/ ET A·[nno] 1219· A PAPA ROMAE CORONAT[us]/ SED HVIV[us] SVCCESORVMQ·[ue] GRATIA/ EXCIDENS TER EXCOMMVNICATVS/ MVLTIS¹⁹¹ DIFFICVLTATIB[us] IMPLICIT[us]/ A VARIIS ANTIQ[ue] CAESARIB[us]

¹⁸⁸ Pope Innocent III (see *supra*, ...).

¹⁸⁹ A generic name for the papal state; in this case, it was about the papal estates in southern Italy.

¹⁹⁰ I inside the letter C.

¹⁹¹ MV in ligature.

VEXAT9[us]/ MAXIMIS LICET REB9[us] IN ORIENTE/ ET OCCIDENTE GESTIS/ ERVDITIONEQ[ue] ILLVSTRIS/ VENENO SVBLATVS/ XIII· DECEMB[ris]/ A[·nno] 1250· [(Născut din) tatăl împăratul Henric al VI-lea (și) mama Constantia, moștenitoarea Siciliei, (a fost) destinat domniei atât de către tatăl (său) cât și de către principii în anul 1196, la vârsta de abia trei ani. După ce Otto al IV-lea a fost excomunicat, a venit în Germania în anul 1212, (fiind) primit de toți cu mare bucurie și încoronat la Roma de papă în anul 1219; dar, pierzând bunăvoința acestuia și a succesorilor lui, (a fost) excomunicat de trei ori. Încurcat în multe dificultăți, lovit de diferiți anti-împărați, chiar dacă a săvârșit fapte mărețe în Orient și în Occident, ilustru prin erudiție, (a fost) înlăturat cu otravă la 13 decembrie în anul 1250]; [(Born from) the father Emperor Henry VI (and) the mother Constantia, the heiress of Sicily, (he was) destined to thereign both by (his) father and by the princes in 1196, at the age of just three. After Otto IV was excommunicated, he came to Germany in 1212, (being) received by all with great joy¹⁹² and crowned in Rome by the pope¹⁹³ in 1219; but losing his and his successors' good will (he was) excommunicated three times. Tangled in many difficulties encountered various anti-emperors, even if great deeds committed in the Orient and the Occident, illustrious by erudition, (he was) removed by poison on 13 December in the year 1250];

186. Medal dedicated to King Henry Raspe (1246-1247, King of the Romans in opposition, Landgrave of Thuringia from 1242). D=32,0 mm; m.c.; VF; inv. N 60647;

Obv.: **C· PR· CAES·**; encircling legend: **HENRICVS ROMANORVM REX SEMPER AVGVSTVS** ⊕ [Henric, rege roman, veșnic august]; [Henry IV, Roman king, eternal august]; in the field: bust left of Henry Raspe, wearing a diadem with a cross in the front; Rev.: in the field: **MATRE¹⁹⁴/ HERMANNO/ THVR·[ingiae] LANDGR·[gravo]/ MATRE SOPHIA/ FRATRI LVDOVICO/ S·[anctae] ELISABETHAE MARITO/ IN LANDGRAVII THVRINGIAE/ COMITISQ[ue] SAXONIAE PALATINI/ DIGNITATE SVCCESIT/ A FRIDERICO II· IMPERATORE/ PROCVRATOR S·[ancti] IMPERII/ PER GERMANIAM CONSTITVTVS/ ILLOQVE A PAPA EXCOMMVNICATO/ REX GERMANIAE A[·nno] 1246· ELECTVS/ A MVLTIS¹⁹⁵ PROCERV¹⁹⁶ ECCLESISTICORV[m]¹⁹⁷/ VNDE¹⁹⁸ VVLGO REX SACERDOTVM¹⁹⁹ AVDIIT²⁰⁰/ CONRADVM²⁰¹ FRIDERICI FILIVM²⁰² FVDIT/ REVTLINGA VLMAQ[ue] FRVSTRA OB-**

¹⁹² Textually: "with great applause."

¹⁹³ Pope Honorius III, lay name Cencio Savelli (1216-1227).

¹⁹⁴ Correctly: **PATRE**.

¹⁹⁵ **MV** in ligature.

¹⁹⁶ **VM** in ligature.

¹⁹⁷ **V** with a dash above.

¹⁹⁸ **VND** in ligature.

¹⁹⁹ **VM** in ligature.

²⁰⁰ **AV** in ligature.

²⁰¹ **NR** and **VM** in ligature.

²⁰² **VM** in ligature.

/-SESSA TELO HOSTILI PETIT_o/ ISENACVM REPETIT/ DEFVNCTVS/ AN·[no] 1247·
[(Născut din) tatăl Hermann landgraf de Turingia (și) mama Sofia, i-a urmat fratelui (său) Ludovic, soțul sfintei Elisabeta, în demnitatea de landgraf de Turingia, comite de Saxonia (și cea) de palatin. (A fost) numit de împăratul Frederic al II-lea procurator al Sfântului Imperiu pentru Germania. După ce acesta a fost excomunicat de papă, în anul 1246 (a fost) ales rege al Germaniei de către mulți dintre fruntașii Bisericii, (fapt) pentru care i s-a spus în popor "regele popilor." L-a alungat pe Konrad, fiul lui Frederic; după ce a asediat zadarnic (orașele) Reutlingen și Ulm, lovit de o armă dușmană, s-a reîntors la Eisenach. Mort în anul 1247];
[(Born from) the father Hermann landgrave of Thuringia (and) the mother Sofia, he succeeded (his) brother Louis, the husband of holy Elizabeth, as Landgrave of Thuringia, comes of Saxony (and as) palatine. (He was) appointed by Emperor Frederick II procurator of the Holy Empire for Germany. After he was excommunicated by the pope,²⁰³ in 1246 (he was) elected king of Germany by many Church leaders, (which is) why the people called him the "king of the priests." He drove away Conrad, the son of Frederic; after vainly besieging (the towns) Reutlingen and Ulm, hit by an inimical weapon, he returned to Eisenach. He died in the year 1247];

187. Medal dedicated to Emperor Conrad IV (1250-1254, Duke of Swabia under the name of Conrad III from 1235, King of the Romans from 1237, King of Sicily under the name of Conrad I between 1250/1251-1254). D=32,4 mm; m.c.; VF; inv. N 60637;

Obv.: **C· PR· CÆS·**; encircling legend: **CONRADVS IV· ROMANOR·[um] REX SEMP·[er] AVG·[ustus] HIERVS·[olymi] & SICIL·[iae] REX** ⊕ *[Conrad al IV-lea, rege roman, veșnic august, rege al Ierusalimului și al Siciliei]; [Conrad IV, Roman king, eternal august, King of Jerusalem and of Sicily];* in the field: bust right of Conrad IV, wearing an ancient crown;

Rev.: **C· W·**; in the field: **PATRE/ FRIDERICO II· IMP·[eratore]/ MATRE IOLANTA/ HIEROSOLYMITANA/ PATRE VOLENTE/ A·[nno] 1236· IMPERIO DESTINAT₉[us]/ QVOS²⁰⁴ ILLO IN ITALIA VERSANTE/ A·[nno] 1234· ADMINISTRARE COEPIT/ ET CONTRA ANTI-CAESARES/ PATRI EXCOMMVNICATO²⁰⁵ OPPOSITOS/ DIFFICILLIME DEFENDIT/ MORTVO PATRE/ REGNA HAEREDITARIA/ SICILIAE NEAPOLISQVE/ OCCVPARE AGGRESVS/ A PAPA DIRIS DEVOT₉[us]/ ET MANFREDI FRATRIS/ NOTHI CVRA/ VENENO INTEREMT₉[us]/ A·[nno] 1254·** *[(Născut din) tatăl împăratul Frederic al II-lea (și) mama Iolanda de Ierusalim, din voința tatălui în anul 1236 (a fost) desemnat (succesor al) imperiului, pe care, acesta plecând în Italia, a început să-l administreze din anul 1234 și (pe care) l-a apărut cu mare dificultate împotriva anti-cesarilor ridicați contra părintelui excomunicat. După ce tatăl (său) a murit, s-a străduit să-și ocupe regatele ereditare, al Siciliei și al Neapolei; sortit*

²⁰³ Pope Innocent IV, lay name Sinibaldo Fieschi, Count of Lavagna (1243-1254).

²⁰⁴ Correctly: **QVOD**.

²⁰⁵ **VM** in ligature.

blestemelor de către papă și prin grija fratelui bastard Manfred a fost ucis cu otravă în anul 1254]; [(Born from) the father Emperor Frederick II (and) the mother Iolanda of Jerusalem, in 1236 (he was) appointed (successor to) the empire from his father's will, and, since the latter left for Italy, he began to administer it 1234 and defended (it) with great difficulty against the anti-Caesars risen against the excommunicated parent. After (his) father died, he endeavoured to occupy his hereditary kingdoms, of Sicily and Naples; doomed to curses by the pope²⁰⁶ and through the care of the bastard brother Manfred, he was killed by poison in the year 1254];

188. Medal dedicated to the Roman King William (1247-1256, Count of Holland as William II from 1234). D=32,4 mm; m.c.; VF; inv. N 60639;

Obv.: encircling legend: **WILHELMINVS ROMANORVM REX SEMPER AVGVSTVS** ☉ [Wilhelm, rege al romanilor, veșnic august]; [William, King of the Romans, eternal august]; in the field: bust front of William, wearing a hoop crown, long hair, a beard and a moustache; he is holding a sceptre in his right hand and the cross-bearing orb in his left hand;

Rev.: **C· W· C· PR· C·**; in the field: **PATRE/ FLORENTIO IV· / HOLLANDIAE COMITE/ MATRE MECHTILDE/ ANNO AETATIS VICESIMO/ CHRISTI 1249· MOGVNTIAE/ IN REGEM ELECTVS EST/ ADVERSVS FRIDERICVS²⁰⁷ IMP·[eratore]m/ ET AQVISGRANI CORONATVS/ PACEM VNIVERSALEM IN IMPERIO/ FRVSTRA CONSTITVIT/ FLANDRENSES SVBEGIT/ A CONRADO REGE VICTVS/ AD FRISIOS CONFVGIT/ A QVIB[us] PER INSIDIAS/ INTEREMTVS EST/ AN·[no] 1265·** [(Născut din) tatăl Florentius al IV-lea conte de Olanda (și) mama Mechtilda, în anul al douăzecilea al vârstei (și) 1249 de la Cristos a fost ales rege la Mainz împotriva împăratului Frederic și încoronat la Aachen. A poruncit fără efect pacea universală în Imperiu, i-a supus pe flamanzi; învins de regele Konrad, a fugit la frizoni, de care a fost ucis prin uneltiri în anul 1265]; [(Born from) the father Florentius IV Count of Holland (and) the mother Mechtilde, in the twentieth year of his age (and) 1249 after Christ, he was elected king in Mainz against Emperor Frederick and crowned in Aachen. He commanded universal peace Empire without much effect, and subjected the Flemish; defeated by King Konrad, he fled to the Frisians, by whom he was killed through plottings in 1265];

THE GREAT INTERREGNUM (1254-1273)

THE PLANTAGENET DYNASTY

189. Medal dedicated to Emperor Richard of Cornwall (1257-1272). D=32,5 mm; m.c.; VF; inv. N 60640;

Obv.: **C· WC· P· CÆS·**; encircling legend: **RICHARDVS· ROMANORVM REX· SEMPER· AVGVSTVS** ☉ [Richard, rege al romanilor, veșnic august]; [Richard, King of the

²⁰⁶ The same Innocent IV, see *supra*....

²⁰⁷ Correctly: **FRIDERICVM**.

Romans, eternal august]; in the field: bust front of Richard, wearing a hoop crown; he is holding the sceptre in his right hand and the cross-bearing orb in his left hand; Rev.: in the field: **PATRE/ IOANNE/ REGE ANGLIAE/ MATRE ISABELLA/ COMES CORNVBIAE DICTVS/ FRATR-[em] HENR-[icum] III- ANGL-[iae] REGEM/ DOMI FORISQ-[ue] EGREGIE IVVIT/ RES ADVERSVS FRANCOS ET/ SARACENOS STRENVE GESSIT/ FRANCOF-[urti] IDIB⁹.[us] IAN-[uariis] AN-[no] MCCLVII-/ A TRIB⁹.[us] ELECTORIB⁹.[us] MOG-[untino] COL-[oniensi] PAL-[atino]/ MAGNA AVRI VI REDEMPTIS/ IN ROMANORVM REGEM ELECT⁹.[us]/ AQVISGR-[ani] FESTO ASCENS-[ionis] CORONAT⁹.[us]/ AEMVLVM ALPHONSVM EXPERTVS/ VRBIB⁹.[us] AD RHENVVM IMPERAVIT/ SED THESA VRIS CONSVMTIS/ BASILEÆ AP PRINCIPIB⁹.[us] DESRT⁹[us]/ NONO REGNI ANNO/ IN²⁰⁸ PATRIAM TVRBATAM REDIIT/ IN OBSIDIONE QVDAM/ SAGGITA OCCIS⁹.[us]/ A-[nno] MCCLXXI- [(Născut din) tatăl Ioan, regele Angliei, (și) mama Isabella, (a fost) numit conte de Cornwall; pe fratele (său) Henric al III-lea regele Angliei l-a servit în chip strălucit în țară și peste hotare, a purtat cu energie lupte cu francezii și sarazinii. (A fost) ales rege al romanilor la Frankfurt în 13 ianuarie din anul 1257 de trei electori, (cei) de Mainz, Köln și Pfalz, cumpărați cu mult aur, (și a fost) încoronat la Aachen de sărbătoarea Înălțării (lui Cristos); după ce s-a luptat cu rivalul Alfons, a domnit asupra orașelor de pe Rin. Dar, după ce tezaurul a fost secătuit, părăsit de principi la Basel în al nouălea an de domnie, s-a întors în patria (sa) tulburată; (a fost) ucis într-un asediu, de o săgeată oarecare, în anul 1271]; [(Born from) the father John, King of England, (and) the mother Isabella, (he was) appointed Earl of Cornwall; he served (his) brother Henry III King of England brilliantly at home and abroad, he energetically fought battles against the French and the Saracens. (He was) elected King of the Romans in Frankfurt on 13 January of the year 1257 by three electors, (those) of Mainz, Cologne and Pfalz, bought with much gold, (and he was) crowned at Aachen on the feast of the Ascension (of Christ); after fighting the rival Alfons, he reigned over the cities on the Rhine. But after the treasury was exhausted, forsaken by the princes at Baselin the ninth year of his reign, he returned to (his) troubled homeland; (he was) killed in asiege, by some arrow, in 1271];**

THE DYNASTY OF BURGUNDIA

190. Medal dedicated to Emperor Alfonso the Wise (1257-1275, King of Castile and León as Alfonso X between 1252-1284). D=32,5 mm; m.c.; VF; inv. N 60641; Obv.: C· W·C· PR· CÆS·; encircling legend: ALPHONSVS ELECT⁹[us] ROMANOR·[um] REX· & REX CASTILLÆ·. LEGION· [Alfonso, ales rege al romanilor și rege al Castiliei și Leonului]; [Alfonso, elected King of the Romans and King of Castile and León]; in the field: bust front of Alfonso, wearing a hoop crown and holding the sceptre in his

²⁰⁸ IN in ligature.

right hand and the cross-bearing orb in his left hand; he has long hair, a moustache and an elegant mantle across his armour

Rev.: C· W·; in the field: PATRE/ FERDIN·[ando] III·/ REGE CASTILIAE/ MATRE BEATRICE/ PHILIPPI IMP·[eratoris] FILIA/ PRINCEPS ERVDITVS/ MAXIME IN ASTRONOMICIS/ VNDE TABVLAE ALPHONSINAE/ AB EO NOMEN ACCEPERVNT-/ A QVIBVSDAM ELECTORIBVS/ A·[nno] 1258· XXXI· MARTII ELECTVS/ LEGATOS SPLENDE HABVIT/ NVNQVAM TAMEN/ IN GERMANIAM VENIT/ SED BELLIS VNDIQVE/ AESTVANTIBVS TERRITVS/ IN HISPANIA MANSIT/ ET ANNO 1273· IMPERIOSE/ ABDICAVIT· *[(Născut din) tatăl Ferdinand al III-lea, regele Castiliei, (și) mama Beatrice, fiica împăratului Filip, (a fost) un prinț foarte învățat, mai ales în astronomie, pentru care (fapt) "Tablele Alfonsine" și-au primit numele de la el. Ales de câțiva electori la 31 martie în anul 1258, a guvernat (prin delegați) cu strălucire, dar nu a venit niciodată în Germania, ci înfricoșat de războaiele care izbucneau pretutindeni a rămas în Spania și în anul 1273 a abdicat cu dispreț]; [(Born from) the father Ferdinand III, King of Castile, (and) the mother Beatrice, the daughter of Enperor Philip, (he was) a very learned prince, especially in astronomy, for which (fact) the "Alfonsine tables" received their name after him. Elected by a few electors on 31 March in the year 1258, he governed (through delegates) brilliantly, but never came to Germany, and being terrified by the wars breaking out everywhere, he remained in Spain and in 1273 he abdicated in contempt];*

THE HABSBURG DYNASTY

191. Medal dedicated to Emperor Rudolph I (Count of Habsburg, Duke of Swabia between 1273-1282, Duke of Austria between 1274-1281/1282, Duke of Carinthia between 1276-1286). D=32,2 mm; m.c.; VF; inv. N 60648;

Obv.: encircling legend: RVDOLPHVS I· ROMANORVM IMPERATOR AVGVSTVS ★ *[Rudolf I, împărat roman august]; [Rudolph I, august Roman emperor];* in the field: bust front of Rudolph I, wearing a hoop crown, a long beard and a moustache; he is holding an upward-pointing sword in his right hand and the cross-bearing orb in his left hand;

Rev.: C· W·; in the field: NATVS/ MCCXVIII· K[a]L·[endis] MAII[s]·/ PATRE ALBER·[to] COMITE/ DE HABSVRG· IN AVLA/ FRIDER·[ici] II· IMPER·[atoris] EDVCAT₉[us]/ POST XII· ANNOR·[um] INTERREGNV/ IMPERIVM AB ASTRONOMO/ PRIDEM SIBI PRAEDICTVM/ ACCEPIT ELECT⁹·[us] FRANCOFVRTI/ [ante diem] III· KAL·[endas] OCTOBR·[es] MCCLXXIII·/ CORONAT₉[us] AQVISGRAN·[i] [ante diem] XII· K[a]L·[endas] NOV·[embres]/ HEROS TOGA SAGOQ·[ue] ILLVSTRIS/ XIV· PRAELIIS VICTOR EXTITIT/ VII· FILIOR·[um] TOTID·[em] FILIAR·[um] PATER²⁰⁹/ III· REGVM TOTID[em] ELECTOR·[um]/ SOCER OBIIT EID·[ibus] IVL·[iis]/ GERMERSHEIM·/ A·[nno] M· CC· XCI· *[Născut în 1218 la*

²⁰⁹ TE in ligature.

1 mai, din tatăl Albert conte de Habsburg, educat la curtea împăratului Frederic al II-lea, după doisprezece ani de interregnum a primit domnia ce îi fusese prezisă mai demult de un astronom; (a fost) ales la Frankfurt în 29 septembrie 1273 (și) încoronat la Aachen în 21 octombrie. Erou vestit în timp de pace și de război, s-a remarcat ca învingător în paisprezece bătălii; tată a șapte fii și tot atâtea fiice, socru a trei regi și tot atâtea electori, a murit la Gernersheim în 15 iulie din anul 1291]; [Born in 1218 on 1 May, from the father Albert Count of Habsburg, educated at the court of Emperor Frederick II, after twelve years of interregnum²¹⁰ he received the reign that had been predicted for him by an astronomer a while before; (he was) elected in Frankfurt on 29 September 1273, (and) crowned in Aachen on 21 October. A famous hero in times of peace and war,²¹¹ he stood out as a winner in fourteen battles; the father of seven sons and as many daughters, the father-in-law of three kings and as many electors, he died in Gernersheim on 15 July of the year 1291];

THE DYNASTY OF NASSAU

192. Medal dedicated to Emperor Adolf (1292-1298, Count of Nassau). D=32,1 mm; m.c.; F; inv. N 60643;

Obv.: encircling legend: **ADOLPHVS ROMANORVM REX SEMP·[er] AVG·[ustus]** ★[Adolf, rege al romanilor, veșnic august]; [Adolf, King of the Romans, eternal august]; in the field: bust front of Adolf, wearing a hoop crown, a beard and a moustache; he has an elegant mantle filled with embroidery;

Rev.: **C· W·**; in the field: **NATVS/ PATRE WALRAMO/ COMITE NASSOV·[iensis] IDSTEIN·[iensis]/ OB RES FORTITER GESTAS/ A PLERISQ·[ue] ELECTORIB⁹·[us]/ PRAE EVENTE MOGVNTINO/ A·[nno] MCCXCII· FRANCOF·[urti] ELECT⁹·[us]/ ET AQVISGRANI CORONATVS/ AVGEN^{bo} PRIMVM AC PACIFICANDO/ IMPERIO INTENTVS/ INDE PRINCIPVM CONSILIA SPERNENS/ AB ANGLIÆ REGE STIPENDIA ACCIPIENS/ THVRINGIAM ALSAIAMQ·[ae] VEXANS/ AB ELECTORIB⁹·[us] DESERTVS/ ET AB ALBERTO AEMVLO/ IN PRAELIO/ AD GELLINHEIM/ INTERFECTVS/ D·[ie] II· IVLII·/ A·[nno] MCCII·** [Născut din tatăl Wallram, conte de Nassau-Idstein, pentru vitejia arătată, în anul 1292 (a fost) ales de cei mai mulți electori, în frunte cu cel de Mainz, la Frankfurt și încoronat la Aachen. (A fost) la început atent să mărească și să pacifice Imperiul, apoi nepăsător la sfaturile principilor; primind stipendii de la regele Angliei (și) păgubind Turingia și Alsacia, (a fost) părăsit de electori și ucis de rivalul Albert în lupta de la Gellinheim, în ziua de 2 iulie din anul 1298]; [Born from the father Wallram, Count of Nassau-Idstein, for the bravery shown, in the year 1292 (he was) elected by most electors, led by that of Mainz, in Frankfurt and crowned in Aachen. (He was) at first careful to increase and pacify the Empire, then indifferent to the advice of princes; receiving stipends from the King of England (and) causing damage

²¹⁰ The so-called "Great interregnum" in the history of Germany (1254-1273).

²¹¹ Textually: "in toga (the civil Roman attire) and in sagum (the military Roman attire)."

to Thuringia and Alsace, (he was) left by the electors and killed in the battle of Gellinheim by the rival Albert, on 2 July of the year 1298];

THE HABSBURG DYNASTY

- 193. Medal dedicated to Emperor Albert (1298-1308, Duke of Austria and Styria from 1281/1282).** D=32,0 mm; m.c.; VF; inv. N 60649;
 Obv.: **C· WERMUTH· F· C· PR· CÆS·**; encircling legend: **ALBERTVS I· ROM·[anorum] REX SEM·[er] AVG·[ustus]** [*Albert, rege al romanilor, veșnic august*]; [*Albert, King of the Romans, eternal august*]; in the field: bust right of Albert, wearing a hoop crown;
 Rev.: **C· W·**; in the field: **ORTVS/ PATRE RVDOLPH·[o]/ PRIMO IMPER·[atore]/ MATRE ANNA COMIT·[issa]/ DE HOHENBERG· A·[nno] C·[hristi] 1252·/ AVSTRIACAS DITIONES/ A·[nno] 1282· ACQVISIVIT·/ IMPERIO/ A PATRE DESTINATVS/ AB AEMVLIS IMPEDITVS·/ DEMVM A·[nno] 1298· [ante diem] VIII· ID·[us] IVL·[ias]/ FRANCOFVRTI ELECTVS ET 25/ IVL·[ii] AQVISGRANI CORONAT·₉[us]/ VNDECIES HOSTIVM VICTOS/ TAND·[em] A· DVC·[e] IOH·[anne] FR·[iderici] FIL·[io] & SVIS/ INTERFECT·₉[us] 1· MAI·[i] 1308·/ HVMATVS SPIRAE/ XXI· LIBERORVM/ PATER·** [*Născut din tatăl împăratul Rudolf I (și) mama Ana contesă de Hohenberg în anul 1252 de la Cristos, a primit posesiunile austriece în anul 1282. Destinat domniei de către tată, împiedicat de un rival, abia în anul 1298 la 8 iulie (a fost) ales la Frankfurt și la 25 iulie încoronat la Aachen. După ce și-a biruit de unsprezece ori adversarii, până la urmă a fost ucis de ducele Ioan, fiul lui Frederic, și de ai săi la 1 mai 1308. În mormântat la Speyer; tată a 21 de copii*]; [*Born from the father Emperor Rudolf I (and) the mother Anna Countess of Hohenberg in 1252 after Christ, he received the Austrian possessions in 1282. Destined to reign by the father, prevented by a rival, it was only in the year 1298 on 8 July that (he was) elected in Frankfurt and crowned in Aachen on 25 July. After overcoming his opponents eleven times, he was eventually killed by Duke John, the son of Frederick, and his ilk on 1 May 1308. Buried in Speyer; the father of 21 children*];

1 May- 27 November: *interregnum*

THE DYNASTY OF LUXEMBOURG

- 194. Medal dedicated to Emperor Henry VII (1308-1313, Count of Luxembourg as Henry V between 1288-1310, King of Italy from 1311 and emperor from 1312).** D=32,0 mm; m.c.; VF; inv. N 60651;
 Obv.: encircling legend: **HENRICVS· VII· IMPERATOR· SEMPER· AVGVSTVS·** ☉ [*Henric al VII-lea, împărat, veșnic august*]; [*Henry VII, emperor, eternal august*]; in the field: bust right of Henry VII, wearing a hoop crown, long hair, a beard and a moustache;
 Rev.: **C· W· F· C· PR· C·**; in the field: **NATVS/ A·[nno] 1262· M·[ense] IVL·[ii]/ PATRE HENRICO/ COMITE LVCENBVRG·[ensi]/ MATRE BEATRICE/ COMIT·[issa]**

HANNONIAE/ A·[nno] 1308· XXVII· NOV·[embris]/ IN REGEM ROMANORVM/
 FRANCOFVRTI ELECTVS/ AN·[no] 1309· DIE EPIPHANIAE/ AQVISGRANI
 CORONATVS/ REBVS IN GERM·[ania] COMPOSITIS/ A·[nno] 1312· NON·[is]
 MAI·[as] ROMAM INGRES⁹·[us]/ D·[ie] XXIX· IVNII CORONATVS/ GRAVISS·[imas]
 LEGES TVLIT·/ SED A·[nno] 1313· XV· AVGVSTI/ VENENATA HOSTIA/ BNEVENTI
 ACCEPTA/ 25· AVG·[usti] OBIIT· *[Născut în anul 1262 în luna iulie, (din) tatăl Henric
 conte de Luxemburg (și) mama Beatrice contesă de Hanau, (a fost) ales rege al
 romanilor la Frankfurt, în anul 1308 la 27 noiembrie, și încoronat la Aachen în ziua
 Schimbării la Față din anul 1309. După ce a rânduit treburile în Germania, a mers la
 Roma în anul 1312 de 7 mai; (a fost) încoronat în ziua de 29 iunie. A dat legi foarte
 bune, dar în anul 1313, după ce primise o cuminecătură otrăvită la Benevent în 15
 august, a murit la 25 august]; [Born in the year 1262 in July, (from) the father Henry
 Count of Luxembourg (and) the mother Beatrice Countess of Hanau, (he was) elected
 King of the Romans in Frankfurt in the year 1308 on 27 November, and crowned in
 Aachen on the day of the Transfiguration in the year 1309. After organising affairs in
 Germany, he went to Rome in the year 1312 on 7 May; (he was) crowned on the day
 of June 29. He gave very good laws, but in the year 1313, after having received
 apoisoned houselin Benevent on 15 August, he died on 25 August];*

24 August 1313 - 19 October 1314: interregnum

THE HABSBURG DYNASTY

- 195. Medal dedicated to Emperor Frederick III the Handsome (1314-1326, Duke of Austria between 1306-1330).** D=32,3 mm; m.c.; VF; inv. N 60650;
 Obv.: C· W·; encircling legend: FRIDERICVS III· SIVE V· ROMAN·[orum] IMPER·[ator]
 SEMPER AVGVS·[tus] ⊗ *[Frederic al III-lea sau al V-lea, împărat roman, veșnic
 august]; [Frederick III or V, Roman emperor, eternal august];* in the field: bust right
 of Frederick III, wearing a crown shaped like a helmet;
 Rev.: C· W·; in the field: NATVS/ CIRCA A·[nnum] C·[hristi] MCCXC·/ PATRE
 ALB·[erto] I· IMPER·[atore]/ MAT·[re] ELISAB·[eta] COM·[itissa] TYROL·[ense]/
 CONTRA LVDOV·[icum] BAV·[arum] 1314·/ ELE·[ctus] BONNAEQ·[ue] 1315·
 CORON·[atus] EST·/ OB CORPOR·[is] ELEG·[antiam] PVLCHER DICT⁹·[us]/ UX·[ore]
 ELISAB·[eta] REG·[is] ARRAG·[oniae] FIL·[ia] HAB·[ente]/ CVM BAV·[aro] DV BIO
 MARTE DIU PVGNNAV·[it]/ BAVAR·[iam] IGNE FERROQ·[ue] VASTAVIT/ AB
 HOSTIB⁹·[us] TAND·[em] A·[nno] 1333· D·[ie] MICH·[aelis]/ 50· HOST·[ibus] SVA
 MANV OBTRVNCAT·[is]/ CAPT⁹·[us] & CARCERI INCLVS⁹·[us] FVIT/ POST
 TRIENN·[ium] TAMEN LIBER·/-TATI RESTITVTVS REBELL·[is]/ VEINN·[ae] SEDATIS
 MORT·[us]/ 30· IAN·[uarii] 1330· IMP·[erii] 16·/ HOC RE· FOD⁹·[us] HELV[eticum]/
 INITVM· *[Născut pe la anul 1290 de la Cristos, (din) tatăl împăratul Albert I (și)
 mama Elisabeta contesă de Tirol, a fost ales în 1314 împotriva lui Ludovic de
 Bavaria și încoronat la Bonn în 1315. Zis "cel Frumos" datorită armoniei trupului,*

având-o de soție pe Elisabeta, fiica regelui Aragonului, mult timp s-a luptat cu Bavarezul, cu sorți schimbători, (și) a devastat Bavaria prin foc și fier. În cele din urmă, în anul 1333 de ziua (sfântului) Mihail, după ce a răpus 50 de dușmani cu mâna lui, a fost capturat de dușmani și băgat la închisoare, redat totuși libertății după trei ani, după ce rebelii de la Viena au fost potoliți, a murit la 30 ianuarie 1330. Prin acest act a început tratatul helvetic; [Bornin around the year 1290 after Christ, (from) the father Emperor Albert I (and) the mother Elizabeth Countess of Tyrol, he was elected in 1314 against Louis of Bavaria and crowned at Bonnin 1315. Called "the Handsome" because of the harmony of his body, having Elizabeth as his wife, the daughter of the King of Aragon, he fought against the Bavarian for along time, with changing lots, (and) devastated Bavaria by fire and iron. Finally, in the year 1333 on the day (of Saint) Michael, after having slain 50 foes with his own hand, he was captured by the enemy and imprisoned, yet freed after three years, after the rebels from Vienna were appeased, he died on 30 January 1330. Through this act the Helvetic Treaty²¹² began];

THE DYNASTY OF WITTELSBACH

196. Medal dedicated to Emperor Louis V (1314-1347, Duke of Upper Bavaria as Louis IV from 1294, King of Italy from 1327, emperor from 1328, in conflict with Frederick III of Austria until 1326, then with Charles IV of Luxembourg from 1346). D=31,9 mm; m.c.; VF; inv. N 60653;

Obv.: **C· W·C· P· CAES·**; encircling legend: **LVDOVICVS IV· SIVE V· ROMANORVM IMPERATOR SEMP·[er] AVG[ustus]** ⊕ [Ludovic al IV-lea sau al V-lea, împărat roman, veșnic august]; [Louis IV or V, Roman emperor, eternal august]; in the field: bust front of Louis V, wearing a hoop crown, long hair, a beard and a moustache; he is holding his head slightly tilted towards his right shoulder;

Rev.: in the field: **NATVS/ A·[nno] MCCLXXXVII· PATRE LVDOV·[ico] STRENOVO/ MATRE MECHTILDE AVSTR·[iaca]/ DVX BAVARIAE SVPERIORIS/ A PLERISQVE ELECTORIBVS/ FRANCOFVRTI MENSE NOVEMBR·[is]/ A·[nno] MCCCXIV· ELECTVS/ ET AQVISGRANI CORONATVS/ CONTRA FRIDER·[icum] AVSTRIACVM/ FRATREM·[ue] RVDOLPHVM PAL·[atinatus] ELEC·[torem]/ SE FORTITER TVETVR/ MEDIOLANI A·[nno] 1327· FERREA/ ROMAE A·[nno] 1328· AVREA²¹³ CORONA C[i]NCT·[us]/ A PAPIIS VARIE EXAGITATVS/ MVLTIS LIBERIS EX DVPLICI· CONIVGIO TERRISQ·[ue] AVCT9[us]/ OBIIT XI· OCTOB·[ris]/ A·[nno] MCCCXLVII** [Născut în anul 1287 din tatăl Ludovic cel Vizeaz (și) mama Mechtilde de Austria, duce al Bavariei Superioare, (a fost) ales de cei mai mulți electori la Frankfurt, în luna noiembrie din anul 1314, și încoronat la Aachen. S-a apărut cu vitejie împotriva lui Frederic de Austria și a fratelui său Rudolf, electorul de Pfalz; s-a încoronat cu

²¹² This was the treaty of perpetual alliance between several cantons in the Alps, thus forming the Swiss Confederation (present-day Switzerland).

²¹³ AV in ligature.

coroana de fier la Milano în anul 1327 și cu cea de aur la Roma în anul 1328; (a fost) hărțuit în felurite moduri de papi. Înzestrat cu multe pământuri și mulți copii din două căsătorii, a murit la 12 octombrie în anul 1347]; [Born in the year 1287 from the father Louis the Brave (and) the mother Mechtilde of Austria, Duke of Upper Bavaria, (he was) elected by most electors in Frankfurt, in the month of November in the year 1314, and crowned at Aachen. He bravely defended him self against Frederick of Austria and his brother Rudolf, Elector of Pfalz; he was crowned with the iron crown at Milan²¹⁴ in the year 1327 and that of gold at Rome²¹⁵ in the year 1328; (he was) harassed in various ways by the popes.²¹⁶ Endowed with many lands and many children from two marriages, he died on 12 October in the year 1347];

THE DYNASTY OF LUXEMBOURG

197. Medal dedicated to Emperor Charles IV²¹⁷ (1346-1378, King of Bohemia under the name of Karel I between 1346-1378, Count of Luxembourg between 1346-1353, King of Italy from 1355, emperor from 1355 and Margrave of Brandenburg from 1373). D=32,4 mm; m.c.; VF; inv. N 60654;

Obv.: encircling legend: **CAROLVS IV· ROMANOR·[um] IMP·[erator] S[e]MP·[er] AVGVS⁹[us] ET BOHEM·[iae] REX** ⊕ *[Carol al IV-lea, împărat roman, veșnic august și rege al Boemiei]; [Charles IV, Roman emperor, eternal august and King of Bohemia]; in the field: bust front of Charles IV, wearing a hoop crown, long hair, a beard and a moustache;*

Rev.: **C· W·**; in the field: **NATVS/ XIV· MAY A·[nno] MCCCXV·/ PATRE IOAN·[ne] REGE BOH·[emie] / IN AVLA GALL·[ica] EDVCAT⁹[us]/ E RENO PATRIO/ AD IMPERII THRONVM/ A QVIBVSD·[am] PRINCIPIB⁹[us] EVECTVS/ D·[ie] XIX· IVLII· A·[nno] MCCCXLVI·/ & D·[ie] XXV· NOV·[embris] BONNAE CORONAT⁹[us]/ SVPERATIS TANDEM AEMVLIS/ ROMAE V· APRIL·[is] A·[nno] MCCCLV· ET/ ARELATI A·[nno] MCCCLXV· CORONAT⁹[us]/ AVREAM²¹⁸ BVLLAM CONDIDIT A·[nno] 1356·/ IVSTITIAE TENACISSIM⁹[us]/ SED BOHEMIAM SVAM MAGIS/ QVAM IMPERIVM ORNANS/ AVGENSQVE· OBIIT/ D·[ie] XXIX· NOVEM·[bris]/ A·[nno] 1378·** *[Născut la 14 mai în anul 1315, din tatăl Ioan regele Boemiei, educat la curtea Franței, de la Rinul părintesc (a fost) înălțat la tronul Imperiului de câțiva principii în ziua de 19 iulie din anul 1346 și încoronat la Bonn în ziua de 25 noiembrie. După ce și-a înlăturat adversarii, (a fost) încoronat la Roma în 5 aprilie din anul 1355 și la Arles în anul 1365; a promulgat "Bula de aur" în anul 1356. Foarte ferm în aplicarea justiției, dar împodobind și sporind Boemia sa mai mult*

²¹⁴ The iron crown of the Lombard kings, remaining as the symbol of the Kingdom of Italy.

²¹⁵ The imperial crown; in this case, the crowning was secular, since he was involved in a conflict against the papacy.

²¹⁶ John XXII (1316-1334), Nicholas V, Anti-Pope (1328-1330), Benedict XII (1334-1342) and Clement VI (1342-1352), all with the residence at Avignon.

²¹⁷ *Tuchman 1988????*

²¹⁸ **AV** in ligature.

decât (însuși) Imperiul, a murit în ziua de 29 noiembrie din anul 1378]; [Born on 14 May in the year 1315, from the father John King of Bohemia, educated at the French court, from the parental Rhineland (he was) ascended to the imperial throne by several princes on the day of 19 July in the year 1346 and crowned at Bonnon 25 November. After he removed opponents, (he was) crowned at Rome on 5 April in the year 1355 and Arles²¹⁹ in the year 1365; he promulgated the "Golden Bull" in the year 1356. Very firm in the application of justice, but embellishing and enhancing his Bohemia more than the Empire (I self), he died on 29 November of the year 1378];

- 198. Medal dedicated to the Roman King Günther (Count of Schwarzburg-Blankenburg from 1330, in opposition).** D=32,3 mm; m.c.; VF; inv. N 60652; Obv.: encircling legend: **GVNTERVS ROMANORVM REXSEMP·[er] AVGVSTVS** ☼[Günther, rege al romanilor, veșnic august]; [Günther, King of the Romans, eternal august]; in the field: laureate bust right of Günther; Rev.: **C· W·**; in the field: **NATVS/ CIRCA A·[nno] MCCCIV·/ PATRE HENRICO XII·/ COMI[t]E IN·²²⁰ SHWARTZBVRG·/ REBVS FORTITER GESTIS/ SVB LVDOVICO BAVARO IMP·[eratore]/ MAGNVN NOMEN ADEPT·⁹·[us] EO/ MORTVO A PLERISQ·[ue] ELECTORIB·⁹·[us]/ FRANCOVRTI II· FEBR·[uarii] MCCCXL·⁹·/ IN·²²¹ REGEM ROMANORVM ELIGITVR·/ VERVM A BAVARIS DESERTVS/ VENENOQ·[ue] A MEDICIS IMPETITVS/ CVM CAROLO AEMVLO TRANSINGNS/ IMPERIO SE ABDICAVIT·/ DEFNCTVS XXIX· IVNII· SPLENDIDO MONVMENTO/ FRANCOVRTI/ ILLATVS·** [Născut pe la anul 1304 din tatăl Henric al XII-lea, conte de Shwartzburg, a luptat cu vitejie (și) a dobândit un mare renume sub împăratul Ludovic de Bavaria. După ce acesta a murit, a fost ales rege al romanilor de cei mai mulți electori la Frankfurt, în 2 februarie 1340; dar (fiind) părăsit de bavarezi și atacat cu otravă de medici, învoindu-se cu rivalul Carol, a abdicat din domnie. Mort la 29 iunie (și) deus într-un monument splendid la Frankfurt]; [Born in around the year 1304 from the father Henry XII, Count of Shwartzburg, he fought bravely (and) acquired great renown under Emperor Louis of Bavaria. After the latter died, he was elected King of the Romans by most electors in Frankfurt on 2 February 1340; but (being) abandoned by the Bavarians and attacked with poison by the doctors, making a truce with the rival Charles, he abdicated the throne. He died on 29 June (and) laid to rest in asplen did monument in Frankfurt];

- 199. Medal dedicated to the Roman King Wenzel²²² (King of Bohemia as Václav IV between 1373/1378-1419, Prince-Elector of Brandenburg between 1373-1378, King of the Romans from 1376 and Duke of Luxembourg as Wenzel II in 1383-1388, 1411-1412).** D=31,9 mm; m.c.; VF; inv. N 60657;

²¹⁹ Probably a confusion between the Latin name of the town Arles (*Arelate*) and that of the town Avignon (*Avennium*), the latter being the residence of the popes at that time.

²²⁰ IN in ligature.

²²¹ IN in ligature.

²²² Tuchman 1988????

Obv.: encircling legend: **WENCESLAVS ROMANORVM ET BOHEMIAE REX** ☉ [Wenzel, rege al romanilor și al Boemiei]; [Wenzel, King of the Romans and of Bohemia]; in the field: bust front of Wenzel, wearing a hoop crown, long hair, a beard and a moustache; he has a veil attached to his crown, on his back:

Rev.: **C· W·**; in the field: **NATVS/ D·[ie] XVII· MART·[ii] A·[nno] 1361·/ PATRE CAROLO IV· IMP·[eratore]/ MATRE ANNA D·[ucissa] SVIDN·[icae]/ NONDVM BIENNIS/ REX BOHEM·[iae] CORONATVS/ ADOLESCENS MAGNAE SPEI/ PATRIS PRECE PRECIOQVE/ IN REGEM ROM·[anorum] ELECTVS/ FRANCOF·[urti] D·[ie] XIII· IVN·[ii] 1376·/ CORONAT₉[us]²²³ AQVISGRANI· D·[ie] VI· IVLII· POST PATRIS MORTEM/ PRIMO QVINQVENNIO OPTIM⁹·[us]/ HINC IGNAV⁹·[us] PRODIG⁹·[us] CRVDELIS/ TANDEM AB ELECTORIB⁹·[us]/ D·[ie] XX· SEPT·[embris] A·[nno] 1400·/ EXAVCTORATVS/ MORBO COMITALI OBIT/ ANNO 1419·/ D·[ie] XVI· AVG·[usti]**

[Născut în ziua de 17 martie din anul 1361, (din) tatăl împăratul Carol al IV-lea (și) mama Anna ducesă de Schwednitz, încă nu în vârstă de doi ani (a fost) încoronat rege al Boemiei. Tânăr de mari speranțe, (a fost) ales la Frankfurt în ziua de 13 iunie 1376 rege al romanilor (și) încoronat la Aachen în ziua de 6 iulie, la rugămintea și cu cheltuiala tatălui (său). După moartea tatălui (a fost) foarte bun în primii cinci ani, apoi leneș, risipitor (și) crud; în sfârșit, în ziua de 20 septembrie din anul 1400 (a fost) detronat de către electori. A murit de epilepsie în anul 1419, în ziua de 16 august]; [Born on the day of 17 March in the year 1361, (from) the father Emperor Charles IV (and) the mother Anna Duchess of Schwednitz,²²⁴ when he was barely two years old (he was) crowned King of Bohemia. A young man of high expectations, (he was) elected in Frankfurt on the day of June 13 1376 as King of the Romans (and) crowned at Aachen on the day 6 July, at the request and expense of (his) father. After his father's death (he was) very good in the first five years, then lazy, wasteful (and) cruel; finally, on the day of 20 September in the year 1400 (he was) deposed by the electors. He died of epilepsy in the year 1419, on the day of 16 August];

200. Medal dedicated to the Roman King Frederick IV. D=32,0 mm; m.c.; VF; inv. N 60656;

Obv.: **C· WERMVTH· FEC· GOTHA· C· PR· CÆS·**; encircling legend: **FRIDERICVS IV· ELECTVS ROMAN·[orum] REX SEMP·[er] AVGVST·[us]** [Frederic al IV-lea, ales rege al romanilor, veșnic august]; [Frederick IV, elected King of the Romans, eternal august]; in the field: bust front of Frederick IV, wearing a hoop crown, long hair and a moustache;

Rev.: in the field: **PATRE/ MAGNO TORQVATO/ DVCE BRVNSVICENSI/ MATRE CATHAR·[ina] BRANDENB·[urgiensis]/ DVCATVM BRVNSVIC·[ensem]/ 19· ANNOS CVM LAVDE TENVIT/ VARIOS MOTVS COMPENSCENS/ A PLERISQVE ELECTORIBVS/ WENCESLAO DEPOSITO/ A·[nno] MCCCC· DIE· VRBANI· FRANCOFVRTI/ IN REGEM**

²²³ CO in ligature.

²²⁴ Swidnicain Polish and in Latin (a duchy in the province of Silesia).

ROMANORVM ELECT⁹·[us]/ SED INDE DOMVM REPETENS/ IVSSV ELECTORIS MOGVNTINI/ A COMITE WALDECCENSI/ PROPRE FRITESLARIAM/ D·[ie] V· IVNII TRVCIDAT⁹·[us]/ MONVMENTO AVITO/ BRVNSVIGAE/ ILLATVS· [(Născut din) tatăl Torquatus cel Mare, duce de Braunschweig, (și) mama Ecaterina de Brandenburg, a cârmuit cu cinste ducatul de Braunschweig 19 ani, înăbușind diferite războaie. După ce Wenzel a fost depus, (a fost) ales de cei mai mulți electori rege al romanilor, la Frankfurt în anul 1400 de ziua (sfântului) Urban; dar apoi, îndreptându-se spre casă, din ordinul electorului de Mainz (a fost) ucis de contele de Waldeck în apropiere de Fritzlar, în ziua de 5 iunie. (A fost) depus în cavoul strămoșesc din Braunschweig]; [(Born from) the father Torquatus the Great, Duke of Braunschweig, (and) the mother Catherine of Brandenburg, he honourably governed the Duchy of Braunschweig for 19 years, stifling various uprisings. After Wenzel was deposed, (he was) elected by most electors King of the Romans in Frankfurt in the year 1400 on the day (of Saint) Urban; but then, heading back home, at the order of the elector of Mainz (he was) killed by the Count of Waldeck near Fritzlar, on the day of 5 June. (He was) laid to rest in the ancestral tomb from Braunschweig];

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- 201. Medal dedicated to the Roman King Rupert (1400-1410, Elector of Pfalz as Rupert III from 1398).** D=32,4 mm; m.c.; VF; inv. N 60655;
 Obv.: encircling legend: **RVPERTVS ROMANORVM REX SEMPER AVG·[ustus]** ⊗ [Ruprecht, rege al romanilor, veșnic august]; [Rupert, King of the Romans, eternal august]; in the field: bust front of Rupert, wearing a hoop crown and long hair;
 Rev.: **C·W·**; in the field: **NATVS/ PATRE RVPERTO/ MATRE BEATRICE/ FILIA REGIS SICIL·[iae]/ DEPOSITO WENCESLAO/ AD IMPERII FASTIGIVM/ A PLERISQ·[ue] ELECTOR·[ibus] ETECT⁹·[us]/ MENSE AVGVSTO MCCCC·/ ET COLONIAE VI· IAN·[uarii] 1401·/ CORONATVS/ INFELICI BELLO GALEAZIVM/ VICECOM[item] MEDIOL·[anensem] PETIIT/ EX ITALIA REVERSVS/ IMPERIVM PACIFICE/ ADMINISTRAVIT·/ DEFVNCTVS/ AN·[no] M CCCCX·/ XVIII· MAY·** [Născut din tatăl Ruprecht (și) mama Beatrice, fiica regelui Siciliei, după ce Wenzel a fost depus, (a fost) înălțat de cei mai mulți electori în fruntea Imperiului în luna august 1400 și încoronat la Köln în 6 ianuarie 1401. L-a atacat pe Galeazzo, viconte de Milano, într-un război nenorocos; reîntors din Italia, a administrat Imperiul în pace. Mort la 18 mai în anul 1410]; [Born from the father Rupert (and) the mother Beatrice, the daughter of the King of Sicily, after Wenzel was deposed, (he was) raised by most electors at the head of the Empire in the month of August 1400 and crowned in Cologne on 6 January 1401. He attacked Galeazzo,²²⁵ Viscount of Milan, in an unfortunate war; returning from Italy, head ministered the Empire in peace. He died on 18 May in the year 1410];

²²⁵ This was Gian Galeazzo Visconti (1385-1395), who later became Duke of Milan (1395-1402).

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202. Medal dedicated to the Roman King Jobst (1410-1411, Margrave of Moravia from 1375, Margrave of Brandenburg from 1397, Duke of Luxembourg between 1388-1402, 1407-1411), in rivalry with Sigismund. D=32,3 mm; m.c.; VF; inv. N 60658;

Obv.: C· PR· CÆS·; encircling legend: IODOCVS ROMANORVM REX SEMP·[er] AVG·[ustus] ⊗ [Jobst, rege al romanilor, veșnic august]; [Jobst, King of the Romans, eternal august]; in the field: laureate bust right of Jobst, wearing a long beard and a moustache;

Rev.: C· W·; in the field: NATVS/ A·[nno] C·[hristi] MCCCXXI· X· APR·[ilis]/ PATRE IOAN·[ne] HENRICO/ MARCH·[ione] MORAVIAE/ MATRE MARGARETHA/ OPPAVIAE DVCISSA·/ LICET HOMO INVILIS/ NEC VERITATEM PRAESTANS/ LONGIORI TANTVM BARBA/ AETATEQVE PROVECTORI/ DIVITIISQVE SPECTABILIS/ ELECTVS TAMEN FRANCOFVRTI/ AN·[no] 1410· POST RVPERTVM PALAT·[inensem]/ EDITA CONSTITVTIONE/ DE RESISTENDO REGIAE MAIESTATIS/ SI CONTRA ORDINATIONES/ IMPERII FECERIT/ SEXTO REGNI MENSE/ ANTE CORONATIONEM/ BRVMIAE IN MORAVIA/ XX· MARTII A·[nno] 1411·/ DECESSIT· [Născut la anul 1321 de la Cristos, la 10 aprilie, din tatăl Ioan Henric, marchiz de Moravia, (și) mama Margareta, ducesă de Oppau, deși om incapabil, neremarcat nici prin dreptate, mai cunoscut doar datorită bărbii mai lungi și vârstei, și respectat (doar) datorită bogăției, totuși (a fost) ales după Ruprecht de Pfalz, la Frankfurt, în anul 1410, după ce a fost publicată legea despre rezistența față de maiestatea regală dacă (aceasta) ar acționa contrar rânduielilor Imperiului. A murit în a șasea lună de domnie la Brünn în Moravia, înainte de încoronare, în anul 1411 la 20 martie]; [Born in the year 1321 after Christ, on 10 April, from the father John Henry, Marquis of Moravia, (and) the mother Margaret, Duchess of Oppau,²²⁶ although an incapable man, undistinguished he went through justice, better known just because of his longer beard and age and respected (only) because of his wealth, he (was) however elected after Rupert of Pfalz, in Frankfurt, in the year 1410, after the law on resistance to the royal majesty if (the latter) acted contrary to the ordinances of the Empire was published. He died in the sixth month of his reign at Brünn²²⁷ in Moravia, before the coronation, in the year 1411 on 20 March];

203. Medal dedicated to Emperor Sigismund (1410-1437, Prince-Elector of Brandenburg between 1378-1397 and 1411-1417, King of Hungary as Zsigmond from 1387, hereditary Duke of Luxembourg from 1419, King of Bohemia as Zikmund between 1419-1421 and 1436-1437, King of Italy from 1431, emperor from 1433). D=32,7 mm; m.c.; VF; inv. N 60659;

Obv.: encircling legend: SIGISMVNDVS ROM·[anorum] IMPER·[ator] SEMP·[er] AVG·[ustus] HVNG·[ariae] BOHE·[miae] &c REX ⊗ [Sigismund, împărat roman, veșnic august, rege al Ungariei, Boemiei, etc.]; [Sigismund, Roman emperor, eternal

²²⁶ Today Opava in the Czech Republic.

²²⁷ Today Brno.

august, King of Hungary, Bohemia, etc.]; in the field: bust front of Sigismund, wearing a hoop crown, a beard and a moustache;

Rev.: C·W·F·C·PR·CÆS·; in the field: NATVS/ XV· FEBR·[uarii] A·[nno] M CCCLXVII·/ PATRE CAROLO IV· IMP·[eratore]/ MATRE ELISAB·[eta] POMERANA·²²⁸/ CORPORE ANIMOQ·[ue] PRAESTANS/ REX HVNGARIAE A·[nno] 1386·/ BOHEMIAE A·[nno] 1419·/ GERMANIAE A·[nno] 1411· M·[ense] MARTIO/ FRANCOFVRTI ELECTVS/ MOX AQVISGRANI INDE/ MEDI[o]LANI A·[nno] 1431· ROMAE A·[nno] 1433·/ CORONATVS/ REFORMATIONEM ECCLESIAE/ IN CONCILIO CONSTANT·[iae] ET BASIL·[eae]/ FRVSTRA CONATVS/ CVM TVRCIS ET HVSSITIS/ VARIA FORTVNA PVGNANS/ OBIIT· IX· DECEMBR[is]/ A·[nno] 1437· *[Născut la 15 februarie în anul 1367, din tatăl împăratul Carol al IV-lea (și) mama Elisabeta de Pomerania, remarcabil prin trup și suflet, (a devenit) rege al Ungariei din anul 1386, al Boemiei din anul 1419, al Germaniei din anul 1411; (a fost) ales la Frankfurt în luna martie (și) încoronat îndată la Aachen, apoi la Milano în anul 1431 (și) la Roma în anul 1433. S-a străduit zadarnic în conciliul de la Konstanz și Basel pentru reforma Bisericii; luptând cu sorți schimbători cu turcii și cu husiții, a murit la 9 decembrie în anul 1437]; [Born on 15 February in the year 1367, from the father Emperor Charles IV (and) the mother Elizabeth of Pomerania, remarkable in body and soul, (he became) King of Hungary in 1386, of Bohemia from the year 1419, of Germany in the year 1411; (he was) elected at Frankfurt in the month of March (and) immediately crowned at Aachen, then in Milan in the year 1431 (and) in Rome in the year 1433. He tried in vain in the Council of Constance and Basel to reform the Church; fighting with changing lots against the Turks and the Hussites, he died on 9 December in the year 1437];*

THE HABSBURG DYNASTY

204. Medal dedicated to Emperor Albert II (1438-1439, Duke of Austria as Albert V, from 1404, hereditary Duke of Luxembourg from 1437, King of Bohemia as Albert I, King of Hungary as Albert, from 1437). D=32,2 mm; m.c.; VF; inv. N 60660;

Obv.: C·PR·CÆS·; encircling legend: ALBERT₉[us] II·ROM·[anorum] REX SEMP·[er] AVG·[ustus] HVNG·[ariae] BOH·[emiae] DAL·[matiae] CROA·[tia] &· REX· ⊗ *[Albert al II-lea, rege al romanilor, veșnic august, rege al Ungariei, Boemiei, Dalmației, Croației etc.]; [Albert II, King of the Romans, eternal august, King of Hungary, Bohemia, Dalmatia, Croatia, etc.]; in the field: bust left of Albert II, wearing a hoop crown, long hair and a moustache;*

Rev.: C·W·; in the field: NATVS/ A·[nno] 1399· K[a]L·[endis] IAN·[uariis]/ PATRE ALB·[erto] IV· AVSTRIA·[co]/ MATRE IOANNA BAVARA/ SIGIS·[mudi] IMP·[eratoris] GENER FACT₉[us] 1422/ V· MENS·[ibus] TRES CORON·[as] ACCEPIT/ HVNG·[aricam] K[a]L·[endis] IAN·[uariis] BOH·[emicam] [ante diem] III·

²²⁸ NA in ligature.

K[a]L·[endas] IVL·[ias]/ GERMANICAM [ante diem] III· K[a]L·[endas] IVN·[ias]/ ANNO MCCCCXXVIII-/ DEMVM DESPONSATA FILIA I-/ ANNA WILHELMO DVCI SAX·[oniae]/ II· ELISAB·[eta] CASIMIRO REG·[i] POL·[oniae]/ PACE AVSTRIAE REDDITA/ PACATA BOHEMIA ET FVGATO/ TVRCA DYSENTERIA PROPE/ BVDAM [ante diem] VI· K[a]L·[endas] NOV·[embres] 1439. OB·[iit] / CORP⁹[us] ALB·[erti] REG·[is] SEP·[ultum]/ VLATISL·[aum] POSTH·[umum]/ RELIQVIT· [Născut în anul 1399 la 1 ianuarie, din tatăl Albert al IV-lea de Austria (și) mama Ioana de Bavaria, făcut ginere al împăratului Sigismund în anul 1422, de-a lungul a cinci luni în anul 1438 a primit trei coroane: pe a Ungariei la 1 ianuarie, pe a Boemiei la 29 iunie, pe a Germaniei la 30 mai. Tocmai după ce prima fiică, Anna, i-a fost logodită cu Wilhelm ducele de Saxonia, și a doua, Elisabeta, cu Cazimir regele Poloniei, după ce Austriei i-a fost redată pacea, după ce Boemia a fost pacificată și turcul pus pe fugă, a murit de dizenterie în apropiere de Buda la 27 octombrie 1439. Trupul înmormântat al regelui Albert a lăsat în urmă pe (fiul) Ladislau Postumul]; [Born in the year 1399 on 1 January, from the father Albert IV of Austria (and) the mother Joanna of Bavaria, madeson-in-law of Emperor Sigismund in the year 1422, over the course of five months in the year 1438 he received three crowns: that of Hungary on 1 January, that of Bohemia on 29 June, that of Germany on 30 May. Just after the first daughter, Anna, was be trothed to William Duke of Saxony, and the second, Elizabeth, to the Polish King Casimir, after peace was restored to Austria, after Bohemia was pacified and the Turk was set arunning, he died of dysentery near Buda on 27 October 1439. The buried body of King Albert left behind the (son) Ladislaus the Posthumous];

205. Medal dedicated to Emperor Frederick III (1440-1493, Archduke of Austria as Frederick V from 1424, King of Italy from 1452 and emperor from 1452).

D=31,8 mm; m.c.; VF; inv. N 60661;

Obv.: encircling legend: FRIDERICVS III· ROMANORVM REX SEMPER AVGVSTVS ★[Frederic al III-lea, rege al romanilor, veșnic august]; [Frederick III, King of the Romans, eternal august,]; in the field: bust front of Frederick III, wearing a hoop crown and long hair;

Rev.: in the field: NATVS/ XXI· SEP·[tembris] MCCCCXV-/ PATRE ERNEST·[o] ARCHID·[uce]/ AVST·[riae] MATRE CIMBVRGA-/ II· FEBR·[uarii] MCCCCXL ELECT⁹[us]/ FRANCOF·[urti] IN REGEM ROMAN·[orum]/ CORONAT⁹[us] AQVISGR·[ani] XVII· IVLII-/ FRATRE HELVET·[is] GALLIS· SOPITIS-/ LEONOR·[am] PORTVG·[allam] VXOREM DVXIT/ CORONAT·[us] CVM EA ROMAE· NICOL·[ao]/ IX· MART·[iis] MCCCCLII SED REVERS⁹[us]/ MAXIMA PERICVLA ET BELLA· AB·/ AVSTR·[iacis] BOH·[emis] HVNG·[aris] BVRG·[undis] GALLIS/ PRIMAQ·[ue] TVRCAR·[um] IN GERMAN·[iam]/ IRRVPTIONEM EXPERTVS-/ IIS OMNIBVS SVPERATIS/ OB·[iit] LINTZII· XIX· AVG·[usti]/ M CCCXCIII· SEPVL·[us]/ 16 VIENNAE· 97· [Născut la 21 septembrie 1415, din tatăl Ernest arhiduce de Austria (și) mama Cimbarga, în 2 februarie 1440 (a fost) ales la Frankfurt rege al romanilor

(și) încoronat la Aachen în 17 iulie. După ce fratele (său), elvețienii și francezii au fost potoliți, a luat-o de soție pe Leonora de Portugalia; (a fost) încoronat (împreună) cu ea la Roma de (papa) Nicolae, la 9 martie 1452. Dar (odată) reîntors, a trebuit să înfrunte pericole foarte mari și războaie din partea austrieilor, cehilor, ungarilor, burgunzilor, francezilor, (ca) și prima năvală a turcilor în Germania. După ce toți aceștia au fost învinși, a murit la Linz la 19 august 1493; înmormântat la Viena (1697)] [Born on 21 September 1415, from the father Ernest Archduke of Austria (and) the mother Cimburga, on 2 February 1440 (he was) elected King of the Romans in Frankfurt (and) crowned in Aachen on 17 July. After (his) brother, the Swiss and the French wereap peased, he married Eleanor of Portugal; (he was) crowned (together) with her in Rome by (Pope) Nicholas,²²⁹ on 9 March 1452. But (once) returned, he had to face very great dangers and wars from the Austrians, the Czechs, the Hungarians, the Burgundians, the French, (as well as) the first invasion of the Turks in Germany. After they were all defeated, he died in Linz on 19 August 1493; buried in Vienna (1697)²³⁰];

206. Medal dedicated to Emperor Maximilian I (1493-1519, King of the Romans from 1486, Archduke of Austria from 1493, emperor from 1508). D=32,1 mm; m.c.; VF; inv. N 60663;

Obv.: encircling legend: **MAXIMILIAN⁹[us] I· ROM·[anorum] IMP·[erator] SEM·[per] AVG·[ustus] PLV·[rimum] EVR·[opae] PROV·[inciarum] REX· P_R[] P_O[]** ⊕ [Maximilian I, împărat roman, veșnic august, rege al mai multor provincii ale Europei,]; [Maximilian I, Roman emperor, eternal august, king of several provinces of Europe,]; in the field: bust right of Maximilian I, wearing a cap with a raised brim, long hair and the Golden Fleece;

Rev.: **C· W·**; in the field: **NATVS/ A·[nno] 1459· XXII· MART·[ii]/ PATRE FRIDER·[ico] 3· S·[acrat]S·[imo] IMP·[eratore]²³¹/ MATRE LEONORA PORTVG·[alla]/ AN·[no] 1477· XX· AVGVST·[i]/ MATRIMON·[ium] INIVIT BVRGVN·[dum]/ A·[nno] 1486· XVI· FEBR·[uarii] REX ROMAN·[orum]/ ELECT⁹[us] ET IX· MART·[ii] CORONAT⁹[us] ET²³²/ BRVGIS CAPT⁹[us] SED LIBERAT⁹[us]/ MAXIMA BELLA CONTRA GALLOS/ HELVET·[os] BAVAROS· HVNG·[aros] VENET·[os]/ GESSIT PLVRAQ·[ue] PERIC·[ula] SVBIIT·/ A·[nno] 1495· CAMERAM IMPER·[ialem]/ CONDIDIT & A·[nno] MD· IMPERIVM/ IN X· CIRCULO VISITIT/ MVLTAR·[um] ACAD·[emiarum] AVCTOR·/ OBIIT XI· IAN·[uarii]/ A·[nno] M D XIX· [Născut în anul 1459 la 22 martie, din tatăl Frederic al III-lea, preasfântul împărat, (și) din mama Leonora de Portugalia, la 20 august în anul 1477 a încheiat o căsătorie burgundă; (a fost) ales rege al romanilor la 16 februarie în anul 1486 și încoronat la 9 martie; și (a fost) capturat la Bruges, dar (apoi) eliberat. A purtat războaie foarte mari**

²²⁹ Papa Nicolae al V-lea, laic Tommaso Parentucelli (1447-1455).

²³⁰ Este data fabricației medaliei.

²³¹ MP in ligature.

²³² ET in ligature.

împotriva francezilor, elvețienilor, bavarezilor, ungurilor, venețienilor, și s-a expus multor pericole. În anul 1495 a întemeiat cămara imperială, și în anul 1500 a împărțit Imperiul în zece circumscripții. Fondator al multor academii. A murit la 11 ianuarie în anul 1519); [Born on 22 March in the year 1459, from the father Frederick III, Most Holy Emperor, (and) the mother Eleanor of Portugal, on 20 August in the year 1477 he concluded a Burgundian marriage; (he was) elected King of the Romans on 16 February in the year 1486 and crowned on 9 March; and (was) captured in Bruges, but (then) released. He waged very great wars against the French, the Swiss, the Bavarians, the Hungarians, the Venetians, and exposed him self to many dangers. In the year 1495 he founded the imperial chamber, and in the year 1500 he divided the empire in to ten constituencies. The founder of several academies. He died on 11 January in the year 1519];

207. Medal dedicated to Emperor Charles V (1519-1556, King of Spain from 1516, Prince of the Netherlands between 1516-1555, King of Sicily under the name of Charles IV between 1516-1556, Archduke of Austria between 1519-1521 under the name of Charles I, emperor from 1519 and Duke of Milan between 1525-1529 and 1535-1540). D=31,4 mm; m.c.; VF; inv. N 60662;

Obv.: encircling legend: **CAROL⁹[us] V· ROM·[anorum] IMP·[erator] S·[emper] AVG·[ustus] GER·[maniae] HISP·[aniae] SIC·[iliae] HIERVS[olymae]· HVNG[ariae] &· REX** ☉ *[Carol al V-lea, împărat roman, veșnic august, rege al Germaniei, Spaniei, Siciliei, Ierusalimului, Ungariei etc.]; [Charles V, Roman emperor, eternal august, King of Germany, Spain, Sicily, Jerusalem, Hungary, etc.]; in the field: laureate bust right of Charles V, wearing a short beard, a moustache and the Golden Fleece;*

Rev.: in the field: **NATVS/ A·[nno] 1500· XXIV· FEB·[ruarii]/ PAT·[re] PHIL·[ippo] REG·[e] HISPAN·[iae]/ MAT·[re] IOANNA· GANDAVI·[ensi]/ A·[nno] 1518· XVII· FEB·[ruarii] REX HISP·[aniae]/ A·[nno] 1519· XXVIII· IVN·[ii] REX ROM·[anorum] ELEC·[tus]/ A·[nno] 1520· XXIII· OCT·[obris] AQVISGR·[ani] ET/ A·[nno] 1530· XXIV· FEB·[ruarii] ROMAE CORON·[atus] / RES MAGNAS IN VTROQ·[ue] ORBE GESSIT·/ A·[nno] 1525· FRANCISC·[um] REG·[em] CAPTIVVM DVXIT·/ ARMA VICTR·[ices] IN AFRICAM TRANST·[ulit]/ AVGVSTAN[am] CONFESS·[ionem] BENIGNE/ SVSCEPIT· SED ILLI ADDICTOS/ SVBIVGARE FRVSTRA CONATVS/ PACEM RELIG·[ionis] DEDIT/ ET A·[nno] 1556· IMPERIO/ SE ABDICANS/ OB·[iit] XXI· SEP·[tembris] A·[nno] 1558·** *[Născut în anul 1500 la 24 februarie, din tatăl Filip regele Spaniei (și) mama Ioana de Gand, (a devenit) rege al Spaniei în anul 1518 la 17 februarie; ales rege al romanilor la 28 iunie 1519, (a fost) încoronat la Aachen în anul 1520 la 23 octombrie și la Roma²³³ în anul 1530 la 24 februarie. A înfăptuit lucruri mărețe în ambele lumi; în anul 1525 l-a luat prizonier pe regele Francisc; și-a purtat armele victorioase în Africa. A oprit cu bunăvoință Confesiunea de la*

²³³ By Pope Clement VII, lay name Giulio de Medici (1523-1534). *Popa-Matei 1983, p.* suggest Bologna as the town of coronation.

Augsburg; dar, după ce a încercat în zadar să-i supună pe adepții acesteia, a dăruit pace religiei și, abdicând din domnie în anul 1566, a murit la 21 septembrie în anul 1558]; [Born on 24 February in the year 1500, from the father King Philip of Spain (and) the mother Joanna of Ghent, (he became) King of Spain in the year 1518 on 17 February; elected King of the Romans on 28 June 1519, (he was) crowned at Aachen in the year 1520 on 23 October and in Rome on 24 February in the year 1530. He accomplished great things in both worlds²³⁴; he captured King Francis²³⁵ in the year 1525; carried his victorious weapons in Africa.²³⁶ He graciously protected the Confession of Augsburg²³⁷; but after trying in vain to subdue its followers, he gave peace to religion and abdicating the throne in the year 1566, he died on 21 September in the year 1558];

- 208. Medal dedicated to Emperor Ferdinand I (1556-1564, Archduke of Austria from 1521, King of Hungary and Bohemia from 1526, King of the Romans from 1531, emperor from 1556).** D=31,8 mm; m.c.; F; inv. N 60664;
 Obv.: encircling legend: **FERDINANDVS I· ROM·[anorum] IMP·[erator] SEM·[per] AVG·[ustus] GER·[maniae] HVNG·[ariae] BOH·[emiae] DAL·[matiae] CR[oa]tia[rum] REX** ☉ *[Ferdinand I, împărat roman, veșnic august, rege al Germaniei, Ungariei, Boemiei, Dalmației, Croației]; [Ferdinand I, Roman emperor, eternal august, King of Germany, Hungary, Bohemia, Dalmatia, Croatia]; in the field: laureate bust left of Ferdinand I, wearing a short beard, a moustache and the Golden Fleece;*
 Rev.: **C· W· F· C· PR· C·**; in the field: **NATVS/ COMPLVTI/ X· MART·[ii] 1503·/ CAROLI V· FRATER/ PRIMO AVSTRIAM OBTINUIT/ HINC ANNA CONIVGE/ A·[nno] 1521· DVCTA ET POST/ LVDOVICI FRATRIS MORTEM/ HVNGAR·[iae] BOHEMIAEQ·[ue] HAEREDE/ REGNA· HAEC· BELLIS· VINDICAVIT·/ AN·[nno] 1531· V· IANVAR·[ii] REX ROMAN·[orum]/ ELECTVS ET XI· IAN·[uar]ii CORONATVS/ ABDICANTE A·[nno] 1558· CAROLO/ IMPERATORIS AXIOMATE/ SOLVS VSVS EST QVAMVIS/ ROMAE NON CORONATVS/ OBIIT VIENNAE/ A·[nno] 1564· 25· IVL·[ii]/ *** *[Născut la Madrid în 10 martie 1503, fratele lui Carol al V-lea, mai întâi a obținut Austria; apoi, după ce a luat-o de soție în anul 1521 pe Anna și după moartea fratelui (ei) Ludovic, în chip de moștenitor al Ungariei și Boemiei, a pretins aceste regate prin războaie. (A fost) ales rege al romanilor la 5 ianuarie în anul 1531 și încoronat la 11 ianuarie; abdicând Carol, din anul 1558 a beneficiat singur (de tron) în mod automat, cu toate că nu (a fost) încoronat la Roma. A murit la Viena în anul 1564, la 25 iulie]; [Born in Madrid on 10 March 1503, the brother of Charles V, he*

²³⁴ An allusion to the domination of Italy and the formation of the Spanish colonial empire, the conquests of America (Mexico, Central America, Peru, Chile, etc.).

²³⁵ Francis I of Valois, King of France (1515-1547), defeated and captured in the Battle of Pavia (24 February 1525).

²³⁶ These were the brief, repeated campaigns from North Africa, ending in the temporary conquest of the towns of Algiers, Tunis and Tripoli.

²³⁷ The official name of the Evangelical Church founded by Martin Luther (received after expressing the doctrine in the Reichstag of Augsburg - 1530).

first obtained Austria, then, after marrying Anna in the year 1521 and after the death of (her) brother Louis,²³⁸ as heir of Hungary and Bohemia, he claimed the kingdoms through wars. (He was) elected King of the Romans on 5 January in the year 1531 and crowned on 11 January; since Charles abdicated, in the year 1558 he automatically benefited from (the throne) alone, although (he was) not crowned at Rome. He died in Vienna in the year 1564, on 25 July];

209. Medal dedicated to Emperor Maximilian II (1564-1576, King of the Romans from 1562, King of Hungary și Bohemia from 1564, Archduke of Austria and emperor). D=31,9 mm; m.c.; VF; inv. N 60665;

Obv.: **C-/ PR· CAES·**; encircling legend: **MAXIMILIAN⁹.[us] II· ROM·[anorum] IMP·[erator] SEM·[per] AVG·[ustus] GER·[maniae] HVN·[gariae] BOH·[emiae] REX** ⊗ *[Maximilian al II-lea, împărat roman, veșnic august, rege al Germaniei, Ungariei, Boemiei]; [Maximilian II, Roman emperor, eternal august, King of Germany, Hungary, Bohemia]; in the field: laureate bust right of Maximilian II, wearing a short beard, a moustache and the Golden Fleece;*

Rev.: **C· W MATRE ANNA HVNG·[ara]/ EX CAROLI V· IMP·[eratoris] FILIA/ MARIA XVI· LIBER·[os] PARENS/ A·[nno] 1526· XX· SEP·[tembris] REX BOHEM·[iae]/ XXX· SEPT·[embris] REX ROMANOR·[um]/ AN·[no] 1536· VIII· SEP·[tembris] REX HVNG·[ariae]/ MORTVO PARENTE IMPERATOR/ PRIMIS AVGVSTAN·[is] COMITIIS/ RELIGIONIS VNITATEM/ SARCIENDAM COMMENDAVIT/ VARIE²³⁹ CONTRA TVRCAS PVGNANS/ LANIENAM PARIS· DETESTAT⁹.[us]/ REGNVN A POLON·[is] OBLAT·[um]/ VINDICATVR⁹.[us] OBIIT/ A·[nno] 1576· XII· OCT[obris]** ⊗ *[Născut în anul 1527 la 1 august, din tatăl împăratul Ferdinand I (și) mama Anna de Ungaria, părinte a 16 copii de la Maria, fiica împăratului Carol al V-lea, (a devenit) rege al Boemiei în anul 1526 la 20 septembrie, rege al romanilor la 30 septembrie, (și) în anul 1536 la 8 septembrie rege al Ungariei, (iar) după moartea părintelui (său) – împărat. Primei adunări de la Augsburg i-a recomandat să refacă unitatea religiei. Luptând în felurite chipuri contra turcilor, urând măcelărirea semenilor, revendicând regatul oferit de poloni²⁴⁰, a murit în anul 1576 la 12 octombrie]; [Born in the year 1527 on 1 august, from the father Emperor Ferdinand I (and) the mother Anna of Hungary, the parent of 16 children from Maria, the daughter of Emperor Charles V, (he became) King of Bohemia in the year 1526 on 20 September, King of the Romans on 30 September, (and) in the year 1536 on 8 September, King of Hungary, (and) after the death of (his) parent-emperor. To the first assembly from Augsburg²⁴¹ he recommended that it should restore religious*

²³⁸ Louis II Jagello, King of Ungariei (1516-1526), killed in the battle against the Turks from Mohács.

²³⁹ VA in ligature.

²⁴⁰ The Polish throne became elective when the Jagiellon dynasty became extinct (1572). Although somenobleendorsed his candidacy, Henry of Valois was elected first (1573), and then Stephen Báthory (1575), the majority of the Polish nobility fearing the absolutism of the Habsburgs.

²⁴¹ The Reichstag of Augsburg from 1566, which recognised the decisions reached by the Council of Trent (the basis of the Counter-Reformation).

unity. Fighting against the Turks in various ways, hating the slaughter of his peers, claiming the kingdom offered by the Poles, he died in the year 1576 on 12 October);

210. Medal dedicated to Emperor Rudolph II (1576-1612, King of the Romans from 1575, Archduke of Austria as Rudolph V from 1576, King of Hungary as Rudolph I between 1576-1608, King of Bohemia between 1576-1611, emperor).

D=32,5 mm; m.c.; VF; inv. N 60671;

Obv.: **C· PR· CÆS·**; encircling legend: **RVDOLPHVS II· ROM·[anorum] IMP·[erator] SEMP·[er] AVG·[ustus] GERM·[aniae] HVNG·[ariae] BOH·[emiae] REX** ☉ *[Rudolf al II-lea, împărat roman, veșnic august, rege al Germaniei, Ungariei, Boemiei]; [Rudolph II, Roman emperor, eternal august, King of Germany, Hungary, Bohemia];* in the field: laureate bust right of Rudolph II, wearing a short beard, a moustache and the Golden Fleece;

Rev.: **C· W·**; in the field: **NATVS/ A·[nno] 1552· 18· IVL·[ii]/ PATRE MAXIMIL·[iano] II·/ A·[nno] 1572· II· SEP·[tembris] REX HVNG·[ariae]/ A·[nno] 1575· XXII· SEPT·[embris] BOHEM·[iae]/ KAL·[endis] NOV·[embribus] REX ROM·[anorum] ELECTVS/ PATRE DEFVNCTO IMPERATOR/ PACIFICO IMPERIO GAVISVS/ HVNGARIS BOH·[emis] SILES·[iis] MORAVIS/ PRIVILEGIA ET RELIGIONIS/ LIBERTATEM CONFIRMAVIT/ CVM TVRCIS VARIO SVCESSV/ PVGNANS INDVCIAS FECIT/ ACADEMIAS CONFIRMAVIT/ DOCTOS FOVIT/ OBIIT PRAGAE/ AN·[no] 1612·/ 20· IAN·[uarii]** *[Născut în anul 1552 la 18 iulie, din tatăl Maximilian al II-lea, rege al Ungariei din anul 1572 la 2 septembrie, al Boemiei din anul 1575 la 22 septembrie, la 1 noiembrie (a fost) ales rege al romanilor; împărat după moartea tatălui (său). S-a bucurat de o domnie liniștită; ungurilor, cehilor, silezienilor (și) moravilor le-a confirmat privilegiile și libertatea credinței. Cu turcii, luptând cu sorți schimbători, a încheiat un armistițiu. A încurajat academiile, i-a ocrotit pe învățați. A murit la Praga în anul 1612, la 20 ianuarie]; [Born on 18 July in the year 1552, from the father Maximilian II, King of Hungary from the year 1572 on 2 September, of Bohemia from the year 1575 on 22 September, on 1 November (he was) elected King of the Romans; emperor after the death of (his) father. He enjoyed a peace fulreign; to the Hungarians, the Czechs, the Silesians (and) the Moravians he confirmed their privileges and freedom of the faith. Fighting with changing lots against the Turks, he concluded a truce.²⁴² He encouraged the academies, he protected the scholars. He died in Prague in the year 1612, on 20 January];*

211. Medal dedicated to Emperor Matthias II (1612-1619, King of Hungary as Matyás II between 1608-1618, King of Bohemia as Matyáš between 1611-1619, Archduke of Austria and emperor from 1612). D=32,1 mm; m.c.; VF; inv. N 60672;

Obv.: encircling legend: **MATHIAS ROM·[anorum] IMP·[erator] S·[emper] AVG·[ustus] GER·[maniae] HVN·[gariae] BOH·[emiae] DAL·[matiae] CROA·[tia]**

²⁴² The Turkish-Austrian treaty from Zsitvatorok (11 November 1606), which ended the “long war” between the Ottomans and the “Holy League,” which had begun in 1593.

SCLAV·[oniae] REX ⊕ *[Mathias, împărat roman, veșnic august, rege al Germaniei, Ungariei, Boemiei, Dalmației, Croației, Slavoniei]; [Matthias, Roman emperor, eternal august, King of Germany, Hungary, Bohemia, Dalmatia, Croatia, Slavonia];* in the field: laureate bust right of Matthias II, wearing a short beard, a moustache, a Spanish collar and the Golden Fleece;

Rev.: **C· C· PR· CAES· W·**; in the field: **NATVS/ A·[nno] 1557· XXIV· FEB·[ruarii]/ PATRE MAXIMIL·[iano] II·/ A·[nno] 1560· 19· NOV·[embris] REX HVNG·[ariae]/ A·[nno] 1611· X· IVL·[ii] REX BOH·[emiae]/ AN·[no] 1612· III· IVN·[ii] REX ROM·[anorum]/ ET IMPERATOR ELECTVS/ XXIV· IVNII CVM ANNA CONIVGE/ FRANCOFVRTI CORONATVS/ INDVCIAS CVM TVRCIS PEPIGIT/ QVOS ANTE IMPERIVM SAEPE/ PROFLIGAVERAT·/ MOTVVM INITIO BOHEMICORV[m]²⁴³/ DIRO ANNI 1618· XXX· DIERVm/ COMETA PRAEEVNT/ OBIIT VIENNAE/ AN·[no] M DC XIX·/ X· MART·[ii]** *[Născut în anul 1557 la 24 februarie, din tatăl Maximilian al II-lea, (a fost) ales în anul 1560 la 19 noiembrie rege al Ungariei, în anul 1611 la 10 iulie rege al Boemiei, (iar) în anul 1612 la 3 iunie rege al romanilor și împărat; (a fost) încoronat la Frankfurt în 24 iunie, împreună cu soția Anna. Cu turcii, pe care înainte de domnie adeseori îi zdrobise, a încheiat armistițiu. La începutul groaznic al mișcărilor din Boemia din anul 1618, prevestite de o cometă (vreme de) 30 de zile, a murit la Viena în anul 1619, la 10 martie]; [Born on 24 February in the year 1557, from the father Maximilian II, (he was) elected King of Hungary on 19 November in the year 1560, King of Bohemia on 10 July in the year 1611, (and) King of the Romans and emperor in the year 1612 on 3 June; (he was) crowned in Frankfurt on 24 June, together with his wife Anna. With the Turks, whom he had of ten crushed before his reign, he concluded an armistice. At the terrible beginning of the movements from Bohemia in the year 1618, predicted by a comet (for) 30 days, he died in Vienna in the year 1619, on 10 March];*

THE HABSBURG DYNASTY— THE STYRIA BRANCH

212. Medal dedicated to Emperor Ferdinand II (1619-1637, Archduke of Austria from 1590/1619, King of Hungary between 1618/1619-1637, King of Bohemia between 1619-1637, emperor). D=31,7 mm; m.c.; VF; inv. N 60670;

Obv.: encircling legend: **FERDINANDVS II· ROM·[anorum] IMP·[erator] SEMP·[er] AVG·[ustus] GER·[maniae] HVNG·[ariae] BOH·[emiae] REX** ⊕ *[Ferdinand al II-lea, împărat roman, veșnic august, rege al Germaniei, Ungariei, Boemiei]; [Ferdinand II, Roman emperor, eternal august, King of Germany, Hungary, Bohemia];* in the field: laureate bust right of Ferdinand II, wearing a goatee, a moustache, a Spanish collar and the Golden Fleece;

Rev.: **C· W· C· P· C·**; in the field: **NATVS/ GRAETII IN STYRIA/ IX· IVL·[ii] A·[nno] 1578·/ PAT·[re] CAROLO ARCHID·[uce] AVST·[riae]/ MAT·[re] MARIA· BAVARA/**

²⁴³ A horizontal *hasta* above the letter V.

CORONATVS REX/ BOHEMIAE A-[nno] 1617· 29· IVN-[ii]/ HVNGARIAE A-[nno] 1618· K[a]L-[endis] IVL-[iis]/ HINC ROMANORVM IMP-[erator]/ A-[nno] 1619· IX· SEPT-[embris] FRANCOFVRTI/ ELECTVS ET CORONATVS/ GRAVISSIMOS BOHEMORVM/ ET HVNGARORVM MOTVS/ NATVMQVE INDE/ INFELIX GERMANIAE/ TRICENNALE/ BELLVM SENSIT/ QVO FLAGRANTE/ OBIIT VIENNAE/ A-[nno] 1637· 15· FEBR-[uarii] [*Născut la Graz în Stiria la 9 iulie în anul 1578, din tatăl Carol arhiduce al Austriei (și) mama Maria de Bavaria, (a fost) încoronat rege al Boemiei în anul 1617 la 29 iunie (și) al Ungariei în anul 1618 la 1 iulie; apoi (a fost) ales și încoronat împărat roman la Frankfurt, în anul 1619 la 9 septembrie. A văzut rebeliunile foarte grave ale cehilor și ale ungarilor, (precum) și pentru Germania nefericitul război de treizeci de ani pornit de aici; pe când acesta se întetea, a murit la Viena în anul 1637, la 15 februarie*]; [*Born in Graz in Styria on 9 July in the year 1578, from the father Charles Archduke of Austria (and) the mother Maria of Bavaria, (he was) crowned King of Bohemia in the year 1617 on 29 June (and) of Hungary in the year 1618 on 1 July; then (he was) elected and crowned Roman Emperor in Frankfurt in the year 1619 on 9 September. He saw the very serious rebellions of the Czechs and the Hungarians, (as well as) the unfortunate thirty-year war for Germany started there; while it was fully under way, he died in Vienna in the year 1637, on 15 February*];

213. Medal dedicated to Emperor Ferdinand III (1637-1657, Archduke of Austria, King of Hungary and Bohemia, emperor). D=32,0 mm; m.c.; VF; inv. N 60667; Obv.: encircling legend: **FERDINANDVS III· ROM-[anorum] IMP-[erator] SEMP-[er] AVG-[ustus] GER-[maniae] HVNG-[ariae] BOH-[emiae] REX** ⊕ [*Ferdinand al III-lea, împărat roman, veșnic august, rege al Germaniei, Ungariei și Boemiei*]; [*Ferdinand III, Roman emperor, eternal august, King of Germany, Hungary, and Bohemia*]; in the field: laureate bust right of Ferdinand III, wearing a goatee, a moustache and the Golden Fleece;

Rev.: **C· W· F· C· PR· C·**; in the field: **NATVS/ GRAETII IN STYRIA/ AN-[no] 1608· 5· IVL-[ii]/ PAT-[re] FERDIN-[ando] II· IMP-[eratore]/ MAT-[re] MARIA ANNA BAVARA/ CORONATVS REX/ HVNGARIAE A-[nno] 1625· 8· DEC-[embris]/ BOHEMIAE A-[nno] 1627·/ ROMANORVM A-[nno] 1636· 30· DEC-[embris]/ TRIVM CONIVGVM MARITIS/ BELLO GERMANICO/ QVOD VIVENTE D-[efuncto] PATRE/ STRENVE GESSERAT/ FINEM IMPOSVIT A-[nno] 1648/ PACE MONASTERIENSI/ QVA COMITIIS RATISBON-[ae]/ FIRMATA OBIIT A-[nno]/ 1657·/ 23· MART-[ii]** [*Născut la Graz în Stiria, în anul 1608 la 5 iulie, din tatăl împăratul Ferdinand al II-lea (și) mama Maria Anna de Bavaria, (a fost) încoronat rege al Ungariei în anul 1625 la 8 decembrie, al Boemiei în anul 1627 (și) al romanilor în anul 1636 la 30 decembrie. (A fost) soț a trei soții. Războiului germanic, pe care îl purtase cu energie pe când răposatul (său) tată trăia, i-a pus capăt în anul 1648 prin pacea de la Münster; după ce aceasta a fost întărită de adunareade la Regensburg, a murit în anul 1657, la 23 martie*]; [*Born in Graz in Styria, in the year 1608 on 5 July, from the father Emperor*

Ferdinand II (and) the mother Maria Anna of Bavaria, (he was) crowned King of Hungary in the year 1625 on 8 December, of Bohemia in the year 1627 (and) of the Romans in the year 1636 on 30 December. (He was) the husband of three wives. He ended the German War, which he had waged energetically while (his) late father was alive, in the year 1648 with the Peace of Münster²⁴⁴; after it was reinforced by the assembly²⁴⁵ from Regensburg, he died in the year 1657 on 23 March];

214. Medal dedicated to Emperor Ferdinand IV (Archduke of Austria, King of Hungary and Bohemia, King of the Romans; he did not actually reign). D=32,1 mm; m.c.; VF; inv. N 60668;

Obv.: encircling legend: **FerdinandVS IV· ROM·[anorum] HVNG·[ariae] BOH·[emiae] REX** ☉ *[Ferdinand al IV-lea, rege al romanilor, al Ungariei, al Boemiei]; [Ferdinand IV, King of the Romans, eternal august, of, Hungary, of Bohemia]; in the field: laureate bust right of Ferdinand IV, wearing a moustache and the Golden Fleece;*

Rev.: **C· W· F· C· PR· CÆS·**; in the field: **NATVS/ A·[nno] 1633· 8· SEPT·[embris]/ PAT·[re] FERDIN·[ando] III· IMP·[eratore]/ MAT·[re] MARIA HISPANA/ CORONATVS REX/ BOHEMIAE A·[nno] 1646· 5· AVG·[usti]/ HVNGARIAE A·[nno] 1647·/ 16· IVN·[ii]/ GERMANIAE ELECTVS/ AVGVSTAE VINDELICORVM/ CORONATVS Ratisbonae/ D·[ie] 18· IVN·[ii] AN·[no] 1653·/ VIX TERRIS OSTENSVS/ OBIIT VIENNAE/ D·[ie] 9· IUL·[ii] A·[nno] 1654·/** ☉☉☉ *[Născut în anul 1633 la 8 septembrie, din tatăl împăratul Ferdinand al III-lea (și) mama Maria de Spania, (a fost) încoronat rege al Boemiei în anul 1654 la 5 august (și) al Ungariei în anul 1647 la 16 iunie; (a fost) ales la Augsburg (și) încoronat la Regensburg (rege) al Germaniei, în ziua de 18 iunie din anul 1653. Abia înfățișat lumii, a murit la Viena în ziua de 9 iulie din anul 1654]; [Born on 8 September in the year 1633, from the father Emperor Ferdinand III (and) the mother Maria of Spain, (he was) crowned King of Bohemia in the year 1654 on 5 August (and) of the Hungary on 16 June in the year 1647; (he was) elected in Augsburg (and) crowned at Regensburg (king) of Germany, on the day of June 18 in the year 1653. Barely presented to the world, he died in Vienna on the day of 9 July in the year 1654];*

215. Medal dedicated to Emperor Leopold I (Archduke of Austria, Roman king and emperor, King of Hungary between 1657 and 1687, King of Bohemia). D=33,0 mm; m.c.; G; inv. N 60669;

Obv.: **C· W·**; encircling legend: **LEOPOLDVS· D·[ei] G·[ratia] ROM·[anorum] IMP·[erator] AVG·[ustus] GERM·[aniae] HVNG·[ariae] BOHEM·[iae] REX** ☉ *[Leopold, prin grația lui Dumnezeu împărat roman august, rege al Germaniei,*

²⁴⁴ In fact, "the Peace of Westphalia" was negotiated and signed in two towns of the province, Münster and Osnabrück.

²⁴⁵ That is, in the Reichstag, the assembly of the representatives of the privileged estates from the entire Empire.

Ungariei, Boemiei]; [Leopold, by the grace of God, august Roman emperor, King of Germany, Hungary, Bohemia]; in the field: laureate bust right of Leopold I, wearing a whip, a moustache and the Golden Fleece;

Rev.: semi-circular legend: IANVM CLAVSIT·; in the field: the Temple of Janus shaped like an arch of triumph with closed gates; in exergue: PACE· XXV· ANNOR·[um] TVRCIS· REDDITA·/ ANNO· CHR·[isti] M DC IC· INEVNTE·/ REGNIQVE· HVNGARIAE·/ LEOPOLDI· XLII· CVRRENTE·/ IOSEPHI XII·/ INEVNTE· [*A închis templul lui Ianus după ce pacea pe 25 de ani s-a reîntors la turci, în anul abia început 1699 de la Cristos, pentru regatul Ungariei cel de-al patruzecișidoilea al (domniei) în curs a lui Leopold (și) al doisprezecelea al (domniei) ce începe a lui Iosif*]; [He closed the temple of Janus²⁴⁶ after the 25 years of peace was returned to the Turks, in the year after Christ 1699, which had just begun,²⁴⁷ for the Kingdom of Hungary the forty-second year of Leopold's (reign) that was underway (and) the twelfth of Joseph's (reign) that began];

216. Medal dedicated to Emperor Joseph I (1705-1711, King of Hungary from 1687, King of the Romans from 1690, King of Bohemia și emperor from 1705). D=32,4 mm; m.c.; VF; inv. N 60666;

Obv.: C· W·; encircling legend: IOSEPHVS· R·[omanorum] I·[mperator] S·[emper] A·[ugustus] G·[ermaniae] H·[ungariae] B·[ohemiae] R·[ex] [*Iosif, împărat roman veșnic august, rege al Germaniei, Ungariei, Boemiei*]; [Joseph, eternal august Roman emperor, King of Germany, Hungary, Bohemia]; in the field: laureate bust right of Joseph I, holding the Golden Fleece;

Rev.: in the field: NATVS/ VIENNAE/ D·[ie] 16· IVLII· A·[nno] 1688·/ PATRE LEOPOLDO MAGNO/ ROM·[anorum] IMP·[eratore] GERM·[aniae] HVNG·[ariae] BOH·[emiae] REGE/ MAT·[re] ELEONOR·[a] MAGDAL·[ena] THERESIA/ ELECT·[oris] PHILIP·[pi] PALAT·[inensis] NEOB·[urgensis] FILIA·/ CORON·[atus] REX HVNG·[ariae] POSON·[ii] D·[ie] 9· DEC·[embris] 1687·/ REX ROMAN·[orum] AVG·[ustae] VIND·[elicorum] D·[ie] 25· IAN·[uarii] 1690·/ REX BOHEMIAE ANNO M D CCV·/ DVAB9[us] EXPEDITIONIB9[us] 1702· & 1704·/ STRENVE INTERFVIT·/ LANDAVIAMQ·[ue] BIS EXPVGNAVIT/ MVTINAE D·[ie] 14· FEBR·[uarii] A·[nno] M D C I C·/ MATRIMONIO SIBI IVNXIT/ WILH·[elminam] AMAL·[iam] DVC·[is] IOH·[annis] FRID·[erici] HANN·[aviensis] LVN·[eburgensis] FIL·[iam]/ EX QVA/ FILII DEMORTVI/ DVARVMQ·[ue] SVPERSTITVM/ FILIARVM PATER/ VIENNAE/ D·[ie] 17· APR·[ilis] 1711·/ VARIOLIS/ OBIIT· [*Născut la Viena în ziua de 16 iulie în anul 1688, din tatăl Leopold cel Mare, împărat roman, rege al Germaniei, Ungariei (și) Boemiei, (și) mama Eleonora Magdalena Teresia, fiica electorului Filip de Pfalz-Neuburg, (a fost) încoronat rege al Ungariei la Bratislava în ziua de 9 decembrie 1687, rege al romanilor la Augsburg în ziua de 25 ianuarie 1690 (și) rege al Boemiei în anul 1705. A participat cu curaj la două campanii, în 1702 și 1704, și a cucerit*]

²⁴⁶ The temple from Rome of the ancient Italic god al Janus was closed only during peace time.

²⁴⁷ The Peace of Karlowitz (26 January 1699).

Landau de două ori. La Modena, în ziua de 14 februarie din anul 1699, s-a unit prin căsătorie cu Wilhelmina Amalia, fiica ducelui Ioan Frederic de Hanau-Lüneburg, de la care (a devenit) tatăl unui fiu mort și a două fete supraviețuitoare. A murit de variolă la Viena, în ziua de 17 aprilie 1711]; [Born in Vienna on the day of 16 July in the year 1688, from the father Leopold the Great, Roman Emperor, King of Germany, Hungary (and) Bohemia, (and) the mother Eleonore Magdalene Therese, the daughter of Philip Elector of Pfalz-Neuburg, (he was) crowned King of Hungary in Bratislava on 9 December 1687, King of the Romans at Augsburg on the day of 25 January 1690 (and) King of Bohemia in the year 1705. He participated bravely in two campaigns, in 1702 and 1704, and conquered Landautwice. At Modena, on the the day of 14 February in the year 1699, he was united in marriage with Wilhelmina Amalia, the daughter of Duke John Frederick of Hanau-Lüneburg, from whom (he became) the father of a still-born son and two surviving daughters. He died of small poxin Vienna, on the day of 17 April 1711];



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OBSERVATIONS ON THE TYPOLOGY OF THE DENARII ISSUED BY MARY, THE QUEEN OF HUNGARY (1382-1395). THE COIN HOARD FROM CLUJ-MĂNĂȘTUR

Abstract: The analysis of the coin hoard discovered in Cluj-Mănăștur, composed almost exclusively of denarii issued by Mary, Queen of Hungary (1382-1395), has led to a series of observations that are bound to change, in certain respects, the traditional image of monetary types and the chronology of the queen's denarii.

The starting point was the identification of the variants and sub-variants of the CNH II 114 and 116 denarii and of the hybrid denarii resulting from complicated combinations, based on no particular rule, between obverse legends and reverse iconographies, or between the legends of one monetary type with the iconographies of the other monetary type. These cross-correlations have led us to classify the coins in which Hungarian numismatic determinators are not featured (Unger, Huszár, Pohl) into two categories: hybrid denarii and exceptional coinages.

In the first category we have included the items that fall within the classic definition of monetary hybridisation, combining the reverse of CNH II 116 denarii (the two-barred cross) with the reverse of CNH II 114 denarii (the stamped crown monogram Ω). The combination of the two dies was due to a confusion, the intention being that of striking CNH II 114 denarii, whose obverse is almost identical with the reverse of CNH II 116 denarii.

The category of exceptional coinages includes denarii that go beyond the simple rule of hybridisation, each of the faces combining either legends and images of the same monetary type or the image of one monetary type with the legend of the other monetary type. The version that adopts the obverse of the CNH II 114 denarius and associates, on the reverse, the legend on the reverse of the CNH II 114 denarius with the design on the obverse of the CNH II 116 denarius, which was also reported in nineteenth-century coin catalogues (Rupp), may be considered a new type of denarius that was issued by Queen Mary, given the fact that they were struck in several mints, their weight and the emergence of obvious forgeries.

The central point of the analysis is the problem of the chronological succession of Queen Mary's denarii. Our interpretation, based solely on the analysis of the denarii, suggests a reversal of the traditional chronology, the CNH II 116 denarii having been struck before the CNH II 114 denarii. The arguments supporting this reverse chronology include the evolution of the monetary legends, the style of rendering letters, the volume of the coinages and the structure of the coin hoards containing the denarii issued by Queen Mary.

Keywords: Hungary, Mary, coin finds, denarii, hybrid denarii, coin types, chronology

As regards the coinage of denarii, the - insufficiently known - mint of Mary, the Queen of Hungary (1382-1395), poses a number of difficulties related to problem of identifying and determining the sequence of coin types struck here, of establishing their relative chronology and defining a classification system of the versions and sub-versions thereof.

The discovery of a hoard consisting almost exclusively of Queen Mary's denarii has provided the possibility of identifying a large number of versions and sub-versions of the CNH II 114 and CNH II 116 denarii and, last but not least, of several types of *hybrid* denarii resulting from the combination of the designs and legends specific to the two aforementioned types of coins. These are not simple combinations between the obverse/reverse of the CNH II 114 denarius type with the obverse/reverse of the CNH II 116 denarii: it is rather the case of novel composition versions that unify, at random,

obverse legends with reverse iconographies or the legends of one coin type with the iconographies of the other coin type.

According to the inventory register of the NMTH in 1934, a coin hoard mainly containing denarii issued by Mary, the Queen of Hungary (1382-1387), was discovered in Cluj, on 59 Mănăştur Street¹. The hoard was reported by Fr. Pap on several occasions,² mention being made of the 571 ½ denarii issued by Mary, an obol of the Archbishop of Prague, Henry Bretislaus, a Prague groschen from the fourteenth-fifteenth century and a coin issued by Mircea the Elder.

When our investigation started, there were 776 whole and fragmentary coins in the composition of the hoard. The Wallachian coin was not found, and the obol of the Archbishop of Prague, Henry Bretislaus, was actually a soldino issued by the Doge of Venice, Andrea Dandolo (1343-1354). Instead, we found the Prague groschen issued by King of Bohemia, Wenceslav III (IV) (1379-1419), and a novel coin, a poludinar (½ a denarius) struck by the Voivode of Kosovo, Vac Brancović (cca. 1371-1396).³

The typology of Queen Mary's denarii

The establishment of the types of denarii issued by Queen Mary has concerned several numismatists, the number of monetary issues not being always commonly accepted.

In 1847, I. Rupp identified two types of denarii: *Species I* (*Crux duplicata* - *Litera M coronata*) and *Species III* (*Crux duplicata* - *Corona aperta*). For the former type, Rupp mentioned only one legend version (+MONETA MARIE/+REGINE VNGARIE) and a series of privy mark (S, T, lilies, stars). The latter type is much more problematic, not only because of the difficulty in identifying the obverse of the coin, both sides being engraved, in the circular legend, with the queen's name (+MARIE DGR VNGARIE/+MONETA MARIE R V), but also because of its large number of versions. Rupp knew 27 versions for the second type of denarius, and had identified several privy marks (cm (*sic!*), h, I, K, m, S, T, V, the lily, the letter B in a mirror). The version of rendering the circular legend is large, both for the "obverse" (+MONETA MARIE/MARIA R V/R V), and for the "reverse" (+MARIE/MARIA/MARA DGR/DR/R VNGARIE/VNGARI/VNGAR/VGARIE) of the denarii catalogued as belonging to the second type.

A closer look at the descriptions of the 27 versions reported by Rupp allows us to identify several *hybrid* coins, for example, versions 4-6, which combine the obverse of the first type of denarius with a reverse comprising the legend ✠REGINE VNGARIE/VNGARI, taken from the reverse of the first type of denarius, and the open crown design, characteristic of the second type of denarii issued by Queen Mary. Another type of

¹ My gratitude goes to Mrs. Livia Călian, the custodian of the Numismatic Cabinet of the NMTH, for the kindness with which she has answered my request to publish the coin hoard from Cluj-Mănăştur.

² Fr. Pap, "Pénzforgalom a XIV-XV századi Erdélyban. Éremleletek tanúsága (La circulation monétaire en Transylvanie 14^e-15^e siècles)," in *NumKözlöny*, 92-93 (1993-1994), 1994, pp. 51-59 (53); Idem, *Repertoriu numismatic al Transilvaniei şi Banatului sec. 11-20. Despre circulaţia monetară în Transilvania şi Banat sec. 11-20*, Cluj-Napoca, 2002, pp. 60, 200, 217; Idem, "Circulaţie monetară în Transilvania şi Banat (secolele XIV-XV)," in *BSNR*, nr. 146-151 (1998-2003), 2003, pp. 211-214.

³ I must thank Mr. E. Oberländer-Tâmoveanu for identifying the Serbian coin, as well as the Venetian coin, and for making a substantial part of the bibliography available to me.

hybrid denarius, taken over by Rupp from Weszerle's plates, can also be recognised for versions 7-8, where the obverse legend associates the legend **✠MONE~~TT~~MM~~ARI~~** with the open crown design, while the reverse combines the two-barred cross with the legend **✠REG~~IN~~V~~RG~~ARIE**.⁴

Returning to the typology of denarii, in 1907, L. Réthy identified in his catalogue three types of denarii, known in the numismatic literature as CNH II 113, 114 and 116, the last two types being those mentioned by J. Weszerle and I. Rupp. The new type reported by Réthy, the CNH II 113 denarius, copied, as the numismatist suggested, the denarius featuring Saint Ladislaus (CNH II 94A) issued by Louis I.⁵ In the case of the CNH II 116 denarius type, Réthy considered, just like I. Rupp, that the obverse of the coin rendered the legend **✠MONE~~TT~~MM~~ARI~~** and the two-barred cross, while the reverse was inscribed with Mary's titlature, **✠MARIE~~DGR~~V~~RG~~ARIE**, and the open crown.

The new catalogue compiled by E. Unger took over the typology established by L. Réthy and his views on identifying the obverse of the CNH II 116/Unger 453 denarius.⁶

In 1979, L. Huszár included a new type of denarius among those issued by the mint of Queen Mary,⁷ a denarius that had been reported by J. Weszerle and I. Rupp, both attributing it to Louis I's mint.⁸ The aforementioned denarius, the only specimen recovered, associated the obverse of the CNH II 88/Huszár 546 obol, issued by Louis I, with a novel reverse, combining the iconography from the reverse of Mary's denarius, CNH II 114/Huszár 566, with the legend **+REGIS[...]GARIE**. As regards determining the obverse of the CNH II 116/Huszár 569 denarius, Huszár overturned the tradition, considering that the obverse was the one that rendered, in the circular legend, which surrounded the open crown, the titlature of Queen Mary, **✠MARIE~~DGR~~V~~RG~~ARIE**.

The typology of Queen Mary's denarii, drawn up by L. Huszár, with some amendments of a chronological nature, and his new idea about the obverse of the CNH II 116/Huszár 569 denarius, led A. Pohl to reconsider his views and accept the changes introduced by Huszár.⁹

The typological identification of Queen Mary's denarii did not, in itself, bring about a common solution as regards the dating of these coinages, the disagreements concerning the period when the CNH II 114-type denarii were issued and the beginning of minting denarii of the CNH II 116 type.¹⁰ A decree issued by Queen Mary to the

⁴ J. Weszerle, *Tabulae nummorum Hungaricorum. Hátrahagyott érmészeti táblái, I. kötet. Képes táblák*, Budapest, 1911, tab.V/12; I. Rupp, *Numi Hungariae hactenus cogniti, quos delineatos, ac e monumentis historico-numariis illustratos. II: Periodus mixta*, Budae, 1846, pp. 42-43, Tab XV/430.

⁵ L. Réthy, *Corpus Nummorum Hungariae. Magyar Egyetemes Éremtár. II kötet, Vegyesházi Királyok Kora*, Budapest, 1907, p. 17.

⁶ E. Unger, *Magyar Éremhatározó. II füzet (1307-1540)*, Budapest, 1960, p. 41.

⁷ L. Huszár, *Münzkatalog Ungarn von 1000 bis heute*, München, 1979, p. 92/567.

⁸ Rupp, *Numi Hungariae...*, p. 39, Tab. XV/424; Weszerle, *Tabulae nummorum Hungaricorum ...*, Tab. IV/23.

⁹ A. Pohl, *Évszám nélküli magyar denárok és obulusok 1308-1502*, Budapest, 1972, pp. 43-44/91, 93, 93; Idem, *Münzzeichen und Meisterzeichen auf ungarischen Münzen des Mittelalters 1300-1540*, Budapest, 1982, Tab. 30-33/111, 112, 114-114a.

¹⁰ Huszár, *Münzkatalog ...*, p. 92; Pohl, *Münzzeichen und Meisterzeichen...*, Tab. 30-33. As L. Huszár contends, the denarii of the CNH II 114 type were minted in 1383, while A. Pohl believes that their minting continued until 1385; as for the denarii of the CNH II 116 type, which were minted until 1395, they were issued for the first time in 1384, according to the timeline established by Huszár, but only in 1385/1386, according to Pohl's opinion.

chamber of Košice/Kassa in March 1384 demanded the payment of the tricesima and other fees or taxes to “*nova nostra moneta koronas dicta*.”¹¹ Given the contradictory chronology of the denarii and the fact that both coin types, CNH II 114 and 116, have the image of a crown on one of the sides, it is difficult to say which was the coinage to which reference was made.

Identifying the *new coin* mentioned in the document of March 1384 is an older dilemma of the Hungarian monetary history. In 1918, L. Kemény believed that the document referred to the CNH II 116 type of denarius and the CNH II 117 obol.¹² Huszár's chronology also points to the CNH II 116 type of denarius - an unlikely hypothesis, for the decree would then have been highly ambiguous for the citizens of Košice. Since this was a new kind of coin in relation to another earlier coinage, the identifying element being the image of the “crown,” and considering that they were issued at a distance of less than a year, we may wonder how the older denarii (CNH II 114) could be distinguished from the newer denarii (CNH II 116) if they both had a crown on one of the sides. Starting from the premise that the name of the new coin was given by the image on the obverse, and if our modern conception coincides with that of the time in terms of identifying the obverse, we may then regard this new coin “with a crown” as the denarius of the CNH II 116 type in a single situation: the CNH II 116 denarius was issued before the CNH II 114 denarius, the old currency - which it preceded - being the denarius that featured Saint Ladislaus (CNH II 113), struck by Queen Mary in 1382.

Before seeing, throughout this article, to what extent the analysis of the coin itself reinforces this assumption, we should remember, in the light of the chronology suggested by A. Pohl, the idea that the act could have referred to the CNH II 114 type of denarii, which were struck in the period 1383-1385.

The CNH II 114/ Huszár 566 type of denarii

A brief overview of the typological and chronological problems related to the denarii issued by Queen Mary and the appearance, in large numbers, of the versions and sub-versions of the CNH II 114/Huszár 566 and CNH II 116/Huszár 569 denarii in the coin hoard from Cluj-Mănăştur determine us to resume the discussion of the typological characteristics and attempt, as far as it lies in our power, to establish a classification system of the versions and sub-versions of the aforementioned denarii.

Queen Mary's denarii of the CNH II 114/Huszár 566 type continued to use the legend - adapted to her name - from the denarii minted by Louis I (CNH II 87, 89, 91), and took over the two-barred cross on the obverse, known ever since the Arpadian period and present on the denarii and obols of her father (CNH 87-91). Although it does not represent a completely novel element, except in term of the style, the rendition of the queen's monogram on the reverse, surmounted by a crown, may not be directly related to the iconography used by Louis I on coins issued for Ruthenia.¹³

¹¹ L. Kemény, “Mária királynő 1384. évi rendelete a „koronás” denárokról,” in *NumKözlöny*, 17, 1918, pp. 86-87; Z. P. Pach, “A harmincadvám az Anjou-korban és a 14-15. század fordulóján,” in *Történelmi Szemle*, 41, 1999, 3-4, pp. 231-277 (235-236).

¹² Kemény, *op. cit.*, note 1.

¹³ M. Gumowski, *Handbuch der polnischen Numismatik*, Graz, 1960, Tab. XVI/377-379; Huszár, *Munzkatalog Ungarn...*, p. 91/561, 562.

The CNH II 114/Huszár 566 denarii bear the legend +MONETA MARIE/+REGINE VNGARIE, 12 versions of script for the circular legends being identified in the Cluj-Mănăstur hoard, according to the dividing elements, the omission or addition of letters and, in some cases, the shape of the letters (Tab. 1).

The weight of the legend versions identified in various mint workshops indicates the prevalence of the complete legend of the ~~MONETA MARIE~~/~~REGINE VNGARIE~~ type, which is found on denarii allegedly struck, according to the privy marks, in the mints from Buda, Kassa/Košice, Baia Mare and Timișoara. On the denarii struck at Košice, the full legend consisted of several versions due to the presence of certain small partitioning globules (pearls), elements that we consider to be characteristic of the dies used in Košice.

In another order of ideas, the mints from Buda and Košice used three groups of legend for the denarii of the CNH II 114 type identified in the coin hoard, each with several versions: the complete legend, legend formulas from which some letters were omitted and legends differentiated by the scriptorial particularities of the letter A. The other mints (Baia Mare, Timișoara and Körömbánya/Kremnica) impressed only the complete legend formula, regardless of the number of preserved denarii (between 1 and 20 coins).

The omission of letters in the legend on the reverse of the denarii and the appearance of abridged versions ~~VNGARI~~ or ~~VNGARIE~~ were due, most likely, to the engravers' mechanical reproduction of these legends, which contained misspellings, this conclusion being reinforced by the extremely low volume of these coinages.

The use of two manners of writing the letter A on the denarii issued in Buda and Košice leads us to the idea that the dies in question were the work of different engravers. The monetary dies with the *antiqua* typeface of the letter A (a horizontal crossbar above, the median crossbar being absent) were used in both mints in small proportions. In the coin hoard from Cluj-Mănăstur there have been identified two hybrid coins, struck in the workshop from Buda, two of the CNH II 114 type of denarii associating the die that renders the Gothic form of the letter **A** on the obverse with the reverse die, where the letter A is written in the *antiqua* style **A**. No doubt, given the volume of the coinages, the engraver of the *antiqua* typeface of the letter A played a secondary role in both mints. A particular situation regarding the engraving of certain letters is that of the denarii minted at Košice (Pohl 112-2), where, in writing the legend, the letter T, in the word MONETA, is rendered in a particular way - **T** - or, rather, it is mistaken for the lower-case letter m. This die was also used in minting the CNH II 114 denarius issued at Kremnica.

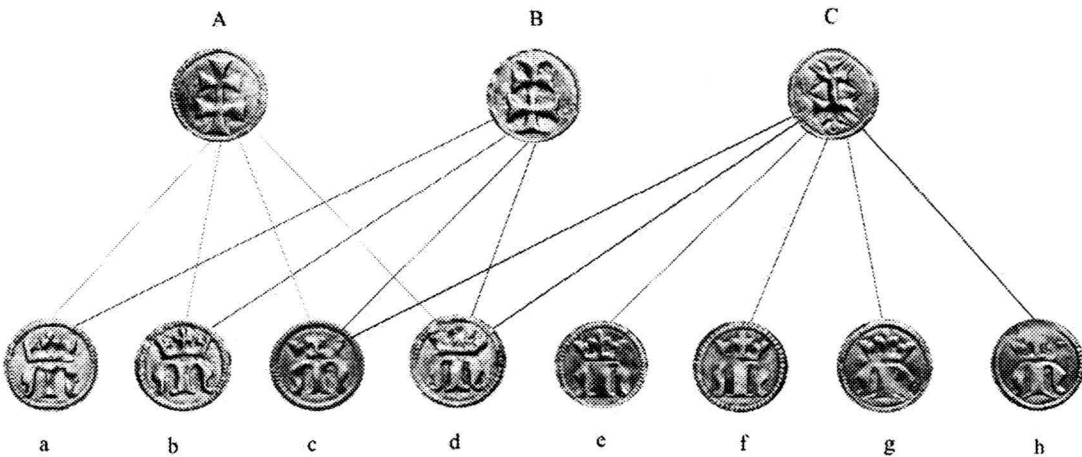
The versions of the CNH II 114/Huszár 566 type of denarii formulas are a matter of the legend formulas used on the obverse and the reverse, as well as of the design differences. While in the case of the legends, the complete form and the correctness of the script allows us to identify the official formula, it is rather difficult to specify the design prototype with accuracy, because the number of versions and sub-versions is very high, and their identification is artificial, influenced by the observer's acuity.

To identify the types of dies, we opted for a sequential approach, based on the mint workshops that issued denarii of the CNH II 114/Huszár 566 type. The distinctive criteria we have used - the shape of the arms of the cross, of the crown and the **M** monogram design - artificially simplify the classification system and place the possible versions and sub-versions on one tier alone, because we believe that these differences are a matter of the specific dies. The difficulties encountered in describing the peculiar manner of rendering the two-barred cross and the monogram have determined us to

restrict ourselves to rendering them in a photographic manner, in which alphabetical ordering is purely orientative, without any chronological connotation (Fig. 1).

As regards the design in the coin field, the most varied range of dies was identified on the denarii without privy marks assumed to have been issued in the mint from Buda between 1383 and 1385. In the case of 302 denarii, the impressed designs indicate the existence of 3 types of dies for the obverse (A-C) and of 8 types of dies for the reverse (a-h). The manner in which they are combined is presented in the figure below:

Fig. 1. Design versions on the obverse and reverse of the CNH II 114-type denarii



Tab. 1. Legend versions and their association on denarii of the CNH II 114/Pohl 112 type:

	Legend obverse	Legend reverse	Pohl 112-1	Pohl 112-2	Pohl 112-3	Pohl 112-4	Pohl 112-5	Pohl 112-7	Pohl 112-8	Pohl 112-10	Frequency
			-	♣-♣	♣-	-♣	★★	★	-H	-T	
1	MONETA MARIA	REGINA VNGARIA	260	36	1	1	5			20	6/8
2	MONETA MARIA	REGINA VNGARIA		2							1/8
3	MONETA MARIA	REGINA VNGARIA		31	1	13		9			4/8
4	MONETA MARIA	REGINA VNGARIA		2	1	2					3/8
5	MONETA MARIA	REGINA VNGARIA	3	1							2/8
6	MONETA MARIA	REGINA VNGARIA		1							1/8
7	MONETA MARIA	REGINA VNGARIA		1							1/8
8	MONETA MARIA	REGINA VNGARIA		5					1		2/8
9	MONETA MARIA	REGINA VNGARIA	9								1/8
10	MONETA MARIA	REGINA VNGARIA				5					1/8
11	MONETA MARIA	REGINA VNGARIA				1					1/8
No. of legend versions			3+n Buda	8+n	3+n	5	1 Baia Mare	1	1 Kremnica	1 Timișoara	
No. coins			302	93	4	22	5	9	1	20	

According to the catalogue, the most frequently used versions of rendering the obverse on the denarii issued in Buda are dies B (58.15%) and C (31.14%). Insofar as the reverse is concerned, die c stands out (69.58%), being combined with all the three obverse dies (Tab. 2). It should be noted that the obverse dies A and B are combined with the reverse dies a-d, while the obverse die C is associated with the reverse dies c-h. We may assume that the obverse dies A and B were used simultaneously, while the obverse die C functioned with them for a while, but eventually remained alone, having its own pairs of reverse dies (e-h).

The only mint - except for the one already mentioned above - that used several pairs of dies for minting the denarii of the CNH II 114 type preserved in the coin hoard is the presumed mint from Timișoara. Here, too, it appears that two pairs of dies were used, in no particular proportion: B-c and C-f, which were, in fact, also the pairs of dies most commonly used in Buda (Tab. 2).

As regards the CNH II 114 type of denarii, struck in the mints from Košice, Baia Mare and Kremnica, it has been noticed that a single pair of dies B-c was used, except for the denarii issued at Košice, with the legend ~~✠~~MONETA:MARIA:✠REGINA (REGIN): VNGARIA, with the mint mark ~~✠~~ placed on the reverse, to the left: these denarii, as we have already noted, used a particular design on the reverse, probably a version of the c die, due to the style of a different engraver.

Tab. 2. Stamp combinations on denarii of the CNH II 114/Pohl 112 type:

	Stamps	The type of denarius and the mint								Frequency
		112-1	112-2	112-3	112-4	112-5	112-7	112-8	112-10	
1	A+a	11								1/8
2	A+b	13+2								1/8
3	A+c	15+2								1/8
4	A+d	1								1/8
5	B+a	6								1/8
6	B+b	6								1/8
7	B+c	87+8+1	79	4	22	5	9	1	10	8/8
8	B+d	1								1/8
9	C+c	43								1/8
10	C+d	1								1/8
11	C+e	14								1/8
12	C+f	34							10	2/8
13	C+g	22								1/8
14	C+h	4								1/8
		271	79	4	22	5	9	1	20	

The CNH II 116/Huszár 569 type of denarii

Queen Mary's denarii of the CNH II 116/Huszár 569 type imposed a novel obverse and transformed the CNH II 114/Huszár 566 obverse into the reverse. The design of the new obverse depicts the open royal crown, underneath which are positioned the privy marks. The legend presents the queen's titulature, ~~✠~~MARIA DGR VNGARIA, in a 15-letter long form, which - because of the engravers' errors, who often omitted the formula **D(ei)**

G(ratia) or a part of the letters in the word VNGARIE, gave rise to several versions¹⁴ (Tab. 3). The queen's titulature is resumed, in abbreviated form, on the reverse side, ~~MONETA~~ MARIE RV, and this has triggered disputes in establishing the obverse of the CNH II 116 type of denarius. In some cases, the letter V(ngarie) is missing or erroneously replaced with the letters I or E. In most cases, both letters R(egine) V(ngarie) are missing, which leads us to accept the obverse established by L. Huszár.

The full legend +MARIE D'G R VNGARIE was used for the first time in 1382, on denarii of the CNH II 113/Huszár 565 type, which were inspired, as we mentioned before, from the denarii featuring Saint Ladislaus issued by Louis I. Unlike Louis I's mint, where the *Dei Gratia* formula appeared only on certain types of florins and groschen, Mary impressed this complete legend formula on the obverse of two types of denarii, CNH II 113 and 116, separated, according to the traditional typology, by the CNH II 114 denarius. The full coin legend, more and groschen, Mary impressed this complete legend formula on the obverse of two types of denarii, CNH II 113 and 116, separated, according to the traditional typology, by the CNH II 114 denarius. The full coin legend, more difficult to fit into the space allotted on the monetary flan, is rarely encountered, the simplified forms without the *Dei Gratia* formula being more numerous. The discarding of certain formulas might also be a chronological clue, the coins with abbreviated, simplified legends representing later coinages.

Beyond these minor chronological benchmarks in the CNH II 116 coin type, we believe that the evolution of the legend on the denarii issued by Queen Mary in terms of the political context may be a clue also as regards their typological sequence. Despite King Louis's desire to enthrone his minor daughter, Mary, who had been betrothed to Sigismund of Luxembourg since 1372, the vast majority of the nobles were hostile to the female line of succession to the throne, and considered the Neapolitan King Charles of Durazzo as his legal successor, since he was the sole descendant on the male line of the Angevins.¹⁵¹⁵

If we take into account the confused political situation, the invocation of divine benevolence and the impression of Mary's name and titulature on both sides of the denarii represented attempts at legitimisation which had their role in the early part of her reign. It made no sense to use this complicated legend on denarii issued after the crisis of 1386 and the coronation of Sigismund as king, in March 1387. Moreover, the legend of the denarii issued by King Sigismund of Luxembourg after 1387 (CNH II 120) and, respectively, 1390 (CNH II 121): +MONET or MON SIGISMVNDI/REGIS VNGARIE¹⁶ established a parallel with the legend of Queen Mary's denarii of the CNH II 114 type, +MONETA MARIE/+REGINE VNGARI, suggesting a reversal of the traditional chronology.

¹⁴ A. Leszih, "Mária magyar királynő obulusa," in *NumKözlöny*, 11, 1912, pp. 3-4 (4).

¹⁵ S. Márki, *Mária, Magyarország királynéja 1370-1395*, Budapest, 1885, pp. 33-83; I. Türr, "Luxemburgi Zsigmond, magyarország királya," in *Alba Regia. Annales Musei Stephani Regis*, 27, 1998, pp. 205-213 (207-209); P. Engel, *Regatul Sfântului Ștefan. Istoria Ungariei medievale 895-1526*, Cluj-Napoca, 2006, pp. 198, 222-226.

¹⁶ A. Pohl, "Zsigmond király pénzverése (1387-1437)," in *NumKözlöny*, 66-67 (1967-1968), 1968, pp. 43-56 (56).

Tab. 1. Legend versions and their association on denarii of the CNH II 114/Pohl 112 type:

	Legend obverse	Legend reverse	Pohl 112-1 -	Pohl 112-2 ✚ - ✚	Pohl 112-3 ✚ -	Pohl 112-4 - ✚	Pohl 112-5 ✱✱	Pohl 112-7 ✱	Pohl 112-8 - H	Pohl 112-10 - T	Frequency
1	MONETHMARIΘ	REGINAVNGARIΘ	260	36	1	1	5			20	6/8
2	MONETHMARIΘ	REGINAVNGARIΘ		2							1/8
3	MONETHMARIΘ	REGINAVNGARIΘ		31	1	13		9			4/8
4	MONETHMARIΘ	REGINAVNGARIΘ		2	1	2					3/8
5	MONETHMARIΘ	REGINAVNGARI	3	1							2/8
6	MONETHMARIΘ	REGINAVNGARI		1							1/8
7	MONETHMARIΘ	REGINAVNGARIΘ		1							1/8
8	MONETHMARIΘ	REGINAVNGARIΘ		5					1		2/8
9	MONETHMARIΘ	REGINAVNGARIΘ	9								1/8
10	MONETHMARIΘ	REGINAVNGARIΘ				5					1/8
11	MONETHMARIΘ	REGINAVNGARIΘ				1					1/8
No. of legend versions			3+n Buda	8+n	3+n	5	1 Baia Mare	1	1 Kremnica	1 Timișoara	
				Košice							
No. coins			302	93	4	22	5	9	1	20	

Tab. 4. Stamp combinations on denarii of the CNH II 116/Pohl 114 type:

	Stamps	The type of denarius and the mint												Frequency
		114-1	114-2	114-3	114-4	114-5	114-6	114-8	114-9	114-10	114-12	114-13	114-14	
1	A+a	2		1			2				1			4/12
2	A+b		10		4		1		3	2	1	1		7/12
3	B+b		4	1										2/12
4	B+c		1	1										2/12
5	C+a					3		1						2/12
6	D+d												10	1/12
		2	15	3	4	3	3	1	3	2	2	1	10	

An additional argument for the reversal of the chronology in the case of the CNH II 114 and CNH II 116 denarii is the style of rendering the letters in the legend.¹⁷ The analysis of the CNH II 116 type of denarii reveals the prevalence of using the *antiqua* form (10/14 versions, 93.61%). As regards the mints in which the letter A was rendered in *antiqua* typeface, what may be ascertained is that the mints from Košice and Székesfehérvár, the best represented in the coin hoard, used this style exclusively.

According to the typological scheme of Queen Mary's denarii, the first type of a CNH II 113/Huszár 565 denarius was issued in the Székesfehérvár mint in 1382. The letter A in the legend and the privy mark were rendered in *antiqua* style, a writing style taken from King Louis's denarii featuring Saint Ladislaus (CNH II 94A/Huszár 542).¹⁸ After the year 1382, the mint stopped coining denarii in the interval between 1383 and 1386,¹⁹ and resumed minting the legend in *antiqua* style after 1386, on CNH II 116 denarii. On the other hand, the mint from Košice struck both CNH II 114 and CNH II 116 denarii. As easily seen from the catalogue of the coin hoard, the CNH II 114 denarii minted in Košice used, in different proportions, both the *antiqua* (4.90%) and the Gothic (95.09%) typeface for the letter A, while in the case of the CNH II 116 denarii, preserved in the coin hoard, only the *antiqua* font has been identified.

Given the above, we are tempted to consider that the two types of font succeeded one another chronologically, and that the *antiqua* style, prevalently used on CNH II 116 denarii, is another indication for the early dating of these denarii. Notwithstanding all this, we believe that in order to establish the chronological relation between the two typefaces, it is more prudent to await the results of further extensive research on a larger lot of Queen Mary's denarii, and even on the denarii issued by Sigismund of Luxembourg.²⁰

In the absence of written sources and knowledge of how the existing ones have been interpreted, our analysis is based exclusively on observing the coins themselves.

¹⁷ There are also mints that use both typefaces (Körmöcbánya, Baia Mare, the mint without a mark and the mint marked through the siglum I). In the case of the mint from Baia Mare, a hybrid denarius has been identified (a Gothic A on the obverse, an *antiqua* A on the reverse).

¹⁸ Analysing coins featuring Saint Ladislaus (CNH II 65, 66, 94A, 95A), the Hungarian numismatist C. Tóth has noticed that in the case of the letter A, rendered in Gothic style on the early coins, there was an evolution in two directions: on the CNH II 94A denarii and on the CNH II 66 florins, the *antiqua* typeface began to be used, whereas on the CNH II 95A denarii and on the CNH II 65 florins, the Gothic font continued to be used (Rethy, *Corpus Nummorum* ..., p. 17; C. Tóth, "I. Lajos „szerecsenfejes” és „szentlászlós” dénárjainak korrendje. II. Rész," in *Az Érem*, 2003, 2, pp. 2, 5).

¹⁹ Our statement is merely an assumption based on the lack of the Székesfehérvár mint mark on denarii of the CNH II 114 type.

²⁰ A preliminary analysis of the CNH II 120-121 denarii struck by Sigismund of Luxembourg has outlined an ambiguous picture. The analysis was carried out on a small lot of coin hoards (Batăr, Oradea/Bihor County, Florești/Cluj County), because despite the fact that in recent years a series of hoards containing denarii issued by Sigismund have been published, they do not refer to the font used in the legend. The *antiqua* typeface was used on CNH II 121-type denarii struck in the mints: Košice, Oradea, Baia Mare, Smolník/Schmöllnitz and a few mints whose privy marks remain unidentified (Pohl, *Münzzeichen und Meisterzeichen* ..., 117-26, 32, 42, 44). The first type of denarius issued by Sigismund, CNH II 120, allegedly struck in Buda between 1387 and 1389 (Pohl, *Zsigmond király*..., p. 46), appears only in Gothic script in the coin hoards analysed. For the mint in Székesfehérvár, the situation remains uncertain, the sole denarius identified in the hoard from Oradea (MŰCO, inv. 6/103) rendering the legend in Gothic script.

Iconographically, the CNH II 116/Huszár 569 denarii feature the two-barred cross on the reverse, the differences between the dies being given by some small differences, such as the thickness of the arms of the cross and their endings: with globules (die a), slightly arched (dies b, d) or bifurcated and elongated (die c).

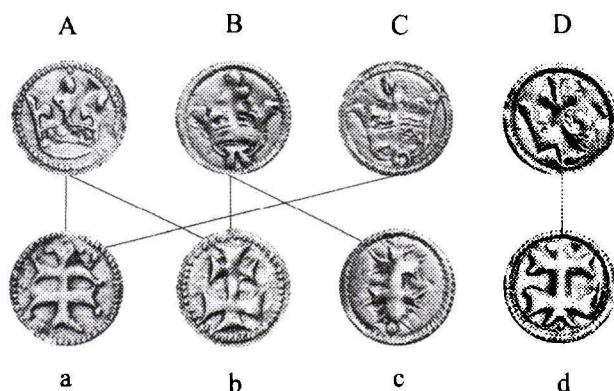


Fig. 2. Design versions on the obverse and the reverse of CNH II 116 denarii

Hypothetically, we may assume that the prototype of the cross with globules is found on the CNH II 89, 91, 93 Saracen denarii and on the CNH II 88 obols struck by Louis I. In support of this hypothesis, let us make reference to the “hybrid” coin reported by J. Rupp among the *Crux duplicata-Corona aperta* denarii²¹: a denarius issued by Queen Mary (+[MARI]E R VNARIE, open crown and the siglum I), reminted from a coin of Louis, which, according to the circular legend MONTA LODOV, surrounding the two-barred cross with globules, can be identified as the CNH II 88 obol.²² We may not exclude the possibility that the Saracen denarii - even though they were not issued, as long believed,²³ in the last decade of the reign of Louis I,²⁴ remained in circulation, as attested by their appearance in hoards buried during the reign of Queen Mary and King Sigismund of Luxembourg,²⁵ and influenced the iconography of Queen Mary’s denarii. Comparing the design of the cross on Queen Mary’s denarii, of the CNH II 114 and 116 types, we have reached the conclusion that the image of the cross adorned with globules appears only on the CNH II 116 denarius.

²¹ Rupp, *Numi Hungariae* ..., p. 43/25.

²² The coin mentioned by Rupp may be a forgery from the period, the raw material used in the absence of a new coin flan being an older coin.

²³ Huszár, *Munzkatalog Ungarn* ..., pp. 9-90; A. Pohl, “Pénzverés Nagy Lajos korában,” in *NumKözlöny*, 80-81 (1981-1982), 1983, pp. 71-77 (74).

²⁴ C. Toth has recently established a new chronological outline of the denarii issued by Louis. Based on a rigorous analysis, he reverses the chronology unanimously accepted by the Hungarian numismatists, whereby the denarii featuring Saint Ladislaus were issued between the years 1358-1372, only “Saracen” denarii being minted from that time until 1382, and he demonstrates that the Saracen-head denarii were struck before the Saint Ladislaus denarii (see C. Tóth, “I. Lajos „szerecsenfejes” és „szentlászlós” dénárjainak korrendje. I. Rész,” in *Az Érem*, 2003, 1, pp. 5-12; Idem, in *Az Érem*, 2003, 2, pp. 1-6 and C. Tóth, “I. Lajos „szerecsenfejes” és „szentlászlós” dénárjainak korrendje. III. Rész,” in *Az Érem*, 2004, 1, pp. 1-6).

²⁵ F. Király, “A szabadszállási Zsigmond korabeli érmelet,” in *NumKözlöny*, 50-51 (1951-1952), 1952, pp. 27-37; Toth, in *Az Érem*, 2003/1, pp. 9-10, tab. 1-2).

We are inclined to believe that the image of the cross adorned with globules appears on the early denarii from the first years of Queen Mary's reign.²⁶ It does not seem logical that the image, taken from Louis's older coins, should have been used only during the last years of her reign, in total disagreement with the iconography of Sigismund's first denarii (CNH II 120, 121), which rendered the two-barred cross with bifurcated arms on the obverse.

Privy marks

Throughout the article, we have referred, on several occasions, to the mint marks used on the denarii issued by Queen Mary, with the mention that, in many cases, the identification of the graphic signs and the letters in the specialised literature remains uncertain. In the absence of written documents, without knowing the significance of each mark, attempts have been made, sometimes just based on assumptions, to interpret the letters as the initials of the cities where the mint workshops were located. The correct identification of the mints proves to be even more problematic in the case of the denarii with marks rendered through graphic signs (stars, lilies in different positions), taken from the system of privy marks belonging to King Louis.

Of the 10 marks identified by A. Pohl, on the 465 coins in the hoard discovered in Cluj there are 7 privy marks for the CNH II 114 denarii issued by Queen Mary, most denarii being unmarked and assigned hypothetically to the mint in Buda (64.94 %). Of the marked denarii, a percentage of 25.59% belongs to the mint in Košice, 4.30% to the mint in Timișoara, 1.07% to the mint in Baia Mare and only 0.21% (1 coin) bearing the mint mark of Kremnica. The graphic signs identified as the mint mark of Košice (♣) and Baia Mare (★), are known from the denarii featuring Saint Ladislaus, struck by Louis I (CNH II 94 A and 95 A). In addition to these older marks, the mint marks of Kremnica (✠) and Timișoara (T) also appeared now, being also used in the following period.

For the CNH II 116 denarii, of the 17 marks identified by A. Pohl, there are, on the 63 coins in the hoard discovered in Cluj, 12 privy marks ascribed to the mints from Székesfehérvár (31.74%), Košice (15.86%), Kremnica (9.52%), Sibiu (7.93%), Baia Mare (3.17%), Timișoara (4.76%) and Oradea (1.58%). With one exception alone, the mark representing a lily flower of the mint in Košice, the rest of the mints are identified through the letters that appear in the coin field.

Only in few cases can we speak about an unquestionable identification of the privy marks on the basis of documentary attestations, as is the case of the privy marks of the mint from Székesfehérvár (Alba Regia).²⁷ On the other hand, except for the mint

²⁶ Paying attention to the dies of the CNH II 116-type denarii, one may notice that the full circular legend +MONETA MARIER V is associated with the a version of the reverse (the two-barred cross with globules); these were probably the first dies used to strike CNH II 116 denarii, the legend becoming simplified in time by omitting the final letters R.V.

²⁷ The fact that the CNH II 27 and 34 parvi issued by Charles Robert, bearing the privy mark A, have been identified as *denarii parvi Albenses*, *denarii parvi de Alba Regalii*, mentioned in documents between the years 1337-1342, has facilitated and ensured ascribing that privy mark to the mint in Székesfehérvár (L. Huszár, "Anjou-kori pénzverés Székesfehérvárott," in *Székesfehérvár évszázadai*, 2, 1972, pp. 113-122; C. Tóth, "Pénzverdék az Anjou-kori Magyarországon," in *Emlékkönyv Biró-Sey Katalin és Gedai István 65. születésnapjára – Festschrift für Katalin Biró-Sey und István Gedai zum 65. Geburtstag*, szerk. Bertók Krisztina, Torbágyi Melinda, Budapest, 1999, pp. 307-314 (310)).

from Kremnica, whose privy mark, **G M**, was ascribed to the comes of the chamber in Kremnica, Johannes Craczer, mentioned in the documents in around the year 1385,²⁸ we do not know the names of the administrators of the chambers or mints. The disappearance of the administrators' names from the documents of the time is noticeable from the seventh decade of the fourteenth century and it has been attributed to the lease of all the chambers to Szerecsen Jakab, either alone or together with his brother Janos.²⁹

Regarding the marks on Queen Mary's denarii, we may notice a simplification of the system of privy marks used by her predecessors, Charles Robert and Louis I, through the relinquishment of a series of graphic signs and the introduction of coin sigla that continued to appear on the coins issued by Sigismund of Luxembourg and his successors. We do not know whether the "archaic" graphic signs on the CNH II 114 denarii may serve as chronological benchmarks as long as the lily of the mint in Košice or the five-pointed star of the mint in Baia Mare continued to appear, in parallel with the privy marks, on the CNH II 121 denarii struck by Sigismund of Luxembourg, in the chronological interval between 1390 and 1427.³⁰

Hybrid denarii

In the coin hoard, there are three hybrid items that combine the reverse of the CNH II 116 denarius (the two-barred cross) with the reverse of CNH II 114 (stamped crown monogram **Ω**). Hybrid coinages of this type may be divided into two subgroups, according to the dies used for striking the obverse:

Sub-version A

a. Two denarii render the circular legend +MONETA·MARIE on the obverse, surrounding the two-barred cross, surmounted by globules (inv. 59.644 and 59.871). At first glance, we might think that this is the obverse of a CNH II 114 denarius, but the two-barred cross, rendered with globules, is not encountered on the obverse of CNH II 114 denarii, either in the hoard or in corpora.

Sub-version B

b. The third denarius renders on the obverse the legend +MONTA·MARIER, the abridged form of the legend on the reverse of CNH II 116 denarii, surrounding the two-barred cross with slightly arched endings (inv. 59.358).

The dies of the CNH II 114 reverse, devoid of privy marks, are those supposedly used in the mint from Buda, and we can make only one observation regarding the reverse dies of the CNH II 116 denarius: although different, they associate the Gothic typeface of the letter A with the cross adorned with globules.

The low weights (0.37 g, 0.26 g, 0.54 g) and the coin with a core (inv. 59.358) are not sufficient reasons to believe that the hybrid denarii are forgeries produced in clandestine workshops, unless they were somehow struck with dies stolen from the official mints or were clandestinely struck in the mints. We believe rather that the hybrid

²⁸ T. A. Horváth, L. Huszár, "Kamaragrófok a középkorban," in *NumKözlöny*, 54-55 (1955-1956), 1956, pp. 21-33(26).

²⁹ Pohl, *Zsigmond király ...*, p. 44, Tóth, *Pénzverdék az Anjou-kori ...*, p. 313, Tóth, in *Az Érem*, 2004/1, pp. 4-5.

³⁰ Pohl *Münzzeichen und Meisterzeichen...*, Tab 38/117-45, 47.

denarii were struck in mints (Buda?), that they are the product of confusion, the intention being to strike CNH II 114 denarii, whose obverse is almost identical to the reverse of the CNH II 116 denarii.

This hypothesis could also represent a chronological clue: the dies with the simplified legend and Gothic font, assumed to have been used later in the coinage of the CNH II 116 type, and the intention to mint CNH II 114 denarii suggest the reversal of the sequence of coin types, the coinage of CNH II 114 denarii type being preceded by that of the CNH II 116 denarii.

Exceptional coinages

Version A

In 1856, I. Rupp signalled the fact that a version of the *Crux duplicata-Corona aperta* (CNH II 116) denarius was represented by the three denarii struck in Kremnica (**G M**), which rendered on the obverse the two-barred cross, surrounded by the circular legend +MONETA MARY/MARIE, and on the reverse the open crown, surrounded by the legend +REGINE VNGARIE/VNGARI.³¹ The version of the denarii mentioned by Rupp is found in the hoard from Cluj-Mănăştur, where there have been identified 18 coins featuring different marks: 15 denarii with the mint marks of Kremnica (**G M** and **K**), and 2 denarii marked with the unidentified siglum **SM**, of which one is counterfeit, and 1 denarius probably issued in the mint from Timișoara (**T**).

To summarise, the aforementioned denarii feature the obverse of the CNH II 114 denarius, and combine on the reverse the legend of the reverse of the CNH II 114 denarius with the obverse design of the CNH II 116 denarius. The appearance of a new type of reverse, which takes over, without a strict rule, certain elements from the official CNH II 114 and 116 coin types, impels us to avoid characterising these denarii as hybrid, considering rather that this was an exceptional coinage, or a new coin type, as E. Unger also believed when he analysed the collection of CNH II 116 denarii kept in NHMB.³² The striking of these denarii in several mints, their weight and the appearance of counterfeits are arguments in favour of the hypothesis that these changes in the iconography of the reverse were official, legal, the new dies being used simultaneously in several workshops.

Tab. 5. The weight of the exceptional coinages, version A, by comparison with the official types:

	CNH II 114	CNH II 116	CNH II -
Kremnica (G M)	-	5	12
Kremnica (K)	1	1	3
Timișoara ? (T)	20	4	1
Unidentified mint (SM)	-	3	1+1 forgery

³¹ Rupp, *Numi Hungariae* ..., 42/4-6, Tab. XV/430.

³² E. Unger, "Mária királynó obulusa?," in *NumKözlöny*, 72-73 (1973-1974), 1974, pp. 91-93 (92).

Version B

In the hoard from Cluj-Mănăstur there is also another version of denarius, identified by J. Weszerle³³ and subsequently reported by I. Rupp.³⁴ The obverse of this version combines the legend version of the reverse from the CNH II 116 denarii struck in Székesfehérvár **MONET MARIÆ**: (Tab 3/5) with the design of the open crown found on the obverse of same type of denarius, while the reverse combines the legend from the reverse of the CNH II 114 denarius (**REGINA VNGARIE**) with the two-barred cross, taken either from the obverse of the CNH II 114 denarius or from the reverse of the CNH II 116 denarius. The item signalled by Weszerle and Rupp and that from the coin hoard in Cluj (inv. 59.608) were issued with the same die, both bearing the mint mark of Kremnica (**G M**).

In the hoard from Cluj we identified a denarius issued in the mint from Kremnica (inv. 59.609), which may be classified as a sub-version of the previous coinage. The already known composite reverse - the legend on the reverse of the CNH II 114 denarius type (**REGINA VNGARIE**) and the two-barred cross, taken either from the obverse of the CNH II 114 denarius or from the reverse of the CNH II 116 denarius - is associated this time with the obverse of the CNH II 116 denarius.

Version C

A final category of the exceptional issues is represented by two denarii that combine elements borrowed from the official CNH II 116 denarius, more specifically, they associate the legend on the obverse with the design on the reverse and the legend on the reverse with the design on the obverse (inv. 59.624) or reverse these combinations (inv. 59.854). There appear two marks on these denarii: **h**, the mint mark of Sibiu, and **I**, the mark of an unidentified mint.

Tab. 6. Exceptional coinages among the denarii of Queen Mary:

Exceptional coinages	Obverse		Reverse		Frequency	Privy marks
	Legend	Design	Legend	Design		
Version A	obverse CNH 114		reverse CNH 114	obverse CNH 116	Rupp, 42/4-6 Unger 1973-1974, 92 Coin find from Mănăstur	G M, R, T, M
Version B	reverse CNH 116	obverse CNH 116	reverse CNH 114	obverse CNH 114 or reverse CNH 116	Weszerle V/12 Rupp, 43/7-8 Coin find from Mănăstur	G M
Sub-version	obverse CNH 116		reverse CNH 114	obverse CNH 114 or reverse CNH 116	Coin find from Mănăstur	
Version C	obverse CNH 116	reverse CNH 116	reverse CNH 116	obverse CNH 116	Coin find from Mănăstur	h, I

³³ Weszerle, *Tabulae nummorum Hungaricorum...*, Tab. V/12)

³⁴ Rupp, *Numi Hungariae ...*, p. 43/7-8.

Coins with striking errors

Queen Mary's denarii from the coin hoard of Cluj-Mănăştur present numerous striking irregularities. Besides the large number of denarii with double or off-centre strikes, 3 *incuse denarii* have been identified (the reverse impressed in the positive and, on the other side of the coin, instead of the obverse, the image of the reverse impressed in the negative).³⁵ The characteristics of the dies and the fact that on one of the three denarii the mint mark of Košice (✱-) has been identified lead us to consider the three denarii as products of the official mint workshops, the striking errors being due to the lack of a rigorous control during the minting process.

We are tempted to consider that the lack of a rigorous control over the coin production in Queen Mary's mints also led to the coinage of *denarii with a core* plated in silver leaf, probably silvered bronze. All the denarii with a core identified in the coin hoard belong to the CNH II 114/Pohl 112-1 type, assumed to have been issued in the mint from Buda. Their weight is probably higher, but given the lack of metallographic analyses, only items where the silver leaf has come off in places have been identified (8 pieces).³⁶

Neatly minted silvered bronze coins, with significantly lower average weights and diameters (0.35 g., 13.96 mm) may be the result of attempts made by the official mint to obtain a profit by reducing the amount of sterling silver in each coin or the moneyers' actions, who were thus trying to make an income for themselves. Moreover, the CNH II 114 denarii struck in the mint supposedly existing in Buda, frequently present striking errors (worn-out dies, off-centre strikes, double strikes), which indicate the absence of a thorough control from the authorities.

Forgeries

Besides the official coins with striking errors, there are obvious counterfeits in the coin hoard which are easy to identify because of the incorrect legends, the rudimentary designs or the primitive striking technique. We should mention here a coin with a core, an imperfect copy of a CNH II 116/ Pohl 114-4 denarius from the mint in Kremnica, whose fake character is revealed by the senseless legend and the crude designs, poorly engraved and impressed (inv. 59.353).

Another category is that of the denarii that render the same image on both sides: the two-barred cross. This is not a striking error, but a gross case of forgery, betrayed by the attempt to reproduce the mint mark, by the rudimentary designs and, especially, by misspellings in the circular legend, which is legible and accurate on one side, but meaningless on the other (inv. 59.536, 59.364). Most fakes reveal the existence of illiterate engravers, who strove to imitate the original legends, but whose result was a string of inverted letters, in a mirror, or was downright meaningless (inv. 59.561, 59.651, 59.649).

³⁵ The *incuse denarii* have the inventory numbers: 59.262, 59.560, 59.562.

³⁶ These are the coins with the inventory numbers: 59.213, 59.229, 59.238, 59.285, 59.365, 59.467, 59.471, 59.495.

With one exception, the coins with partly incomprehensible, partly unreadable legends and with primitive engravings fraudulently achieved outside the mints imitate the CNH II 116 denarii.

A special group is that of the forgeries after the so-called exceptional coinages and the hybrid denarii. We shall mention here the counterfeit coin signalled in the case of the exceptional coinages, version A, which takes the obverse of the CNH II 114 denarius and combines, on the reverse, the legend from the reverse of the CNH II 114 denarius with the obverse design of the CNH II 116 denarius. Unlike the original items, the legend, sometimes incomprehensible, is meaningless (inv. 59.160).

In the case of the hybrid counterfeits, we have identified two items. One of them associates a novel obverse, rendering the legend +MONETA VNGARIE and the stamped crown monogram with the reverse of the CNH II 114 denarius, both sides clearly evincing the attempt to imitate the legend, some of the letters being illegible (no. 59.643). The second item combines the obverse of the CNH II 116 denarius, whose legend is misspelt, with the reverse of the CNH II 114 denarius (inv. 59.363).

The presence of Queen Mary's denarii in the coin hoards

At this stage of numismatic research, the coin hoard discovered in Cluj-Mănăştur is the only one in Transylvania formed almost exclusively of denarii issued by Queen Mary. Fr. Pap recalls in his studies on coin circulation in Transylvania during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, several coin hoards with denarii assigned to Mary, whose number was not significant; the coin hoard from Cluj-Mănăştur is discordant in relation to Hungarian historiography.³⁷

Our attempts to discover other hoards with a similar structure³⁸ have resulted in finding a summary reference to an obol (?) of Queen Mary's, of unknown origin, kept in a private collection, in a group of oxidised coins, stuck together, which prompted E. Unger to assume that the coin in question belonged to a hoard consisting of denarii, Viennese coins and coins issued by the King of Bohemia, Wenceslav IV.³⁹ A coin hoard containing, in addition to King Louis's denarii featuring Saint Ladislaus (CNH II 94) and several hundred CNH II 116 denarii issued by Queen Mary is reported to exist in Mad (Slovakia).⁴⁰

³⁷ Pap, *Repertoriu numismatic...*, p. 201; Pap, in *BSNR*, 146-151 (1998-2003), 2003, pp. 212, 217.

³⁸ According to the numismatic bibliography consulted, coins from south of the Danube (Serbia) and Western coins (Bohemia, Venice) are rarely encountered in fourteenth-century Transylvanian hoards. Serbian coins appear in the thirteenth-fourteenth century hoards discovered in the localities: Obad/Timiş County, Săsarim/Bistriţa-Năsăud County, Şoimeni/Cluj County, Sebiş/Arad County and Sliminic/Sibiu County (N. Sabău, "Circulaţie monetară în Transilvania secolelor XI-XIII, în lumina izvoarelor numismatice," in *SCN*, 2, 1958, pp. 269-301 (277-278, 291/29, 292-293/37, 38, 294/45, 295/49); Pap, *Repertoriu numismatic...*, pp. 113, 142, 147, 152). Most of the Serbian coins were issued in the thirteenth century, during the reigns of Stephen Dragutin and Stephen Uroš. To these are added the undetermined Serbian coins from the hoard in Cenad/ Timiş County, which also contains Venetian coins from the time of Doge Dandolo (*Idem*, *op. cit.*, p. 287/10). In the coin hoard from Şoimeni, next to Serbian coins, there is also a groschen issued by the King of Bohemia, Wenceslav II (N. Sabău, *op. cit.*, p. 295/49).

³⁹ Unger, *op. cit.*, p. 91.

⁴⁰ Tóth, in *Az Érem*, 2003/2 4, note 8.

A special category is that of the coin hoards issued by Sigismund of Luxembourg, to which are added a few denarii issued by Queen Mary; such are the coin hoards discovered on the territory of Hungary, at Szabadszállás/c. Pest⁴¹, Veszprém/c. Veszprém⁴² and Budapest.⁴³ This category also includes hoards discovered in Transylvania, at Florești (Cluj County) and Batăr (Bihor County).⁴⁴

With the necessary reservations, due to the small number of coin hoards analysed and the fragile proportions that may change through new coin discoveries being added to the list, and considering also the structure of the Cluj-Mănăstur hoard, we may make a few observations. According to the data we have, in the hoard from Mad/Nagymad (Slovakia), Queen Mary's CNH II 116 denarii are associated with the denarii featuring Saint Ladislaus, struck towards the end of Louis I's reign. The total absence of Queen Mary's CNH II 114 denarii, assumed to represent an intermediate coinage, has no logical explanation and cannot be accounted for by the low volume of such coinages, a conclusion supported by the structure of the analysed hoards, where the number of CNH II 114 denarii is much higher compared to that of the CNH II 116 denarii.

The larger amount of the CNH II 114 coin type is also suggested by the number of dies identified by the analysis of the coins from the Cluj-Mănăstur hoard, compared with the much lower number of dies used to strike CNH II 116 denarii (Fig. 1, 2, Tab. 2, 4). For the CNH II 114 denarii we have identified a total of 14 versions of design in the coin field, while for the CNH II 116 denarii were 6 such versions have been determined, the number of versions suggesting not only the larger volume of the CNH II 114 coinages, but a longer period of striking, a contradictory statement if we consider the traditional chronologies established by L. Huszár and A. Pohl. According to Hungarian numismatics, the period for issuing CNH II 114 denarii was reduced to one year (1383), up to three years of minting (1383-1385), while the CNH II 116 denarii were struck for approximately a decade, from 1384 or 1385/1386 until the death of Queen Mary (1395).

We may not estimate the annual volume of the denarii issued by each mint, but taking into account the political climate of the early years of Queen Mary's reign (1382-1386), it seems illogical that such a large amount of CNH II 114 denarii was issued during these troubled years, while during the next decade the volume of CNH II 116 denarii was drastically reduced. It is true that after the 1387 coronation of King Sigismund of Luxembourg, a part of the necessary small currency was provided by the

⁴¹ F. Király, "A szabadszállási Zsigmond korabeli éremlelet," in *NumKözlöny*, 50-51 (1951-1952), 1952, pp. 27-37. Among the 20,664 coins in the hoard from Szabadszállás, there have been identified 17 denarii of the CNH II 114 type (5-Buda, 11-Košice, 1-unidentified mint) and 11 denarii of the CNH II 116 type (3-Székesfehérvár, 2-Baia Mare, 5-Kremnica, 1-Syrmien).

⁴² I. Gedai, "A veszprémi Zsigmond-kori éremlelet," in *A Veszprém Múzeumok Közleményei*, 19-20 (1993-1994), 1994, pp. 383-393. The coin hoard from Veszprém contains a denarius of the CNH II 114 type.

⁴³ I. Bodor, "Az 1974-ben feltárt Budavári szoborleletet kísérő pénzleletek," in *Budapest Régiségei*, 33, 1999, pp. 89-92. In two of the six discovered pits (2,4/1974), there have been identified, alongside the coins of Sigismund of Luxembourg, two denarii of the CNH II 114 type.

⁴⁴ In the coin hoard from Florești, partially preserved in the collection of the Numismatic Cabinet from NMTH Cluj-Napoca (54 items), we have identified only one denarius of the CNH II 116 type, struck in the mint from Székesfehérvár (inv. 32.168). The coin hoard from Batăr, kept in the numismatic collection of MŰCO, contains 5 denarii of the CNH II 114 type, issued in Buda, Košice and Baia Mare, as well as a denarius CNH II 116, struck in the mint from Székesfehérvár.

mint of King Sigismund, which began to strike CNH II 120 denarii at Buda. Only from 1390/1394/1399 did approximately 12 mints in the kingdom begin to massively issue CNH II 121 denarii.⁴⁵ The reduced presence of CNH II 120 denarii in the Transylvanian coin hoards shows a moderate amount of minted coins, the necessary coinage being probably ensured, at least until 1390, by Queen Mary's denarii and the older coinage struck before 1382.

In view of the above, we are tempted to believe that the structure of coin hoards, the relative ratio of the volume of the CNH 114, 116, 120 denarii and, last but not least, the political climate support the idea that the CNH II 116 denarii were struck over a shorter period, probably early in the reign of Queen Mary, while the much more numerous CNH II 114 denarii required a longer period of striking.

Conclusions

Coin hoards containing several hundred denarii issued by Queen of Hungary, Mary (1382-1395), are surprisingly rare, the hoard discovered in Cluj-Mănăştur representing a real source of information. Due to the low frequency of Queen Mary's coins in the Transylvanian hoards, the queen's mint has not been a prevalent subject for Romanian numismatics. The processing of the hoard from Cluj-Mănăştur has led to a series of observations that make it possible to change the traditional image regarding the identification and typological sequence of Queen Mary's denarii.

The starting point was the identification of the versions and sub-versions of the CNH II 114 and 116 denarii, as well as of the hybrid denarii resulting from the combination of the legends and designs specific to the two official coin types. Attempting to establish a system for clarifying the versions and sub-versions, based on differences in rendering the design and legend versions, we have reached the conclusion that our undertaking is partly subjective, depending on the observer's acuity and patience. Insignificant, minor details, especially as regards the design of the coin field lead us to explain these differences through the engraver's skill, which means that we cannot speak of an elaborate system of versions and sub-versions.

The detailed analysis of Queen Mary's denarii has led to the identification of items that are only partially encountered in the Hungarian catalogues or determinators. We have grouped these coins into three categories: hybrid coinages, exceptional coinages and new coin types.

(A) We have defined the first category as that of the *hybrid denarii*, including here coins that combine the reverse of the CNH II 116 denarius with the reverse of the CNH II 114 denarius. The combination, reiterated with different types of dies, suggests the possibility that these hybrid denarii were not counterfeit, but the product of the moneyers' confusion, their intention having been that of striking CNH II 114 denarii, whose obverse is almost identical to the reverse of the CNH II 116 denarii.

(B) In the second category we have included the so-called *exceptional coinages*, namely the coins unifying, in aleatory manner, obverse legends with the iconography of the reverse or the legends of one type with iconographies of the other coin type, one of these versions having been previously reported by J. Weszerle and I. Rupp.

⁴⁵ P. Engel, "A 14. Századi magyar pénztörténet néhány kérdése," in *Századok*, 124, 1990, 1, pp. 25-93 (67).

(C) A special category is formed by the A version of exceptional coinages, more specifically the coins using the obverse of the CNH II 114 denarius, combining, on the reverse, the legend from the reverse of the CNH II 114 denarius with the obverse design of the CNH II 116 denarius. The large number of denarii of this type, their good execution, their striking in several mints and the appearance of obvious fakes are arguments advocating, in our opinion, the idea of a *new type of denarius* issued by Queen Mary, chronologically sandwiched between the CNH II 116 and CNH II 114 denarii.

The focus of our analysis is, however, the problem of the typological sequence of Queen Mary's denarii. Not knowing the arguments brought by the Hungarian numismatists in support of the traditional typology and the timelines established by each of them, our interpretation - directed solely at the analysis of Queen Mary's denarii - suggests a reversal of the traditional chronology, the CNH II 116 denarii having been struck before the CNH II 114 denarii.

(1) The identification of the new coin with a crown ("*nova nostra moneta koronas dicta*"), mentioned in the document of March 1384, as the CNH II 116 denarius issued, according to Huszár's opinion, from that very year, has led us to consider that the predecessor of this new coin is the CNH II 113 denarius, with a completely different iconography, and not the CNH II 114 denarius, which also features a crown.

(2) Another clue regarding the typological sequence of the coins is offered by the evolution of the coin legend on Queen Mary's denarii. The invocation of divine benevolence and the insistence on Mary's name and titlature on both sides of CNH II 116 denarii are manifestations of legitimisation that made sense, if we consider the confused political situation, in the early part of her reign (1382-1386), before the coronation of Sigismund of Luxembourg.

(3) An additional argument for reversing the chronology of the CNH II 114 and CNH II 116 denarii is, with all due reservations, the style of rendering the letter A in the legend. The analysis of the CNH II 113 and CNH II 116 denarii has revealed the prevalence of using the *antiqua* typeface, exclusively even in the mints from Košice and Székesfehérvár, while the CNH II 114 denarii only accidentally used this style of writing, introduced by Louis I on the CNH II 94A denarii and on the CNH II 66 florins.

(4) From an iconographic perspective, the prototype of the cross with globules, engraved only on CNH II 116 denarii, is found on the Saracen denarii (CNH II 89, 91, 93) and on the obols (CNH II 88) struck by Louis I. Although chronologically the types of coins issued by Louis are separated by an interval of over one decade from Queen Mary's denarii, the reminting of obols, on one side, with dies belonging to Queen Mary and the presence of Saracen denarii in hoards buried during the time of Queen Mary and King Sigismund of Luxembourg suggest the fact that they remained in circulation and were able to influence the iconography of the queen's denarii.

(5) The analysis of the marks on Queen Mary's denarii has not offered a conclusive solution in terms of typological sequence of the denarii. We consider, however, that the "archaic" graphic signs on the CNH II 114 denarii cannot serve as evidence, as long as the lily flower of the mint in Košice or the five-pointed star of the mint from Baia Mare, known from the coins issued by Louis, continued to appear, in parallel with the privy marks, on the coins struck by Sigismund of Luxembourg and his successors.

(6) The presence of Queen Mary's CNH II 116 denarii in the hoard from Mad, together with denarii featuring Saint Ladislaus, which were struck towards the end of Louis I's reign and the total absence of Queen Mary's CNH II 114 denarii may not be explained through the low volume of such coinages. The composition of coin hoards and the number of the identified dies suggest a visibly greater amount and a longer period of minting for the CNH II 114 denarii compared to the CNH II 116 denarii.

Coin catalogue⁴⁶:

I. Hungary

Mary (1382-1387, +1395)

Denarius

Obv: Two-barred cross

Rev: ✱ Stamped crown monogram **Ω**

Réthy 1907 114, Huszár 1979 566, Pohl 1982 112-1

No privy mark, Buda ?

A. Legend version: Obv: ✱**MONETA****Ω****MARIA** / Rev: ✱**REGINA****V****NGARIA**

A+a design versions

1. 13,64X14,24; 0,59; 11; dull; inv. 59.299
2. 14,46X14,26; 0,38; 4; inv. 59.301
3. 14,66X14,34; 0,40; 12; inv. 59.309
4. 14,45X14,92; 0,37; 7; inv. 59.316
5. 15,72X15,38; 0,49; 11; off-centre; inv. 59.318
6. 14,27X14,33; 0,54; 9; inv. 59.320
7. 14,50X13,31; 0,42; 12; double struck; dull; inv. 59.322
8. 13,37X14,32; 0,37; 6; inv. 59.323
9. 15,11X14,24; 0,43; 6; inv. 59.572
10. 14,22; 0,20; fragm. ; inv. 59.735
11. 13,79; 0,27; missing flan fragment; inv. 59.758

A+b design versions

12. 15,56X14,18; 0,43; 11; off-centre; inv. 59.153
13. 13,94X13,22; 0,41; 1; inv. 59.156
14. (?)14,55X14,43; 0,40; 6; dull; inv. 59.302
15. 14,60X13,74; 0,45; 7; inv. 59.307
16. 13,81X14,17; 0,43; 12; slightly dull; inv. 59.311
17. 14,77; 0,40; 5; missing flan fragment; inv. 59.312
18. 14,26X14,13; 0,56; 9; inv. 59.313
19. 14,10X14; 0,45; 2; inv. 59.314; Pl. I/6
20. 14,85X14,31; 0,37; 2; inv. 59.315
21. 15,52; 0,42; 3; double struck; missing flan fragment; inv. 59.317
22. 13,15X14,48; 0,37; 2; inv. 59.324

⁴⁶ The catalogues used for identifying the coins are: Max Donebauer, *Beschreibung der Sammlung böhmischer Münzen und Medaillen*, Praga, 1889; L. Réthy, *Corpus Nummorum Hungariae. Magyar Egyetemes Éremtár. II kötet, Vegyesházi Királyok Kora*, Budapest, 1907; J. Smolnik, *Pražské groše a jejich dily (1300-1547)*, Praga, 1971; L. Huszár, *Münzkatalog Ungarn von 1000 bis heute*, München, 1979; A. Pohl, *Münzzeichen und Meisterzeichen auf ungarischen Münzen des Mittelalters 1300-1540*, Budapest, 1982; H. Meyer, *Die Münzen der Republik Venedig*, Aachen, 1984; V. Ivanišević, *Novčarstvo srednjovekovne Srbije (Serbian Medieval Coinage)*, Belgrad, 2001; M. Jovanovic, *Srpski srednjovekovne novac (Serbian Medieval Coins)*, Belgrad, 2002.

23. 14,07X13,85; 0,47; 7; inv. 59.325

24. 13,59X14,01; 0,31; 11; inv. 59.328

A+c design versions

25. 14,45; 0,32; 12; missing flan fragment; inv. 59.239

26. 13,59X13,79; 0,44; 9; inv. 59.300

27. 13,08X14,17; 0,63; 6; inv. 59.304

28. 15X14,01; 0,36; 10; missing flan fragment; inv. 59.305

29. 14,23X14,30; 0,48; 11; slightly dull; inv. 59.306

30. 14,49X14,98; 0,39; 12; inv. 59.308

31. 13,68X14,13; 0,44; 6; slightly dull; inv. 59.319

32. 14,44; 0,32; 11; missing flan fragment; inv. 59.326

33. 14,16X14; 0,36; 9; off-centre; inv. 59.327

34. 14,08X14,09; 0,44; 9; inv. 59.552

35. (?) 14,49X14,33; 0,36; 8; double struck; inv. 59.559

36. 15,32X15,09; 0,43; 12; inv. 59.570

37. 14,95X13,96; 0,52; 11; dull; inv. 59.571

38. 14X14,19; 0,54; 8; dull; inv. 59.592

39. 15,14X14,23; 0,48; 10; dull; inv. 59.593

A+d design versions

40. 15,55X14,49; 0,41; double struck; inv. 59.385

B+a design versions

41. 13,97X13,60; 0,37; 8; inv. 59.253; Pl. I/5

42. 14,39X14,23; 0,57; 12; inv. 59.310

43. 13,22X13,61; 0,24; 9; worn out; inv. 59.329

44. 14,67X14,80; 0,47; 6; inv. 59.354

45. 14,34X15,45; 0,42; 7; inv. 59.357

46. 13,71X14,05; 0,38; 2; dull; inv. 59.635

B+b design versions

47. (?) 14,21X13,71; 0,49; double struck; inv. 59.271

48. 13,65X14,13; 0,38; 3; slightly off-centre; inv. 59.303

49. 14,04X14,35; 0,52; 9; inv. 59.321

50. 12,68x14,87; 0,35; 5; inv. 59.396

51. 13,95X14,38; 0,42; 7; inv. 59.463

52. 14,87X15,02; 0,40; 6; broken and soldered; inv. 59.589

B+c design versions

53. 14,38X13,75; 0,29; 7; inv. 59.158; Pl. I/1

54. 14,16X13,80; 0,53; 6; inv. 59.217

55. 15,01X14,82; 0,33; 6; inv. 59.218

56. 14,63X14,98; 0,50; 12; inv. 59.220

57. 14,47X14,09; 0,29; 10; inv. 59.225

58. 13,90X14,13; 0,55; 6; inv. 59.226

59. 14,40X14,28; 0,44; 6; inv. 59.227

60. 14,12X14,27; 0,50; 9; off-centre; inv. 59.228

61. 13,38X13,54; 0,28; 6; only the core is preserved; inv. 59.229

62. 14,68; 0,21; 9; missing flan fragment; inv. 59.230

63. 14,20X14,49; 0,51; 7; inv. 59.231

64. 14,50X14,49; 0,30; 3; inv. 59.232

65. 14,56; 0,28; 6; missing flan fragment; inv. 59.233

66. 14,15; 0,30; missing flan fragment; inv. 59.241

67. 14,05X13,56; 0,35; 5; inv. 59.282

68. (?) 14,41X14,90; 0,46; 9; double struck; inv. 59.283

69. (?) 15,13X15,01; 0,44; 7; double struck; inv. 59.284

70. 13,14X14,11; 0,54; 10; the silver leaf has come off on the reverse; inv. 59.285

71. 14,40; 0,23; 10; missing flan fragment; inv. 59.286
72. 14,48; 0,23; 10; missing flan fragment; inv. 59.287
73. 13,91; 0,22; 9; missing flan fragment; inv. 59.330
74. 14,13X14,14; 0,48; 1; inv. 59.361
75. 13,96X13,80; 0,31; 11; slightly dull; a fragment of the leaf has come off on the obverse; inv. 59.365
76. 15,06X14,98; 0,45; 8; inv. 59.368
77. 15,12; 0,44; missing flan fragment; inv. 59.383
78. 14,79X15,19; 0,51; dull; double struck; inv. 59.384
79. 14,12X14,43; 0,44; 12; double struck legend; inv. 59.386
80. 14,16X14,53; 0,48; dull; double struck; inv. 59.387
81. 14,39x13,80; 0,34; 1; dull; inv. 59.397
82. 14,75x14,70; 0,50; 10; dull; inv. 59.398
83. 14,11; 0,23; 10; worn out; missing flan fragment; inv. 59.399
84. 14,10x14,03; 0,36; 7; inv. 59.400
85. 15,23x14,57; 0,44; 2; slightly dull; inv. 59.401
86. 13,97X14,02; 0,42; 7; inv. 59.404
87. 14,92X14,44; 0,45; 7; inv. 59.436
88. 14,74X14,69; 0,43; 3; inv. 59.437
89. 13,59X13,89; 0,34; 6; slightly off-centre; inv. 59.438
90. 14,02X15,18; 0,41; 9; double struck; inv. 59.439
91. 14,08X14,84; 0,34; 6; inv. 59.440
92. 13,93X13,72; 0,49; 2; missing flan fragment; inv. 59.441
93. 14,33X13,38; 0,52; 2; dull; inv. 59.442
94. 14,31X14,89; 0,53; 6; double struck; inv. 59.443
95. 14,61X13,85; 0,48; 10; inv. 59.444
96. 14,38X13,98; 0,40; 10; inv. 59.445
97. 14,57X14,76; 0,46; 3; inv. 59.446
98. 14,66X14,21; 0,40; 2; inv. 59.447
99. 14,09X14,50; 0,43; 6; off-centre; inv. 59.448
100. 13,54X15,22; 0,39; 9; missing flan fragment; inv. 59.449
101. 14,78X14,61; 0,42; 7; inv. 59.450
102. 14,93X13,59; 0,40; 2; inv. 59.451
103. 14X14,83; 0,53; 3; inv. 59.452
104. 14,04X15,01; 0,40; 10; inv. 59.453
105. 14,04X14,37; 0,24; 12; inv. 59.454
106. 14,08X14,10; 0,42; 3; dull; inv. 59.455
107. 14,35X14,83; 0,47; 7; double struck; inv. 59.456
108. 15,27X15,41; 0,46; 1; inv. 59.457
109. 13,90X14,20; 0,27; 9; worn out; inv. 59.458
110. 14,02X14,17; 0,33; 6; inv. 59.459
111. 14,34X14,54; 0,47; 10; inv. 59.460
112. 15,21X14,51; 0,44; 10; inv. 59.461
113. 13,44X14,01; 0,66; 6; inv. 59.462
114. 14,05X14,63; 0,42; 7; dull; inv. 59.464
115. 14,42X13,76; 0,37; 7; inv. 59.466
116. 14,37X14,16; 0,27; 3; the silver leaf on the obverse has partially come off; inv. 59.467
117. 14,19X15,12; 0,49; 1; double struck; inv. 59.468
118. 14,57X15,26; 0,43; 2; inv. 59.469
119. 13,65X14,23; 0,42; 3; inv. 59.470
120. 14,26X14,02; 0,36; 2; the silver leaf on the obverse has partially come off; inv. 59.471
121. 13,78X14,29; 0,46; 11; inv. 59.472
122. 12,93X14; 0,45; 6; inv. 59.473
123. (?) 14,27X13,97; 0,34; 4; inv. 59.474

124. 13,80X13,59; 0,31; 3; worn out; inv. 59.475
125. 14,62X13,72; 0,44; 7; inv. 59.568
126. 14,74X14,83; 0,42; 10; inv. 59.569
127. 13,28; 0,21; 1; missing flan fragment; inv. 59.575
128. 13,27X14,63; 0,35; 8; inv. 59.581
129. 14,77X12,95; 0,39; 3; dull; inv. 59.582
130. 14,90X15,06; 0,50; 11; inv. 59.583
131. 14,18X13,80; 0,38; 12; inv. 59.584
132. 14,39X14,22; 0,49; 6; slightly dull; inv. 59.585
133. 14,83X14,47; 0,49; 6; dull; inv. 59.586
134. 14,52X14,38; 0,34; 2; inv. 59.588
135. 14,53X14,32; 0,38; 11; dull; inv. 59.590
136. 14,74X14,09; 0,30; 12; inv. 59.591
137. 14,05X14,66; 0,54; 7; inv. 59.627
138. 14,50X14; 0,36; 7; inv. 59.628
139. 13,76X13,58; 0,66; 2; inv. 59.629
140. 13,36X14,71; 0,44; 6; dull; inv. 59.646
 B+d design versions
141. 13,37X13,91; 0,41; 7; dull; inv. 59.573
 C+c design versions
142. 14,71X14,18; 0,55; 9; dull; inv. 59.167
143. 14,27X13,80; 0,34; 11; dull; inv. 59.169
144. 14,22X13,96; 0,52; 10; inv. 59.172
145. 14,35X14,31; 0,24; 4; inv. 59.197
146. 14,68X13,71; 0,42; 6; slightly dull; inv. 59.199
147. 13,78X13,82; 0,27; 9; inv. 59.200
148. 16,10X14,54; 0,50; 12; double struck; inv. 59.202
149. 13,64X13,78; 0,46; 12; inv. 59.204 ; Pl. I/3
150. 14,27X13,29; 0,46; 11; slightly dull; inv. 59.237
151. 13,66X13,55; 0,32; 2; worn out; inv. 59.372
152. 13,53X13,60; 0,52; 12; inv. 59.378
160. 14,86X14,55; 0,43; 9; the leaf on the obverse has partially come off; inv. 59.495
161. 15,56X14,82; 0,34; 5; double struck; inv. 59.497
162. 14,51X14,06; 0,46; 1; dull; inv. 59.499
163. 14,63X14,59; 0,36; 3; inv. 59.500
164. 14,11X14,38; 0,36; 9; broken and soldered; inv. 59.501
165. 14,01X13,90; 0,56; 1; inv. 59.502
166. 13,92X14,16; 0,58; 9; inv. 59.503
167. 13,93X13,97; 0,35; 5; inv. 59.507
168. 13,27X13,78; 0,46; 1; slightly dull; inv. 59.513
169. 13,72X14,34; 0,59; 3; inv. 59.515
170. 13,51X14,33; 0,29; 5; dull; inv. 59.517
171. 13,39X13,65; 0,38; 4; dull; inv. 59.518
172. 14,10X14,19; 0,35; 11; off-centre; inv. 59.519
173. 14,27X14,19; 0,41; 6; inv. 59.520
174. 13,89X14,19; 0,53; 11; inv. 59.522
175. 13,62X13,71; 0,35; 1; inv. 59.525
176. 14,69X14,01; 0,40; 6; dull; inv. 59.526
177. 13,87X13,47; 0,43; 12; inv. 59.545
178. 14,47X13,01; 0,49; 8; inv. 59.554
179. 13,77X14,17; 0,36; 1; inv. 59.555; Pl. I/8
180. (?) 14,89X15,02; 0,40; 9; double struck; inv. 59.558
181. 15,11X14,76; 0,35; 10; double struck; inv. 59.565

182. 14,37X13,66; 0,28; 4; worn out; inv. 59.580

183. 14,48X14,81; 0,47; 5; inv. 59.604

184. 14,34X14,05; 0,46; 10; inv. 59.605

C+d design versions

185. 14,50X14,49; 0,45; 2; inv. 59.234

C+e design versions

186. 15,19X14,19; 0,56; 7; double struck; inv. 59.165

187. 15,12X14,20; 0,39; 1; inv. 59.166

188. 14,68X14,37; 0,427; inv. 59.168

189. 14,17; 0,33; 5; missing flan fragment; inv. 59.186

190. 14,52X12,80; 0,49; 2; inv. 59.190 ; Pl. I/2

191. 14,41X14,58; 0,66; 3; inv. 59.195

192. 14,10X14,08; 0,39; 12; inv. 59.208

193. 14,52; 0,34; double struck; missing flan fragment; inv. 59.211

194. 14,49x14,21; 0,50; 1; inv. 59.395

195. 14,47X13,89; 0,44; 5; inv. 59.498

196. 12,81X14,53; 0,48; 3; inv. 59.506

197. 14,73X14,58; 0,55; 12; the leaf on the obverse has partially come off; inv. 59.548

198. 13,68X13,64; 0,57; 10; worn out; inv. 59.563

199. 14,36; 0,23; 2; missing flan fragment; inv. 59.740

C+f design versions

200. 14,12X13,87; 0,32; 5; inv. 59.170

201. 13,30X13,52; 0,46; 8; inv. 59.171

202. 15,64X14,75; 0,45; 5; double struck; inv. 59.189

203. 15,12X14,89; 0,47; 4; double struck; inv. 59.191

204. 14,73X14,39; 0,39; 1; inv. 59.192

205. 13,72X13,48; 0,28; 5; dull; inv. 59.193

206. 14,30X14,72; 0,48; 4; dull; inv. 59.194

207. 14,17X13,89; 0,32; 6; slightly dull; missing flan fragment; inv. 59.198

208. 14,11X14,22; 0,45; 7; inv. 59.205

209. 13,58X13,99; 0,32; 11; missing flan fragment; inv. 59.206

210. 14,34X14,05; 0,37; 5; slightly dull; inv. 59.207

211. 14,49; 0,22; 3; missing flan fragment; inv. 59.210

212. 13,82; 0,22; 6; missing flan fragment; core coated in silver leaf; inv. 59.213

213. 13,71X13,42; 0,26; 3; inv. 59.214 ; Pl. I/4

214. 13,67X13,38; 0,37; 5; the silver leaf on the obverse has come off in places; inv. 59.238

215. 14,72X15,16; 0,54; double struck; inv. 59.389

216. 13,96X14,20; 0,27; double struck; inv. 59.390

217. 14,61X14,41; 0,51; 7; inv. 59.476

218. 14,94X14,23; 0,26; 4; inv. 59.480

219. 14,32X14,31; 0,49; 4; inv. 59.481

220. 14,45X14,36; 0,31; 6; inv. 59.483

221. 14,13X15; 0,31; 4; missing flan fragment; inv. 59.486

222. 13,14X13,95; 0,36; 6; inv. 59.487

223. 13,64X13,73; 0,33; 4; inv. 59.492

224. 14,38X13,23; 0,41; 6; inv. 59.494

225. 14,05X14,37; 0,26; 5; dull; inv. 59.504

226. 13,30X13,72; 0,33; 11; inv. 59.505

227. 14,16X14,40; 0,42; 1; inv. 59.510

228. 14X13,98; 0,43; 3; inv. 59.512

229. 14,68X14,62; 0,42; 5; inv. 59.514

230. 14,03X14,47; 0,41; 11; inv. 59.516

231. 15,12X13,95; 0,41; 7; double struck; inv. 59.527

232. 14,24; 0,23; 4; missing flan fragment; inv. 59.529

233. 14,19X14,39; 0,51; 11; inv. 59.579

C+g design versions

234. 13,70X14,62; 0,34; 3; off-centre; inv. 59.188

235. 14,41X14,58; 0,66; 3; slightly off-centre; inv. 59.196

236. 13,29X13,50; 0,35; 11; inv. 59.201

237. 14,86X14,56; 0,37; 5; slightly off-centre; inv. 59.203

238. 13,65X13,13; 0,53; 6; slightly dull; inv. 59.209

239. 13,80x13,09; 0,31; 5; off-centre; inv. 59.212

240. 14,03; 0,35; 5; missing flan fragment; inv. 59.235

241. 13,31; 0,29; 6; missing flan fragment; inv. 59.240

242. 13,91X14,13; 0,45; 7; inv. 59.477

243. 14,52X14,69; 0,47; 9; inv. 59.479

244. 14,53X14,11; 0,49; 7; inv. 59.482

245. 14,60X14,42; 0,60; 5; dull; inv. 59.484

246. 14,45X13,51; 0,41; 7; inv. 59.491

247. 14,79X14,10; 0,42; 12; inv. 59.496

248. 14,12X13,35; 0,55; 7; inv. 59.508

249. 14,70X14,38; 0,31; 9; inv. 59.509

250. 13,82X13,65; 0,56; 9; double struck; inv. 59.521

251. 14,21X14,20; 0,35; 1; inv. 59.523

252. 13,48X14,03; 0,40; 12; missing flan fragment; inv. 59.528

253. 14,07X14,18; 0,48; 7; inv. 59.544

254. 14,10X14,61; 0,34; 11; double struck; inv. 59.564

255. 14,59X14,62; 0,39; 6; inv. 59.632

C+h design versions

256. 14,93X14,92; 0,45; 5; double struck; inv. 59.187

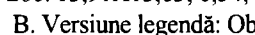
257. 12,54X13,63; 0,22; 6; inv. 59.489

258. 13,94X12,23; 0,34; 10; dull; inv. 59.511

259. 13,49X14,26; 0,40; 5; inv. 59.524

A+b design versions

260. 13,91X13,63; 0,34; 2; inv. 59.553; (on the obverse)

B. Versiune legendă: Obv:  / Rev: 

A+c design versions

261. 14,61X14,63; 0,35; 1; inv. 59.587

B+c design versions

262. 14,05X14,40; 0,34; 1; inv. 59.157

263. 14,18X13,82; 0,27; 11; double struck; inv. 59.215

264. 13,80X12,94; 0,48; 5; slightly dull; inv. 59.216

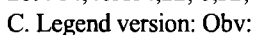
265. 14,03X14,28; 0,48; 5; slightly dull; inv. 59.219

266. 14,45X13,64; 0,42; 10; inv. 59.221

267. 13,78X14,07; 0,33; 7; inv. 59.222

268. 13,97X14,06; 0,45; 4; off-centre; inv. 59.223

269. 14,40X14,22; 0,32; 6; inv. 59.224

C. Legend version: Obv:  / Rev: 

A+b design versions

270. 14,40X14,25; 0,33; 7; off-centre; inv. 59.380; Pl. I/7

271. 14,23X13,59; 0,54; 10; off-centre; inv. 59.381

B+c design versions

272. 14,90X15,22; 0,67; 12; inv. 59.645

Fragments:

273. 0,17; inv. 59.685
 274. 0,21; inv. 59.700
 275. 0,16; inv. 59.701
 276. 0,22; inv. 59.712
 277. 12,55; 0,25; 2; inv. 59.714
 278. 13,88; 0,35; 11; inv. 59.721
 279. 14,24; 0,24; inv. 59.732
 280. 13,61; 0,26; 11; inv. 59.736
 281. 14,94; 0,23; inv. 59.759
 282. 13,73; 0,33; 11; inv. 59.762
 283. 13,72; 0,21; 12; inv. 59.763
 284. 14,37; 0,25; 9; inv. 59.858
 285. 14,77; 0,28; 8; inv. 59.860
 286. 14,13; 0,23; 8; inv. 59.861
 287. 0,14; 6; inv. 59.862
 288. 14,70; 0,15; 10; inv. 59.864
 289. (?) 14,67; 0,27; 10; inv. 59.865
 290. 13,84; 0,16; 5; inv. 59.866
 291. 14,04; 0,17; 5; inv. 59.867
 292. (?) 0,11; inv. 59.868
 293. 14,27; 0,23; 10; inv. 59.872
 294. 13,01; 0,21; 1; inv. 59.873
 295. 14,13; 0,22; 11; inv. 59.880
 296. 14,11; 0,30; 12; inv. 59.884
 297. (?) 14,17; 0,14; 12; inv. 59.886
 298. (?) 14,38; 0,21; 4; inv. 59.887
 299. 13,69; 0,13; 10; double struck; inv. 59.889
 300. 0,15; 10; inv. 59.890
 301. 14,40; 0,25; inv. 59.901
 302. 13,81; 0,21; inv. 59.902

Mary (1382-1387, +1395)

Denarius

Obv: Wide two-barred cross, with split ends (version B)

Rev: Stamped crown monogram Ω (version c)

Réthy 1907 114, Huszár 1979 566, Pohl 1982 112-2

Privy mark $\clubsuit$ - $\clubsuit$, Košice (?)

A. Legend version: Obv: ~~✠~~ ~~MORETHA~~ ~~MARIE~~ / Rev: ~~✠~~ ~~REGINA~~ ~~VNGARIA~~

303. 14,27X13,81; 0,41; 4; dull; inv. 59.176
 304. 14,67X15,20; 0,38; 4; inv. 59.177
 305. 14,12X14,51; 0,55; 9; dull; inv. 59.178
 306. 14,03X13,72; 0,48; 9; inv. 59.179
 307. 15,09X14,27; 0,46; 4; inv. 59.180
 308. 13,63X14,58; 0,40; 12; inv. 59.181
 309. 13,91X13,89; 0,28; 10; inv. 59.182; Pl. I/10
 310. 13,69X13,78; 0,37; 7; inv. 59.183
 311. 14,11X13,54; 0,35; 7; dull; inv. 59.184
 312. 14,17X13,49; 0,50; 8; inv. 59.185
 313. (?) 13,51X16,61; 0,42; 12; inv. 59.259
 314. (?) 15,01X14,15; 0,34; 11; dull; inv. 59.260
 315. (?) 14,48; 0,27; 12; inv. 59.261
 316. 14,54X14,12; 0,43; 4; inv. 59.265

317. 14,46X13,96; 0,38; 11; inv. 59.331
 318. 14,42X14,66; 0,55; 7; inv. 59.332
 319. 14,44X14,18; 0,45; 9; inv. 59.333
 320. 11,11X14,19; 0,33; 11; inv. 59.334
 321. 13,60X13,71; 0,39; 3; inv. 59.335
 322. 15,40X14,69; 0,46; 6; double struck; inv. 59.336
 323. 14,36X14,30; 0,47; 6; inv. 59.337
 324. 13,59X13,75; 0,38; 6; inv. 59.338; Pl. I/13
 325. 15,10X13,75; 0,49; 7; worn out; inv. 59.339
 326. 14,48X14,54; 0,33; 9; worn out; inv. 59.340
 327. 13,51X14,10; 0,41; 12; double struck legend; inv. 59.341
 328. 14,49X14,12; 0,30; 9; dull; inv. 59.342
 329. 14,01X13,79; 0,52; 5; inv. 59.343
 330. 14,30X12,48; 0,37; 8; inv. 59.344
 331. 13,42X13,59; 0,57; 4; inv. 59.345
 332. 14,58X14,52; 0,70; 3; dull; inv. 59.402
 333. 0,18; fragm.; inv. 59.704
 B. Legend version: Obv: ~~✠MORIS~~✠MARIÆ / Rev: ✠REGINAVNGARIE
 334. 15,19X16,64; 0,40; 4; inv. 59.256
 335. 14,71X14,75; 0,51; 9; inv. 59.257
 336. 14,38X14,01; 0,42; 6; inv. 59.258; Pl. I/11
 337. 14,50X14,59; 0,36; 7; inv. 59.267
 338. 14,97X14,62; 0,58; 6; inv. 59.268
 C. Legend version: Obv: ~~✠MORIS~~✠MARIÆ / Rev: ✠REGINAVNGARIE
 339. 14,21X13,87; 0,44; 4; inv. 59.174
 340. 14,98X14,57; 0,47; 6; inv. 59.266
 341. 14,91X14,26; 0,42; 5; inv. 59.269
 342. 14,49X14,08; 0,53; 8; inv. 59.270
 343. 14,76X14,22; 0,42; 2; inv. 59.406
 344. 14,68X14,25; 0,43; 6; inv. 59.407
 345. 15,82X14,74; 0,42; 7; inv. 59.408
 346. 13,91X13,86; 0,42; 2; inv. 59.409
 347. 14,54X14,94; 0,45; 7; inv. 59.410
 348. 14,13X13,73; 0,42; 2; inv. 59.411
 349. 14,33X13,85; 0,35; 7; inv. 59.412
 350. 14,07X14,20; 0,45; 4; dull; inv. 59.413
 351. 14,38X14,13; 0,34; 3; inv. 59.414
 352. 14,15X14,06; 0,27; 1; inv. 59.415
 353. 13,87X13,85; 0,40; 7; double struck; inv. 59.416
 354. 13,85X14,67; 0,26; 1; inv. 59.417
 355. 14,36X15,55; 0,47; 1; inv. 59.418
 356. 14,70X14,42; 0,47; 1; inv. 59.419
 357. 13,47X13,86; 0,47; 2; dull; inv. 59.420
 358. 13,87X14,41; 0,44; 6; inv. 59.421
 359. 13,62X14,89; 0,32; 9; inv. 59.423
 360. 14,44X14,39; 0,62; 12; dull; inv. 59.424
 361. 15,44X14,77; 0,31; 10; double struck; inv. 59.425
 362. 14,48X13,73; 0,56; 9; inv. 59.426
 363. 14,91X14,05; 0,44; 6; dull; inv. 59.427
 364. 13,23X13,98; 0,46; 3; inv. 59.428
 365. 13,94X14,37; 0,45; 11; inv. 59.429
 366. 14,50X14,28; 0,41; 11; inv. 59.430
 367. 14,16X14,35; 0,28; 6; inv. 59.431

368. 14,53X14,47; 0,35; 4; dull; inv. 59.432

369. 14,38X14,10; 0,55; 2; off-centre; inv. 59.433

370. 14,90X14,03; 0,51; 6; dull; inv. 59.434

371. 14,47; 0,26; 9; fragm.; inv. 59.435

372. 12,68X14,20; 0,32; 6; broken into two pieces; inv. 59.533

373. 14,29X13,83; 0,42; 8; inv. 59.534

374. 15,36X14,09; 0,53; 5; inv. 59.597

D. Legend version: Obv: ~~✠~~MONETA MARIÆ / Rev: ~~✠~~REGINAVNGARIÆ

375. 13,58X14,10; 0,57; 3; inv. 59.273; Pl. I/12

376. 14,06X13,62; 0,48; 5; inv. 59.274

E. Legend version: Obv: ~~✠~~MONETA MARIÆ / Rev: ~~✠~~REGINAVNGARIÆ

377. 14,38; 0,29; 8; fragm.; inv. 59.254

378. 13,78X14,24; 0,56; 2; inv. 59.255

F. Legend version: Obv: ~~✠~~MONETA MARIÆ / Rev: ~~✠~~REGINAVNGARIÆ

379. 14,13X14,70; 0,44; 9; inv. 59.530; Pl. I/14

G. Legend version: Obv: ~~✠~~MONETA MARIÆ / Rev: ~~✠~~REGINAVNGARIÆ

380. 15X14,96; 0,40; 7; inv. 59.614; Pl. I/16

H. Legend version: Obv: ~~✠~~MONETA MARIÆ / Rev: ~~✠~~REGINAVNGARIÆ

381. 13,77X13,26; 0,42; 3; inv. 59.531; Pl. I/15

Fragments:

382. (?) 0,23; inv. 59.708

383. (?) 14,90; 0,26; 4; inv. 59.713

384. 0,19; inv. 59.734

385. 0,17; two fragm.; inv. 59.741

386. (?) 0,14; inv. 59.749

387. (?) 0,10; inv. 59.760

388. 14,83; 0,19; 8; inv. 59.764

389. 14,31; 0,19; 6; inv. 59.859

390. 13,67; 0,29; 5; inv. 59.870

391. 14,03; 0,13; 2; inv. 59.881

392. 14,07; 0,19; 11; inv. 59.883

393. (?) 0,15; inv. 59.904

394. (?) 0,05; inv. 59.923

395. (?) 0,11; inv. 59.926

Mary (1382-1387, +1395)

Denarius

Obv: Wide two-barred cross with split ends (version B)

Rev: Stamped crown monogram  (version c)

Réthy 1907 114, Huszár 1979 566, Pohl 1982 112-3

Privy mark ~~✠~~-, Košice (?)

A. Legend version: Obv: ~~✠~~MONETA MARIÆ / Rev: ~~✠~~REGINAVNGARIÆ

396. 13,82X13,96; 0,55; 6; inv. 59.175; Pl. I/17

B. Versiune legendă: Av: ~~✠~~MONETA MARIÆ / Rv: ~~✠~~REGINAVNGARIÆ

397. 13,78X14,24; 0,51; 11; inv. 59.403; Pl. I/18

C. Legend version: Obv: ~~✠~~MONETA MARIÆ / Rev: ~~✠~~REGINAVNGARIÆ

398. (?) 15,44X14,92; 0,47; 6; dull; inv. 59.405

399. 14,38X13,93; 0,46; double struck; inv. 59.388

Fragment:

400. 13,56; 0,14; inv. 59.745

Mary (1382-1387, +1395)

Denarius

Obv: Wide two-barred cross with split ends (version B)

Rev: Stamped crown monogram **M** (version c)

Réthy 1907 114, Huszár 1979 566, Pohl 1982 112-4

Privy mark -, Košice (?)

A. Legend version: Obv: **✠MORATHMTRIC** / Rev: **✠REGINAVNGARIC**

401. 14,89X14,59; 0,54; 2; inv. 59.173; Pl. I/21

B. Legend version: Obv: **✠MORATHMTRIC** / Rev: **✠REGINAVNGARIC**

402. 14,63X14,06; 0,47; 2; inv. 59.154; Pl. I/19

403. (?)15,36X14,09; 0,53; 5; double struck; inv. 59.596

C. Legend version: Obv: **✠MORATHMTRIC** / Rev: **✠REGINAVNGARIC**

404. 13,57X14,18; 0,38; 12; inv. 59.275

405. 14,49X14,81; 0,31; 11; inv. 59.276

406. 14,74X13,37; 0,54; 10; inv. 59.277

407. 14,25X14,01; 0,61; 11; inv. 59.278; Pl. I/22

408. 13,96X13,70; 0,48; 3; inv. 59.279

409. 14,02X14,32; 0,52; 5; inv. 59.280

410. 14,05X14,29; 0,41; 1; inv. 59.281

411. 14,03X14,10; 0,35; 8; inv. 59.366

412. 14,40X13,01; 0,46; 9; inv. 59.549

413. 14,32X13,82; 0,46; 12; inv. 59.600

414. 13,93X13,94; 0,46; 10; inv. 59.601

415. (?)15,56X14,55; 0,51; 10; double struck; inv. 59.602

416. 14X13,55; 0,41; 8; inv. 59.603

D. Legend version: Obv: **✠MORATHMTRIC** / Rev: **✠REGINAVNGARIC**

417. 14X14,91; 0,42; 11; inv. 59.578; Pl. I/9

418. 14,08X15,34; 0,41; 5; inv. 59.598

419. 14,55X15,01; 0,39; 2; inv. 59.155; Pl. I/20

420. 14,81X13,08; 0,40; 6; inv. 59.599

421. 14,03X14; 0,30; 2; inv. 59.633

E. Legend version: Obv: **✠MORATHMTRIC** / Rev: **✠REGINAVNGARIC**

422. 13,91X14,23; 0,51; 4; inv. 59.630; Pl. I/23

Mary (1382-1387, +1395)

Denarius

Obv: **✠MORATHMTRIC**, Wide two-barred cross with split ends (version B)

Rev: **✠REGINAVNGARIC**, Stamped crown monogram **M** (version c)

Réthy 1907 114, Huszár 1979 566, Pohl 1982 112-5

Privy mark , Baia Mare?

423. 14,01X14,12; 0,37; 12; inv. 59.422; Pl. I/24

424. 14,02; 0,16; inv. 59.748

425. 14,30; 0,31; 7; missing flan part; inv. 59.869, Pl. II/1

426. 14,12; 0,28; 5; inv. 59.875

427. 0,07; fragm.; inv. 59.918

Mary (1382-1387, +1395)

Denarius

Obv: **✠MORATHMTRIC**, Wide two-barred cross with split ends (version B)

Rev: **✠REGINAVNGARIC**, Stamped crown monogram **M** (version c)

Réthy 1907 114, Huszár 1979 566, Pohl 1982 112-7

Privy mark ★, Unknown mint

428. (?) 14,53X13,66; 0,36; double struck; inv. 59.272

429. 14,24X14,32; 0,33; 8; inv. 59.288, Pl. II/2

430. 15,06X14,14; 0,32; 12; worn out; inv. 59.289

431. 14,36X13,96; 0,54; 5; inv. 59.290

432. 14,44X13,47; 0,48; 11; inv. 59.291

433. 14,39X14,28; 0,27; 6; worn out; inv. 59.292

434. 13,88X14,21; 0,32; 3; inv. 59.293

435. 15,08X14,23; 0,35; 10; inv. 59.594

436. 15,09X14,86; 0,50; 10; inv. 59.595

Mary (1382-1387, +1395)

Denarius

Obv: **✠MONEBTHMTRIC**, Wide two-barred cross with split ends (version B)

Rev: **✠REGINOVNGTRIC**, Stamped crown monogram **Ω** (version c)

Réthy 1907 114, Huszár 1979 566, Pohl 1982 112-8

Privy mark - **H**, Kremnica, Johannes Craczer

437. 14,20X15,57; 0,45; 3; inv. 59.647, Pl. II/3

Mary (1382-1387, +1395)

Denarius

Obv: **✠MONEBTHMTRIC**, Wide two-barred cross with split or elongated ends (versions B and C)

Rev: **✠REGINOVNGTRIC**, Stamped crown monogram **Ω** (versions c and f)

Réthy 1907 114, Huszár 1979 566, Pohl 1982 112-10

Privy mark **T**, Timișoara (?)

B+c design versions

438. 14,42X13,80; 0,24; 12; inv. 59.162

439. 14,75X14,10; 0,39; 2; inv. 59.294

440. 13,78X14,56; 0,33; 11; dull; inv. 59.295

441. 14,60; 0,27; 12; inv. 59.296

442. 14,65X13,83; 0,41; 10; dull; inv. 59.297

443. 13,53; 0,16; 6; inv. 59.298

444. 14,24X14,18; 0,48; 7; inv. 59.566, Pl. II/4

445. 13,13X13,84; 0,47; 4; inv. 59.567

446. 0,10; fragm.; inv. 59.655

447. 14,29; 0,25; 4; fragm.; inv. 59.742

C+f design versions

448. 14,01; 0,38; 7; inv. 59.236

449. 14,38X13,63; 0,41; 11; inv. 59.263

450. 15,13X14,82; 0,38; 11; inv. 59.264

451. 15,16x14,53; 0,50; 6; dull; inv. 59.391

452. 13,95x14,68; 0,36; 4; worn out; inv. 59.392

453. 14,69x14,92; 0,54; 11; dull; inv. 59.393

454. 15,48; 0,31; double struck; inv. 59.394

455. 0,06; fragm.; inv. 59.671

456. 13,96; 0,18; 12; fragm.; inv. 59.877

457. 14,30; 0,23; 5; fragm.; inv. 59.882

Denarii of the Réthy 1907 114/Huszár 1979 566 type with uncertain coin marks:

Mary (1382-1387, +1395)

Denarius

Obv: **✠MONEBTHMTRIC**, Wide two-barred cross with split elongated ends (version C)

Rev: **✠REGINAVNGARIG**; Underneath the crown, the monogram **Ω**, a globule in the field -● (version f)
 Privy mark or reference point for placing the design and the legend
 458. 14,09X13,58; 0,45; 8; inv. 59.373, Pl. II/5

Mary (1382-1387, +1395)

Denarius

Obv: **✠MONETA MARI**; Wide two-barred cross, with slightly arched ends (version A)
 Rev: **✠REGINAVNGARIG**; Underneath the crown, the monogram **Ω**, a globule in the field -● (version b)
 Privy mark reference point for placing the design and the legend
 459. 13,72X14,54; 0,40; 8; inv. 59.574, Pl. II/7

Mary (1382-1387, +1395)

Denarius

Obv: **✠MONETA MARI**; Wide two-barred cross with split ends (version B)
 Rev: **✠REGINAVNGARIG**; Underneath the crown, the monogram **Ω**, a globule under the monogram ● (version c)
 Privy mark reference point for placing the design and the legend
 460. 14,18X14,19; 0,61; 8; inv. 59.576, Pl. II/8
 461. 16,24X15,02; 0,47; 8; inv. 59.577

Mary (1382-1387, +1395)

Denarius

Obv: **✠MONETA MARI**[...]; Wide two-barred cross with split ends (version B)
 Rev: **✠REGIN**[...] **RI**[...]; Underneath the crown, the monogram **Ω**, in the field the mark (?) of a mint -**Θ** (version c)
 462. 14,08X14,39; 0,38; 9; fragm.; inv. 59.465, Pl. II/6

Mary (1382-1387, +1395)

Denarius

Obv: **✠MONETA MARI**; Two-barred cross
 Rev: **✠REGINAVNGARIG**; Underneath the crown, the monogram **Ω**, uncertain mint mark in the field
 463. 12,90X14,15; 0,23; 12; one part of the flan missing; inv. 59.631 (C+g design versions), Pl. II/9
 464. (?) 14,07; 0,17; fragm.; inv. 59.756 (B+c design versions)
 465. 0,16; fragm.; inv. 59.892 (C+h design versions)

Mary (1382-1387, +1395)

Denarius

Obv: Open crown (version A)
 Rev: Two-barred cross with globules (version a)
Réthy 1907 116, Huszár 1979 569, Pohl 1982 114-1
 No privy mark, Unknown mint
 A. Legend version: Obv: **✠MARI R VNGARI** / Rev: **✠MONETA MARI**
 466. 13,86X13,87; 0,41; 5; inv. 59.638, Pl. II/10
 B. Legend version: Obv: **✠MARI R VNGARI** / Rev: **✠MONETA MARI R**
 467. 14,69X15,10; 0,40; 1; inv. 59.639, Pl. II/11

Mary (1382-1387, +1395)

Denarius

Obv: Open crown, mint mark underneath it
 Rev: Two-barred cross
Réthy 1907 116, Huszár 1979 569, Pohl 1982 114-2
 Privy mark **Λ**, Székesfehérvár
 A+ b/RÉTHY 1907 114 design versions, B version
 A. Legend version: Obv: **✠MARI R VNGARI** / Rev: **✠MONETA MARI**

468. 13,89X13,99; 0,38; 11; inv. 59.250

469. 14,87X13,86; 0,32; 12; dull; inv. 59.252

470. 14,65X15,12; 0,50; 4; inv. 59.617, Pl. II/17

471. 14,61X13,98; 0,34; 5; inv. 59.618

472. 14,73; 0,34; 3; inv. 59.620

B. Legend version: Obv: **✠MΛPIA R VNGA R** / Rev: **✠MONEA MAPIA**

473. 14,89X13,84; 0,38; 2; inv. 59.163, Pl. II/12

474. 14,27; 0,21; fragm.; inv. 59.855, Pl. II/20

C. Legend version: Obv: **✠MΛPIA R VNGA RI** / Rev: **✠MONEA MAPIA**:

475. 14,26X14,02; 0,44; 2; inv. 59.355

476. 14,29X13,78; 0,46; 12; inv. 59.356, Pl. II/13

D. Legend version: Obv: **✠MΛPIA R VNGA RIΘ** / Rev: **✠MONEA MAPIA**

477. 14,45X14,03; 0,43; 4; inv. 59.641, Pl. II/18

B+b design versions (RÉTHY 1907 114 B version)

E. Legend version: Obv: **✠[...]DGR VΓA RIΘ** / Rev: **✠MONEA MAPIA RV**

478. 14,03X14,48; 0,45; 1; inv. 59.616, Pl. II/16

F. Legend version: Obv: **✠MΛPIA DGR VNGA RIΘ** / Rev: **✠MONEA MAPIA RV**

479. 13,70X13,34; 0,36; 11; inv. 59.648

G. Legend version: Obv: **✠MΛPIA DGR VΓA RIΘ** / Rev: **✠MONEA MAPIA RV**

480. 15,02X15,17; 0,29; 12; inv. 59.556

481. 14,89X15,02; 0,40; 9; double struck; inv. 59.557

482. 14,74X13,83; 0,50; 10; inv. 59.615, Pl. II/15

B+ c/RÉTHY 1907 114 design versions C version

H. Legend version: Obv: **✠MΛPIA D R VΓA RIΘ** / Rev: **✠MONEA MAPIA [...]R**

483. 13,34X12,83; 0,41; 6; inv. 59.652, Pl. II/19

I. Legend version: Obv: **✠MΛPIA [...] / Rev: ✠[...]MΛPIA RV**

484. 13,99X14,70; 0,46; 8; dull; inv. 59.540, Pl. II/14

Mary (1382-1387, +1395)

Denarius

Obv: **✠MΛ[...]VNGA R**, Open crown, mint mark underneath it (version A)

Rev: **✠MONEA [...]**, Two-barred cross (version a)

Réthy 1907 116, Huszár 1979 569, Pohl 1982 114-3

Privy mark **A**, Székesfehérvár

A. Legend version: Obv: **✠MΛ[...]VNGA R** / Rev: **✠MONEA [...]**

A+ a design versions

485. 14,15X14,43; 0,39; 6; off-centre; worn out; inv. 59.640, Pl. II/23

B. Legend version: Obv: **✠M[...]DGR VΓA RIΘ** / Rev: **✠MONEA MΛ[...]V**

B+b/RÉTHY 1907 114 design versions B version

486. 13,78X13,38; 0,42; 12; inv. 59.369, Pl. II/21

C. Legend version: Obv: **✠MΛPIA DGR VΓA RIΘ** / Rev: **✠[...]**

B+c/RÉTHY 1907 114 design versions C version

487. 14,43X14,91; 0,31; 8; worn out; inv. 59.541, Pl. II/22

Mary (1382-1387, +1395)

Denarius

Obv: **✠MΛPIA R VNGA RI**, Open crown, mint mark underneath it (version A)

Rev: **✠MONEA MAPIA**, Two-barred cross (version b/RÉTHY 1907 114 version B)

Réthy 1907 116, Huszár 1979 569, Pohl 1982 114-4

Privy mark **G M**, Kremnica, Johannes Craczer

A. Legend version: Obv: **✠MΛPIA R VNGA RI** / Rev: **✠MONEA MAPIA**

488. 14,53X13,73; 0,41; 10; inv. 59.362, Pl. III/1

489. 15,02X14,40; 0,29; 10; worn out; inv. 59.350

B. Legend version: Obv: **✠[...]R·VN̄GARIB** / Rev: **✠MONETA·M̄RIB**

490. 14,60X14,21; 0,53; 12; inv. 59.607, Pl. III/2

C. Legend version: Obv: **✠M̄[...]VN̄GARIB** / Rev: **✠[...]TT·M̄RIB**,

491. 13,26X13,80; 0,48; 5; off-centre; inv. 59.360, Pl. II/24

Fragment with legend traces:

492. 0,08; 5; fragm.; inv. 59.856

Mary (1382-1387, +1395)

Denarius

Obv: **✠M̄RIB·D·R·VN̄GARIB**, Open crown, mint mark underneath it (version C)

Rev: **✠MONETA·M̄RIB·RV**, Two-barred cross with globules (version a)

Réthy 1907 116, Huszár 1979 569, Pohl 1982 114-5

Privy mark **h**, Sibiu

493. 14,21X14,72; 0,38; 12; inv. 59.610, Pl. III/3

494. 15,36; 0,21; 9; fragm.; inv. 59.857

495. 15,15X13,20; 0,30; 6; double struck; inv. 59.346

Fragments with legend traces:

496. 14,30X14,60; 0,43; 3; double struck legend; worn out; inv. 59.623

497. 0,06; fragm.; inv. 59.852

Mary (1382-1387, +1395)

Denarius

Obv: **✠M̄RIB·D·R·VN̄GARIB**, Open crown, mint mark underneath it

Rev: **✠MONETA·M̄RIB·R̄**, Two-barred cross

Réthy 1907 116, Huszár 1979 569, Pohl 1982 114-6

Privy mark **I**, Unknown mint

A. Legend version: Obv: **✠M̄RIB·D·R·VN̄GARIB** / Rev: **✠MONETA·M̄RIB·R̄**

A+ a design versions

498. 14,85X14,91; 0,32; 4; inv. 59.625, Pl. III/4

499. 15,69X15,30; 0,46; 4; inv. 59.626

B. Legend version: Obv: **✠M̄RIB·R·VN̄GARIB** / Rev: **✠MONETA·M̄RIB·R̄**

A+ b design versions

500. 14,45X14,02; 0,36; 9; inv. 59.611, Pl. III/5

Mary (1382-1387, +1395)

Denarius

Obv: **✠M̄RIB·D·[...]̄**, Open crown, mint mark underneath it (version C)

Rev: **✠MON[...]̄M̄RIB·RV**, Two-barred cross with globules (version a)

Réthy 1907 116, Huszár 1979 569, Pohl 1982 114-8

Privy mark **K**, Kremnica

501. 15,47X13,76; 0,48; 12; fragm.; inv. 59.613, Pl. III/6

Mary (1382-1387, +1395)

Denarius

Obv: **✠M̄RIB·RVN̄GARIB [...]̄**, Open crown, mint mark underneath it (version A)

Rev: **✠MONETA·[...]̄**, Two-barred cross (version b)

Réthy 1907 116, Huszár 1979 569, Pohl 1982 114-9

Privy mark **M**, Unknown mint

502. 14,14X13,66; 0,36; 6; inv. 59.370, Pl. III/7

503. 12,79X13,06; 0,46; 4; off-centre; inv. 59.532, Pl. III/8

504. 14,19X13,88; 0,48; 8; inv. 59.551

505. 15,06X15,46; 0,31; 1; inv. 59.642

Mary (1382-1387, +1395)

Denarius

Obv: **✠MARIERVRGARI**, Open crown, mint mark underneath it (version A)

Rev: **✠MORETTMMARIR**, Two-barred cross (version b)

Réthy 1907 116, Huszár 1979 569, Pohl 1982 114-10

Privy mark **II**, Baia Mare

A. Legend version: Obv: **✠MARIERVRGARI** / Rev: **✠MORETTMMARIR**:

506. 13,58X13,81; 0,24; 10; worn out; inv. 59.637, Pl. III/10

B. Legend version: Obv: **✠MARIIRVRGARI** / Rev: **✠MORETTMMARIR**

507. 14,12X14,5; 0,58; 6; inv. 59.619, Pl. III/9

Mary (1382-1387, +1395)

Denarius

Obv: **✠MARI[...]GVGAR[...]**, Open crown, mint mark underneath it (version A)

Rev: **✠MOR[...]MARIR**, Two-barred cross (version b/RÉTHY 1907 114 version B)

Réthy 1907 116, Huszár 1979 569, Pohl 1982 114-12

Privy mark **T**, Timișoara (Temesvár) ?

508. 14,52X14,53; 0,32; 2; inv. 59.161, Pl. III/11

Fragments with legend traces:

508. 14,99; 0,23; 3; inv. 59.535

509. 0,09; fragm.; inv. 59.850

Mary (1382-1387, +1395)

Denarius

Obv: **✠MARIR[...]ARI**, Open crown, mint mark underneath it (version A)

Rev: **✠MO[...]MARIR**, Two-barred cross (version b/RÉTHY 1907 114 version B)

Réthy 1907 116, Huszár 1979 569, Pohl 1982 114-13

Privy mark **V**, Oradea (Nagyvárad) ?

510. 14,95X14,82; 0,27; 12; inv. 59.539, Pl. III/12

Mary (1382-1387, +1395)

Denarius

Obv: **✠MARIEDGRVGARI**, Open crown, mint mark underneath it (version D)

Rev: **✠MORETTMMARIERV**, Two-barred cross (version d)

Réthy 1907 116, Huszár 1979 569, Pohl 1982 114-14

Privy mark **✠**, Košice (Košice)

511. 14,55X14,44; 0,36; 1; inv. 59.537

512. 13,71X15,15; 0,27; 9; inv. 59.543

513. 14,14X14,13; 0,28; 6; inv. 59.546

514. 13,98X14,47; 0,34; 9; inv. 59.547

515. 14,28; 0,26; 6; worn out; inv. 59.849

516. 14,26X13,92; 0,42; 4; inv. 59.367, Pl. III/13

517. 13,56X14,36; 0,35; 8; inv. 59.542

518. 13,86X14,03; 0,40; 6; off-centre; inv. 59.376

519. 14,02X13,37; 0,46; 10; worn out; inv. 59.377

520. 14,48X13,77; 0,33; 12; inv. 59.538

Mary (1382-1387, +1395)

Denarius

Obv: **✠MARI[...]RI**, Underneath open crown, unclear mint mark (**U**?)

Rev: **✠MORETHM[...]**, Two-barred cross

Réthy 1907 116, Huszár 1979 569, Pohl 1982, 114-16?

521. 14,70X14,17; 0,52; 10; dull; inv. 59.251

Denarii of the Réthy 1907 116/Huszár 1979 569 type with unclear privy marks

Mary (1382-1387, +1395)

Denarius

Obv: **✠MARIÆ·D·R[...]**IA, Underneath open crown, unclear mint mark

Rev: **✠MORETHMARIÆ·R·C**, Two-barred cross with globules

522. 14,59X14,74; 0,26; 12; inv. 59.347

Obv: **✠MARIÆ·R·VNGARI**, Underneath open crown, unclear mint mark

Rev: **✠MORETH MARIÆ**, Two-barred cross with globules

523. 14,17X14,88; 0,38; 7; inv. 59.351

Obv: **✠MARIÆ·R·VNGARI**, Underneath crown, unclear mint mark

Rev: **✠MORETHMARIÆ**, Two-barred cross with globules

524. 14,72X14,60; 0,37; 10; inv. 59.650

Obv: **✠MARIÆ·R·VNGARI**, Underneath open crown, unclear mint mark

Rev: **✠MORETH MARIÆ**, Two-barred cross

525. 15,46X14,71; 0,43; 6; inv. 59.636

Obv: **✠[...]VNGARIÆ**, Underneath open crown, unclear mint mark

Rev: **RIÆ✠[...]**MARIÆ, Two-barred cross

526. 14,39X15,17; 0,47; 6; double struck; inv. 59.352

Obv: unclear legend; Open crown

Rev: unclear legend; Simple crown

527. 15,25X14,75; 0,37; dull; double struck; inv. 59.349

Obv: **✠MORETH·R·VNGARI**, Underneath crown, unclear mint mark

Rev: **✠MORETH[...]**VNGAR, Two-barred cross

528. 14,19X14,23; 0,31; 12; double struck; inv. 59.348

Hybrid types

Sub-version A

Mary (1382-1387, +1395)

Denarius

Obv: **✠MORETHMARIÆ**, Two-barred cross with globules

Rev: **✠REGINÆVNGARIÆ**, Stamped crown monogram **Ω**

529. 14,66X14,55; 0,37; 12; inv. 59.644, Pl. III/24

Mary (1382-1387, +1395)

Denarius

Obv: **✠MOR[...]**RI[...], Two-barred cross with globules

Rev: **✠[...]**EGIN[...], Stamped crown monogram **Ω**

530. 14,57; 0,26; 1; inv. 59.871

Sub-version B

Mary (1382-1387, +1395)

Denarius

Obv: **✠MORTHMARIÆ**, Wide two-barred cross

Rev: **✠REGINÆVNGARIÆ**, Stamped crown monogram **Ω**

531. 14,34X14,68; 0,54; 7; inv. 59.358, Pl. III/23

Exceptional coinages

Version A

Mary (1382-1387, +1395)

Denarius

Obv: **✠MORETHMARIÆ**, Jagged two-barred cross

Rev: **•REGINAVNGARIQ**, Underneath open crown, mint mark **T**
 532. 12,74X15,19; 0,27; 4; inv. 59.159, Pl. III/14

Mary (1382-1387, +1395)

Denarius

Obv: **•MONETA MARIQ**, Two-barred cross

Rev: **•REGINAVNGARIQ**, Underneath open crown, mint mark **G M**
 533. 15,04X14,63; 0,38; 7; inv. 59.164, Pl. III/15

Mary (1382-1387, +1395)

Denarius

Obv: **•MONETA MARIQ**, Two-barred cross

Rev: **•REGINAVNGARI**, Underneath open crown, mint mark **G M**
 534. 13,82X14,33; 0,46; 5; inv. 59.243, Pl. III/16

535. 14,14X14,44; 0,37; 12; dull; inv. 59.244

536. 13,19X13,83; 0,41; 9; inv. 59.245

537. 14,57X14,15; 0,47; 5; inv. 59.246

538. 15,23X15,07; 0,45; 9; double struck; inv. 59.247

539. 14,51X14,09; 0,42; 8; dull; inv. 59.248

540. 13,88; 0,21; 3; fragm.; inv. 59.249

541. 14,57X14,40; 0,48; 3; inv. 59.374

542. 14,33X14,22; 0,46; 4; inv. 59.375

Mary (1382-1387, +1395)

Denarius

Obv: **•MONETA MARIQ**, Two-barred cross

Rev: **•REGINAVNGARI**., Underneath open crown, mint mark **G M**
 543. 13,55X13,18; 0,47; 3; inv. 59.359, Pl. III/17

Mary (1382-1387, +1395)

Denarius

Obv: **•MARI[...]H MARIQ**, Two-barred cross

Rev: [...]**VNGAR**[...], Underneath open crown, mint mark **G M**
 544. 15,24X14,30; 0,37; 7; double struck legend; inv. 59.606

Mary (1382-1387, +1395)

Denarius

Obv: **•MONETA MARIQ**, Two-barred cross

Rev: **•REGINAVNGARIQ**, Underneath open crown, mint mark **K**
 545. 14,82X14,94; 0,42; 6; inv. 59.621

546. 14,46X13,90; 0,56; 3; dull; inv. 59.622

Mary (1382-1387, +1395)

Denarius

Obv: **•[...]ORQ[...]MARI[...]**, Two-barred cross

Rev: **•R[...]VNG[...]Q**, Underneath open crown, mint mark **K**
 Kremnica, 1386-1395

547. 14,29; 0,39; 3; inv. 59.612

Mary (1382-1387, +1395)

Denarius

Obv: **•MONETA MARIQ**, Two-barred cross

Rev: **•REGINAVNGARIQ**, Underneath open crown, mint mark **M**
 548. 14,17X13,86; 0,46; 7; inv. 59.550, Pl. III/18

Version B

Mary (1382-1387, +1395)

Denarius

Obv: **✠ MONE T T MARI A**, Underneath open crown, mint mark **G M**

Rev: **✠ R E I N T V N G A R I A**, Two-barred cross

549. 14,10X14,43; 0,45; 8; inv. 59.608, Pl. III/19

Mary (1382-1387, +1395)

Denarius

Obv: **✠ MARI A R V N G A R I A**, Underneath open crown, mint mark **G M**

Rev: **✠ R [...] V N G A R I A**, Two-barred cross

550. 14,41X14,21; 0,35; 9; worn out; inv. 59.609, Pl. III/20

Version C

Mary (1382-1387, +1395)

Denarius

Obv: **✠ M O [...] H R I**, Underneath open crown, mint mark **I**

Rev: **✠ M [...] R I A R I**, Two-barred cross

551. 14,51; 0,20; fragm.; inv. 59.854, Pl. III/22

Mary (1382-1387, +1395)

Denarius

Obv: **✠ M O N E [...] h**, Underneath open crown, mint mark **h**

Rev: **✠ M H R [...] A**, Two-barred cross with globules

552. 14,80; 0,40; 3; double struck legend; a part of the flan missing; inv. 59.624, Pl. III/21

Incuse samples

Mary (1382-1387, +1395)

Denarius

Rev: **[...] M M H R I A**, Two-barred cross

553. 14,23X14,42; 0,44; inv. 59.560, Pl. IV/10

Mary (1382-1387, +1395)

Denarius

Rev: **✠ M O N E T M H R I A**, Two-barred cross

554. 15,07X14,90; 0,48; inv. 59.562, Pl. IV/11

Mary (1382-1387, +1395)

Denarius

Rev: **✠ R E G I N A V N G A R I A**, Stamped crown monogram **M**, mint mark in the field **✠** -

Réthy 1907 114, Huszár 1979 566; Pohl 1982 112-3

555. 14,40X13,41; 0,52; 11; inv. 59.262, Pl. IV/9

Forgeries

Mary (1382-1387, +1395)

Forgery of the Réthy type 1907 114

Obv: **✠ M [...] I A**, Two-barred cross (version C)

Rev: **✠ A E M V N H O M S I A**, Underneath the crown, the monogram **M** (version e)

556. 15,01X14,50; 0,42; 8; inv. 59.561, Pl. IV/5

Mary (1382-1387, +1395)

Forgery after a denarius Réthy 1907 116, Huszár 1979 569, Pohl 1982 114-1

Obv: **✠MOROTTH**[...]RV; Two-barred cross with globules (version a)

Rev:) **✠**[...]HIDHVRGK[...] ; Open crown (version A)

557. 14,37X14,33; 0,29; 4; worn out; inv. 59.651, Pl. IV/8

Mary (1382-1387, +1395)

Forgery after a denarius Réthy 1907 116, Huszár 1979 569, Pohl 1982 114-4

Obv: meaningless letters, Underneath open crown, mint mark **G M** (version A)

Rev: meaningless letters, Two-barred cross with globules (version a)

558. 15,05X15,16; 0,49; 6; double struck; the leaf on the reverse has come off; inv. 59.353, Pl. IV/1

Mary (1382-1387, +1395)

Forgery after a denarius the Réthy type 1907 116

Obv: **✠M**[...]H, Open crown rendered in a rudimentary manner

Rev: **✠**[...]BUOM, Two-barred cross, a point and the letter **H** in the field

559. 14,58X14,53; 0,45; 12; inv. 59.649, Pl. IV/7

Mary (1382-1387, +1395)

Forgery after a denarius of the Réthy type 1907 116, Huszár 1979 569, Pohl 1982 114-12

Obv: **✠MTHIRVRGTH**, Open crown, mint mark underneath it

Rev: **✠**[...]VGTH, Open crown, mint mark underneath it

560. 14,45X14,13; 0,59; 11; double struck; the type of obverse RÉTHY 1907 116 struck on both faces; inv. 59.536, Pl. IV/4

Mary (1382-1387, +1395)

Forgery

Obv: **✠OV**[...]M[...]H, Two-barred cross

Rev: **✠MOROTTHMTH**, Two-barred cross

561. 14,71X14,38; 0,54; inv. 59.364, Pl. IV/3

Mary (1382-1387, +1395)

Forgery

Obv: **✠ROOV**[...]MTH, under the crown, unclear mint mark (**O** ?)

Rev: **✠REGINEVRGTH**, Underneath the crown, the monogram **M**

562. 14,12X14,26; 0,56; inv. 59.363, Pl. IV/2

Mary (1382-1387, +1395)

Forged denarius of the hybrid type

Obv: [...]H, Two-barred cross

Rev: **✠RH**[...]ISMVRG[...], Underneath open crown, mint mark **M**

563. 14,51X15,09; 0,52; 9; inv. 59.160

Mary (1382-1387, +1395)

Forgery after a denarius of the Réthy type 1907 114

Obv: **✠**[...]OROTTH[...]RH, Underneath the crown, the monogram **M**

Rev: **✠REGINEVRGTH**, Underneath the crown, the monogram **M**

564. 14,62X14,89; 0,60; double struck legend; inv. 59.643, Pl. IV/6

II. Bohemia

Wenceslav III (1379-1419)

Groschen

Obv.: **WENCZLAVS : TERCIVS + DEI † GRATIA + REX † BOEMIE +**

Rev.: **V † † GROSSI + PRAGENSES**

Bohemian lion in a pearled circle

Donebauer 1889, 851-852; Smolik 1971, pp. 23-24.
565. 26,90X26,31; 0,813; 4; inv. 59.371; Pl. 4/14

III. Serbia

Vuk Brancović (1371-1396)

Poludinar

Obv.: -

Jesus on the throne, blessing, Gospel in his left hand; in the field, the Christogram IC-XC

Rev.: [+BA~~B~~IC~~B~~(...)EX]

Lion right

Jovanović 5 var. (without a rosette), Ivanišević 31.16 var.

566. 12,58X12,96; 0,570; 12; inv. 59.242; Pl. 4/12

IV. Venice

Andrea Dandolo (1343 - 1354)

Soldino

No year (1349 - 1350)

Obv.: [+·ANDR·DAN·DVLO·DVX·]

Image of doge kneeling left, holding banner, worn out

Rev.: +[·S·MARCVS·VE]NETI

Winged, nimbate lion of Saint Mark, standing on back feet, holding banner with front paws

Venice, Giovanni Papaziza

Meyer 88

567. 18,12; 0,33; perforated; part of the flan missing; inv. 59.634; Pl. 4/13

Note: the coin hoard also contains 88 fragments of CNH II 114-type denarii, 2 fragments of CNH II 116-type denarii and 115 fragments of denarii whose typological identity has been impossible to ascertain.

Abbreviations:

NMTH - National Museum of Transylvanian History, Cluj-Napoca

MȚCO - Cris County Museum, Oradea

NHMB - National Hungarian Museum, Budapest

List of plates:

Plate I:

Denarii of the CNH II 114 type, probably issued by the mints from *Buda* (1/inv. 59.158, 2/59.190, 3/59.204, 4/59.214, 5/59.253, 6/59. 314, 7/59.380, 8/59.555, 9/59.578), *Košice* (10/59.182, 11/59.258, 12/59.273, 13/59.338, 14/59.530, 15/59.531, 16/59.614, 17/59.175, 18/59.403, 19/59.154, 20/59.155, 21/59.173, 22/59.278, 23/59.630) and *Baia Mare* (24/59.422).

Plate II:

Denarii of the CNH II 114 type, probably issued by the mints from *Baia Mare* (1/inv. 59.869), *Kremnica* (3/59.647), *Timișoara* (4/59.566) and by other unidentified mints (2/59.288, 5/59.373, 6/59.465, 7/59.574, 8/59.576, 9/59.631).

Denarii of the CNH II 116 type, probably issued by the mints from *Székesfehérvár* (12/59.163, 13/59.356, 14/59.540, 15/59.615, 16/59.616, 17/59.617, 18/59.641, 19/59.652, 20/59.855, 21/59.369, 22/59.541, 23/59.640, *Kremnica* (24/59.360) and by an unidentified mint (10/59.638, 11/59.639).

Plate III:

Denarii of the CNH II 116 type, probably issued by the mints from *Kremnica* (1/inv. 59.362, 2/59.607, 6/59.613), *Sibiu* (3/59.610), *Baia Mare* (9/59.619, 10/59.637), *Timișoara* (11/59.161), *Oradea* (12/59.539), *Košice* (13/59.367) and by other unidentified mints (4/59.625, 5/59.611, 7/59.370, 8/59.532).

Exceptional coinages (14/59.159, 15/59.164, 16/59.243, 17/59.359, 18/59.550, 19/59.608, 20/59.609, 21/59.624, 22/59.854).

Hybrid coinages (23/59.358, 24/59.644).

Plate IV:

Forged coins after the denarii of Queen Mary (1/inv. 59.353, 2/59.363, 3/59.364, 4/59.536, 5/59.561, 6/59.643, 7/59.649, 8/59.651).

Incuse coins (9/59.262, 10/59.560, 11/59.562).

Serbian poludinar issued by the Voivode of Kosovo, Vac Brancović (12/59.242).

Soldino minted by the Doge of Venice, Andrea Dandolo (13/59.634).

Bohemian groschen issued by King Wenceslav III (IV) (14/59.371).

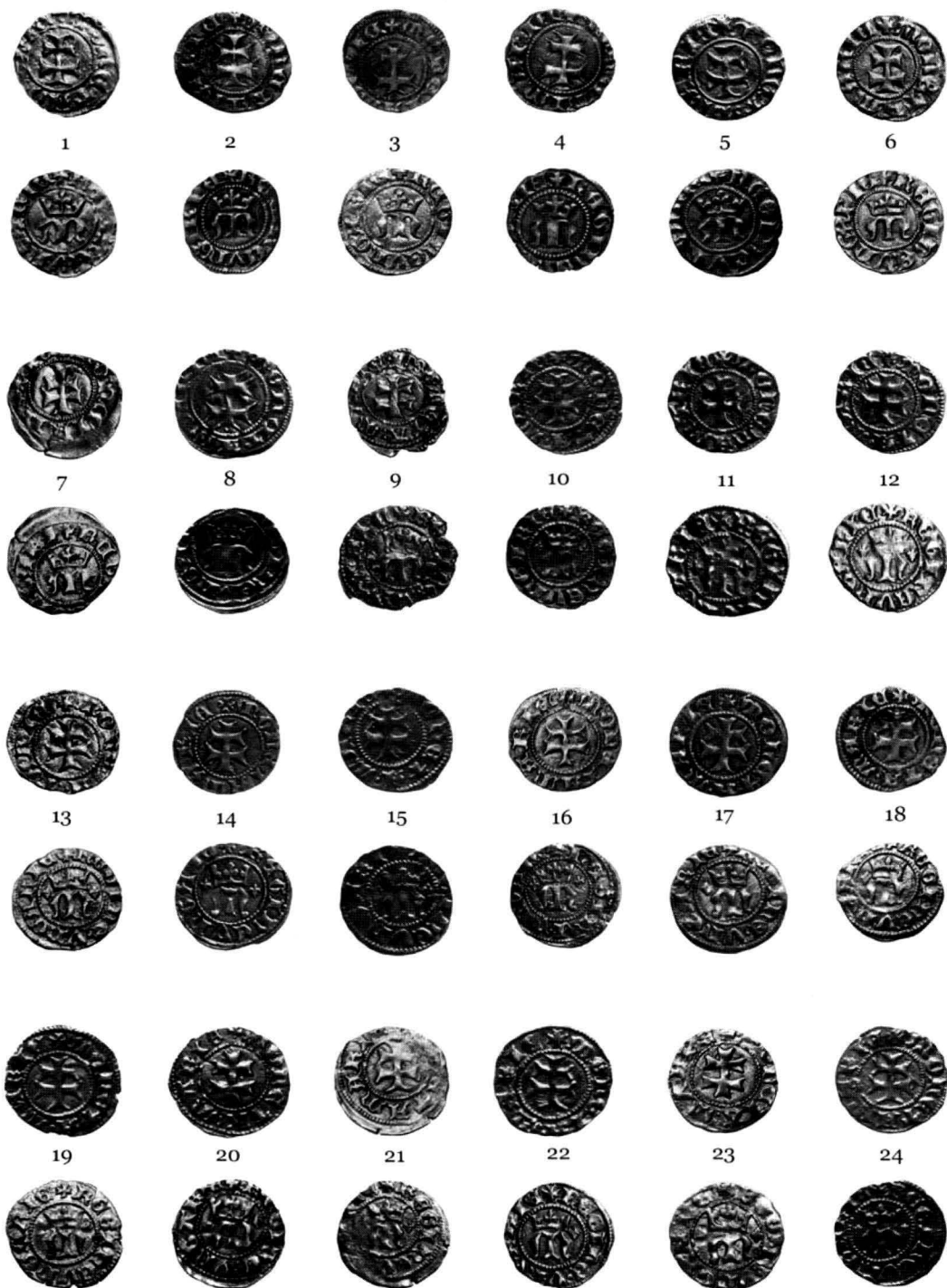


Plate I

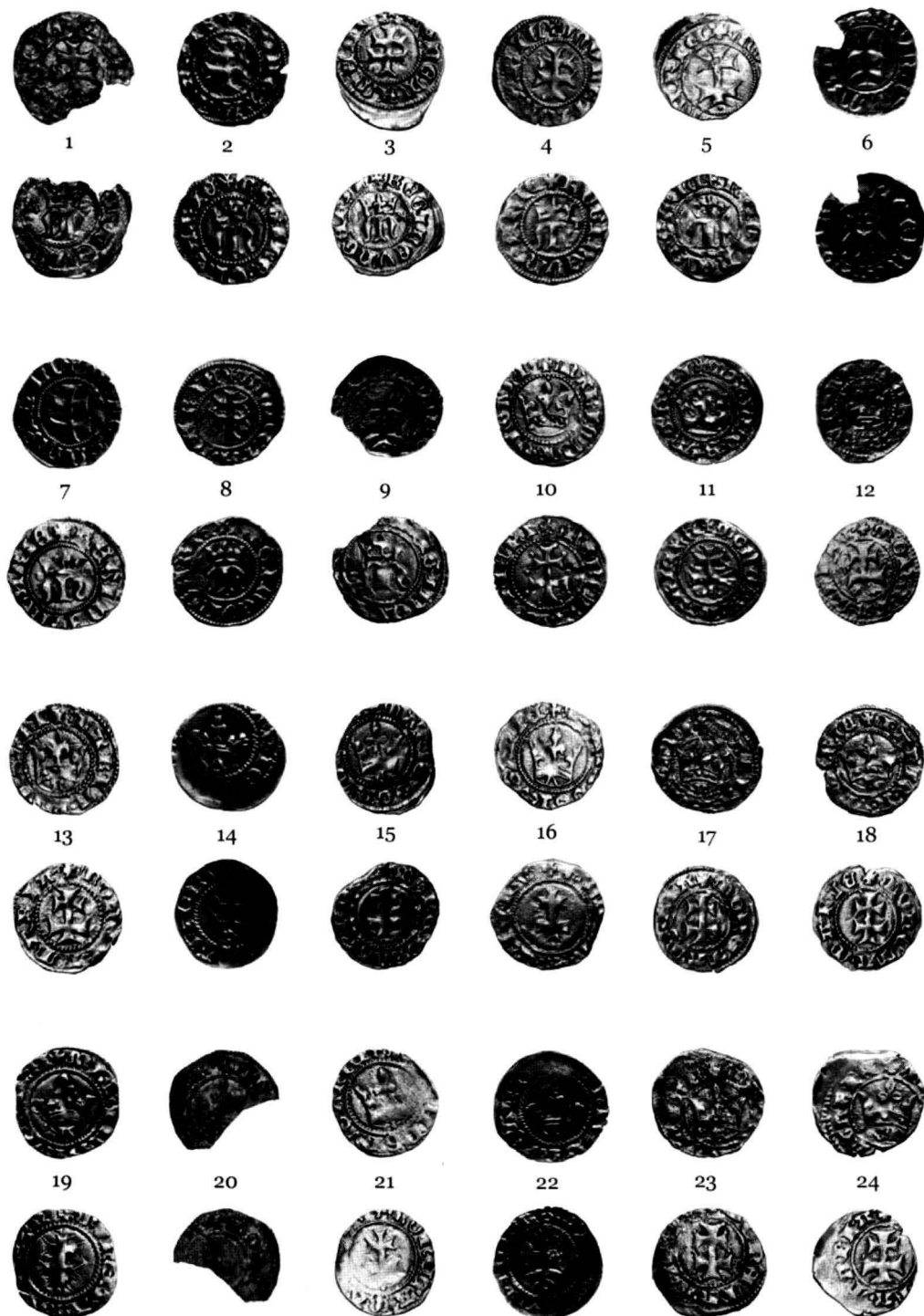


Plate II

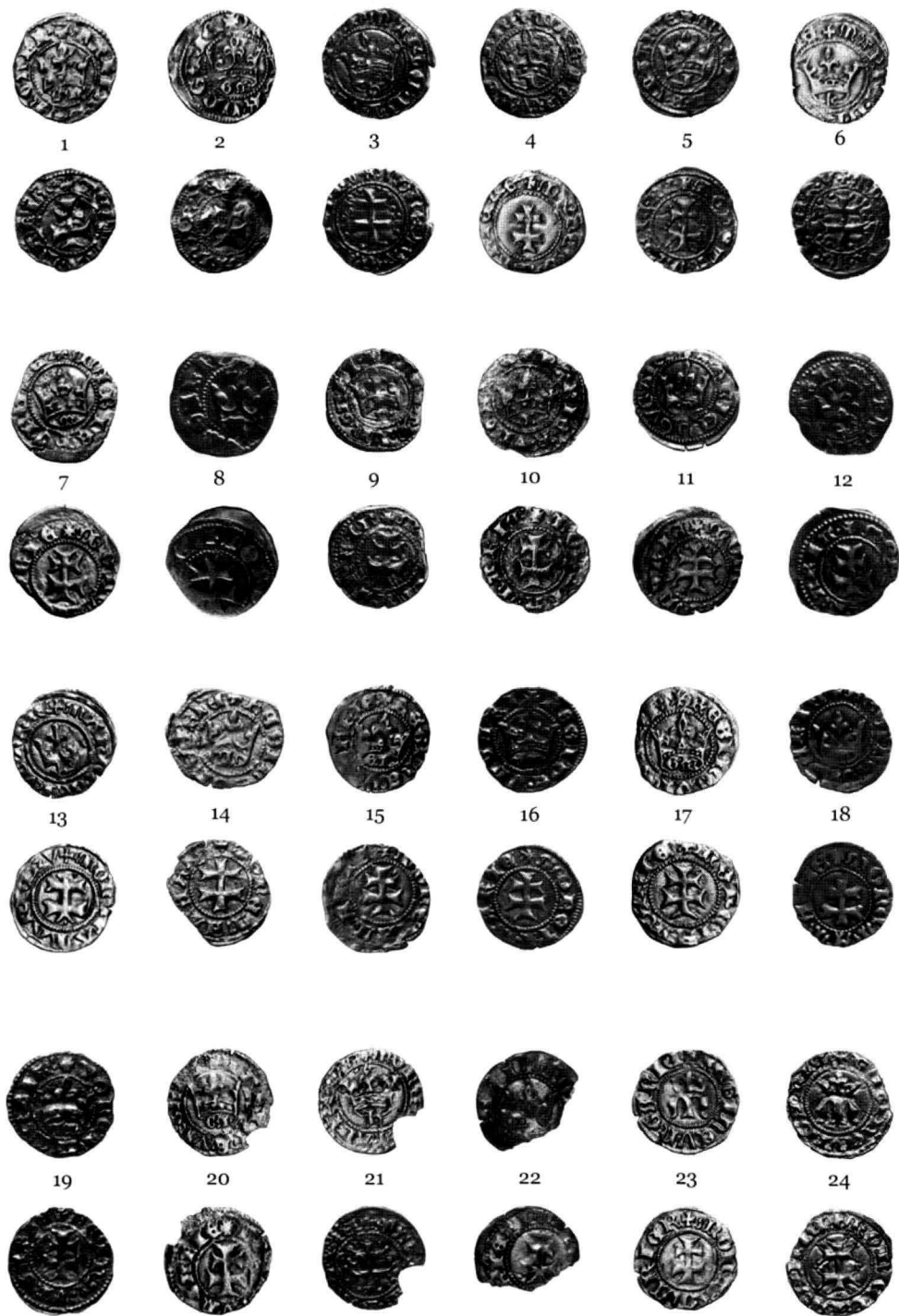


Plate III

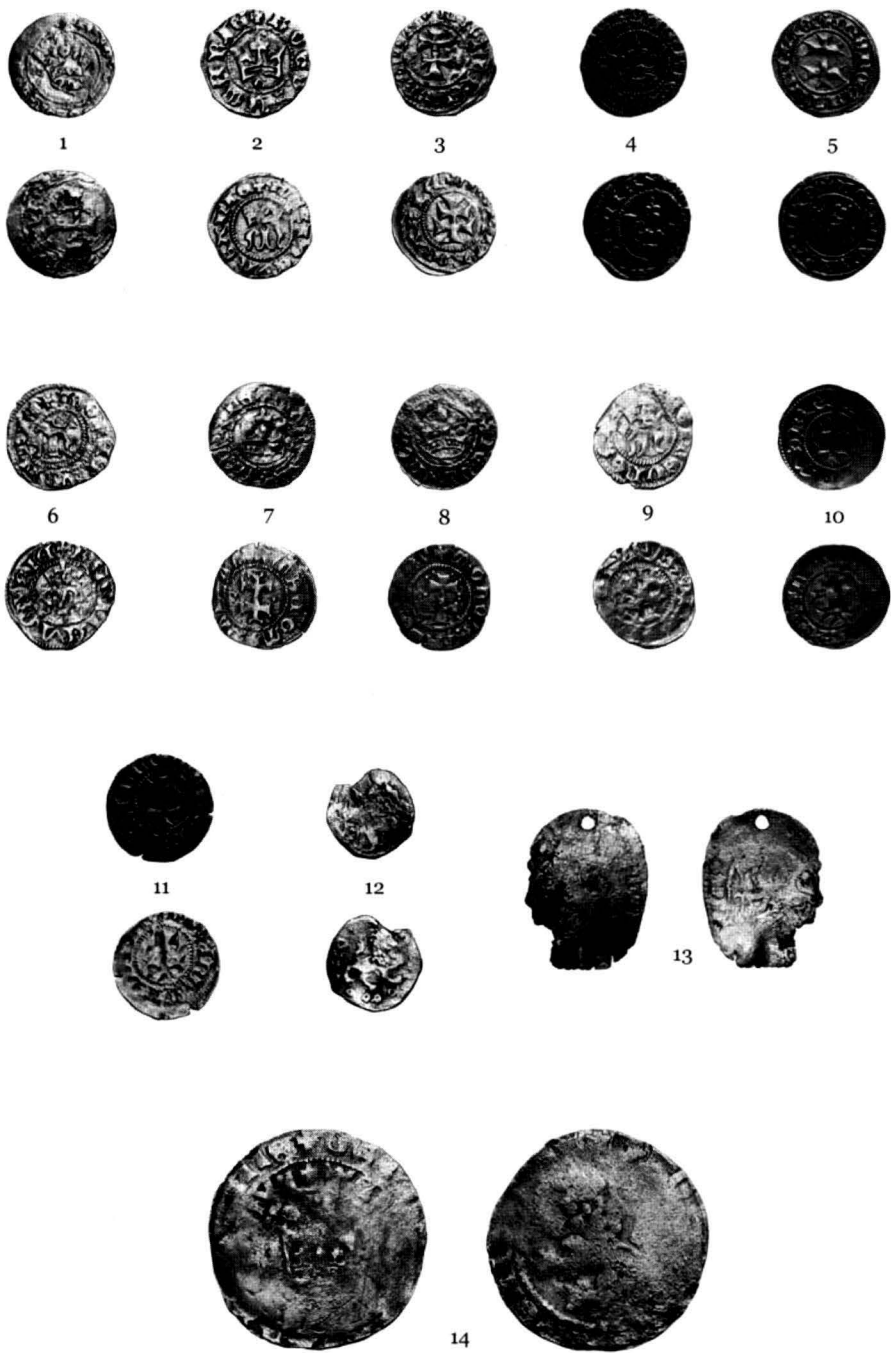


Plate IV

A SELECTIVE OVERVIEW OF THE ACTIVITIES CARRIED OUT BY THE HISTORY DEPARTMENT OF THE NATIONAL MUSEUM OF TRANSYLVANIAN HISTORY IN CLUJ-NAPOCA 2004-2012

Abstract: This paper presents a selective overview of the activity of the History Department from the National Museum of Transylvanian History in the period 2004-2012, listing a series of exhibitions organised by the department specialists, their research and patrimony valorisation, their work in the deposits and the overall effort to modernise the museum.

Keywords: *exhibitions, patrimony, research, history, museum*

Exhibitions. The year 2004: *Mărțișor in the Folk Tradition - Mrs. Ingeborg Marta Bogdan's Collection*, in collaboration with Cluj County Council, the Ethnographic Museum of Transylvania in Cluj-Napoca; *The Greek-Catholic Eparchy of Cluj-Gherla. 150 Years*, in collaboration with the Greek-Catholic Diocese of Cluj-Gherla; *The Treasure-City. Cluj in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, in collaboration with the Romanian Academy Library, the Cluj Branch, and with the Reformed, Lutheran and Unitarian Churches in Cluj-Napoca. The year 2005: *Prince Ștefan Bocskai and His Time; Fans of Yesterday and of Today. Aurelia Veronica Filimon's Collection*, in collaboration with the Mureș County Museum, the House of the Mureșeni Museum Brașov. The year 2006: *The Mirage of the Glass of Yesteryear. The Ernest Versansky Collection*, in collaboration with Ernest Gallery Cluj, *60 Years since the Parliamentary Elections of 1946; Romanian Aviation Pioneers from the Early Twentieth Century; The History of the Romanian Tricolour Flag*. The year 2007: *MachetIST 2007; Masonry in Transylvania. Signs, Symbols, Landmarks*, in collaboration with Brukenthal National Museum Sibiu, the National Council for the Study of the Securitate Archives, the Grand Orient of Romania and the Romanian Academy Library, the Cluj Branch; The year 2008: *Matthias Corvinus: 1443 - 1458 - 2008*, international exhibition, in collaboration with the National Archives - Cluj County Branch, the Austrian National Library; *Remembering the Revolution. 1848-2008*, in collaboration with the Arad Museum Complex, the Ethnographic Museum of Transylvania Cluj-Napoca, Lucian Blaga Central University Library Cluj-Napoca; *From the Small to the Great Union of the Romanians - 150 Years since the Union of the Romanian Principalities*. The year 2009: *Moments Captured in Space. Episodes in the History of Stereo-Photography*, in collaboration with the Hungarian National Museum Budapest; *Pages from the Early History of the Puppet Theatre in Romania. The Puppet Theatre of the Șesan Family, Founding Member of UNIMA; In Memoriam Hadrian Daicoviciu 1932-1984; From the Small to the Great Union of the Romanians*. The year 2010: *160 Years since the Establishment of the Romanian Gendarmerie*, in

collaboration with the Romanian Gendarmerie; *The Hungarian Royal University of Sciences 1872-1919*, held at the Museum of Babeş-Bolyai University, in collaboration with the Transylvanian Museum Society; *Medieval and Modern Weapons*, organised in the Tailors' Tower; *Seals Exhibition*. The year 2011: *Badges from the Collections of the National Museum of Transylvanian History*, organised in the Tailors' Tower; *Fans and Women's Fashion Accessories in the Collections of the National Museum of Transylvanian History*, organised in the Tailors' Tower. The year 2012: *Graphic Itineraries of the Nineteenth Century*, organised in the Tailors' Tower; *The Principality and the Princes of Transylvania in the Collection of Watercolours from the National Museum of Transylvanian History* organised in the Tailors' Tower; *The Memory of Images*, held in the Octavian Goga County Library; *Cycling through the Cluj of Yesteryear*, organised in the Casino of Cluj; *Communist Propaganda. The Elections of 1946*, held in the Octavian Goga County Library. Participations in other temporary exhibitions: *Children and Childhood in Nineteenth-Century Photography* (the National Military Museum Bucharest, 2004); *Centuries and Style* (Maramureş County Museum, 2005); *Everyday Life. The Late Nineteenth Century - The Early Twentieth Century* (Mureş County Museum, 2005); *The Biography of a Passion* (Maramureş County Museum, 2006); *The Brothers Alexandru and Ion Lapedatu in the History of Romania* (Braşov County Museum, 2006); *The Toys of Yesterday and of Today* (the Emil Racoviţă Speleology Museum Cluj, 2006); *Bells - The Universal Language* (the Prof. Eng. Dimitrie Leonida National Technical Museum, 2006); *The Holy Women. A Foray into Christian Iconography* (the Ethnographic Museum Cluj, 2006); *The Archival Treasures of Cluj* (Cluj State Archives, 2006); *The Empire on the Outskirts. Austrian Traces in Transylvania* (Brukenthal National Museum, 2007); *Love Missives - Past and Present* (the Ethnographic Museum of Transylvania Cluj, 2007); *Medals and Masonic Insignia - History and Symbol* (National History Museum of Romania Bucharest, 2007); *Sigismund of Luxembourg and His Times* (Criş Land Museum of Oradea, 2007-2008); *Arms and Military Equipment* (the Museum of History Gherla, 2007); *Renaissance Architecture in Cluj-Napoca* (Cluj Association - *Kolozsvár Társaság*, National Art Museum of Cluj-Napoca, 2008); *Come, Thee, Romanians, Come to Alba Iulia in Transylvania!* (Alba Iulia, 2008-2009); *Masonic Collections in the Museums of Transylvania* (in collaboration with the National Museum of Romania Bucharest, 2008); *Baba Novac and Cluj in 1600s* (Tailors' Tower, 2009); *The Relics of 1848* (the *Tarisznyás Márton* Museum Gheorgheni, 2009); *Corvinus Manuscripts in the National Library of Austria* (in collaboration with the Centre for Transylvanian Studies and the Municipal House of Culture Cluj, 2009); *Constantin Daicoviciu and the University of Cluj* (in collaboration with the Museum of Babeş-Bolyai University, 2009); *10 Years since the Reestablishment of the Department of Art History* (in collaboration with the Museum of Babeş-Bolyai University, 2009); *The Tailors' Tower - Centuries of History* (the Tailors' Tower, in collaboration with the Municipality of Cluj-Napoca, 2009); *Religion and Spirituality in Medieval and Modern Transylvania* (the Museum of History Gherla, 2009); *Medieval Cluj* (the Tailors' Tower, in collaboration with the Municipality of Cluj-Napoca, 2009-2010); *Medieval Romania* (the Romanian Cultural Institute in partnership with the Ministry of Culture and National Heritage, 2009-2013);

From the First Writings to Multimedia. A Brief History of Communication and More... (the Museum of Dacian and Roman Civilisation Deva, Brukenthal National Museum Sibiu, the Banat Museum Timișoara, the History Museum Sighișoara, the Romanian-Swiss Media Institute Deva, 2010-2011); *The Museum of Relics from the 1848 Revolution and Count Sándor Teleki* (Teleki Sándor Cultural Centre Baia Mare, 2010); *Games with Buttons. A New Approach to an Old Accessory* (the County Museum of History and Archaeology Baia Mare, 2010); *Cluj - Culture and Monuments* (the Municipality of Cluj-Napoca, 2010); *De terre et de feu, l'aventure de la céramique européenne à Limoges* (Musée national de porcelaine Adrien Dubouché Limoges, in collaboration with the Municipality of Cluj-Napoca and the Municipality of Limoges, 2010); *Fadrusz János, the Creator of the Matthias Corvinus Statue* (in collaboration with Széchényi National Library Budapest, Lucian Blaga Central University Library Cluj, the Tailors' Bastion, 2011); *The Peace of Satu-Mare and Its History* (Satu Mare County Museum, 2011); *Message from the Past. Coats of Arms and Seals from the Szekler Land* (Haáz Rezső Museum Odorheiu Secuiesc, 2011); *The History of Tourism in Transylvania* (Mureș County Museum, Transylvanian Carpathian Society and Mountain Rescue Mureș, 2011); *140 Years of Hungarian Higher Education in Cluj-Napoca* (the Museum of Babeș-Bolyai University, 2012), etc.

During this period, a series of major works were initiated with a view to modernising the National Museum of Transylvanian History. Works of restoring the façade of the building were undertaken, along with renovations of interior spaces, exhibition halls, warehouses and offices. For this purpose, the main exhibition was temporarily closed and dismantled; the items were labelled, packaged and transferred to storage by the museum's specialists. On this occasion, a systematic effort to verify the museum's patrimony was initiated concurrently with its digitisation program: the inventory records began to be checked, in parallel with the punctual identification of the items and a series of preventive conservation activities, of verifying the items in the warehouses of the history department. All the specialists from the history department participated in the activities from the museum warehouses: moving, cleaning the warehouses, arranging and relocating the items, reorganising the storage modules in the halls. The history department specialists also collaborated in drafting a project - the general design for a reorganisation of the main exhibition, suggesting themes and punctual arrangements for the exhibition spaces, providing a series of technical data to the Artex Company (dimensions, historical overviews, descriptions, photographs) concerning the heritage items proposed for the new permanent exhibition of the museum.

The scientific research themes were structured primarily around several major research areas: *Transylvanian Heritage - European Heritage*; *State and Society in Medieval Transylvania (The Twelfth-Sixteenth Centuries)*; *The History of Transylvania in the Nineteenth and the Twentieth Centuries (until the Union of 1918)*; *Romanian-Italian Cultural Relations (The Nineteenth-Twentieth Centuries)*; *The History of Art and of Decorative Arts*; *Numismatics, Phaleristics*; *Transylvania in the Context of Romania's Communisation*; *Conservation - Heritage Restoration*. The research yielded results that were made public through scientific papers, books, catalogues, specialised

studies and articles published and/ or presented at national and international conferences.

Conferences, symposia, national and international seminars: among the major scientific events attended by the specialists of the history department, mention should be made of: the session *Money, Labour, Politics, Culture*, Oradea University, April 2007; *The Fifth International Congress of Genealogy*, Iași, May 2007; the international symposium *NVMISMA*, Cluj-Napoca, May 2007; the scientific session *Family and the Concentration Camp Universe*, Institute of Oral History, Cluj-Napoca and CNSAS, Bucharest, April 2007; *Anti-Communist Resistance in Romania*, Lucian Blaga Central University Library, Cluj-Napoca, May 2007; the symposium *The Gulag and the Holocaust in the Romanian Consciousness*, Babeș-Bolyai University, the "Phantasma" Centre for Imagination Research, Cluj-Napoca, May 2007; *The Annual Scientific Session of the Doctoral School of History*, Babeș-Bolyai University, Cluj-Napoca, May 2007; the symposium *Anti-Communist Resistance in the Land of Făgăraș*, Negru Vodă Cultural Foundation Făgăraș, Sâmbăta de Sus, June 2007; *The Fifth International Congress of Romanian Studies*, Constanța, June 2007; *Diplomacy in the Countries of the Angevin Dynasty in the Thirteenth-Fourteenth Centuries*, Szeged-Visegrad-Budapest, September 2007; *The International Symposium of the Romanian-Ukrainian Historians*, September 2007, Satu-Mare; *The Annual Session of Scientific Communications of the Museum Complex in Bistrița-Năsăud*, November 2007; annual scientific session of the National Museum of the Union in Alba Iulia, *Unity, Continuity and Independence in the History of the Romanian People*, November 2007; the international conference *Academics and Universities in the European Context, 1800-1945, Peregrinatio academica*, Babeș-Bolyai University, the University Museum, the National Museum of Transylvanian History, Cluj-Napoca, December 2007; *Sigismund of Luxembourg and His Time*, Oradea, December 2007; the roundtable: *Matthias Corvinus - 565 Years since His Birth*, the George Bariț Institute of History, Cluj-Napoca, February 2008; the symposium organised by the Institute for the Investigation of Communist Crimes and the Negru Vodă Foundation Făgăraș, February 2008; *The Annual Symposium of the Department of Ancient and Medieval History, the Faculty of History and Patrimony*, Lucian Blaga University, Sibiu, April 2008; *The Session of the Romanian Numismatic Society*, Alexandria, May 2008; the national symposium *Novel Aspects concerning the History of the Romanian Freemasonry*, the National History Museum of Romania, Bucharest, May 2008; the national conference *The Session of Communications of the Young Art Historians*, Babeș-Bolyai University, Cluj-Napoca, May 2008; the conference series entitled *The Visual as a Historical Source*, Babeș-Bolyai University, Cluj-Napoca, 2008; *Spaces of Otherness*, Lugoj, June 2008; the program *Encounters*, the Hungarian National Museum, Budapest, June 2008; *The Annual Session of Communications of the Museum of Dacian and Roman Civilisation*, Deva, June 2008; the international conference *Matthias and his Legacy. Cultural and Political Encounters between East and West*, Debrecen, September 2008; the international conference *Between Worlds: Matthias Corvinus and His Time*, Cluj-Napoca, October 2008; the international symposium *Ethnicity and Religion in the Carpathian Basin*

during the *Fourth-Eleventh Centuries*, Alba Iulia, October 2008; the jubilee session dedicated to the 90th anniversary of the unification of Transylvania with Romania in Alba Iulia, *Unity, Continuity and Independence in the History of the Romanian People. 90 Years since the Great Union*, the National Museum of the Union, Alba Iulia, November 2008, the international colloquium *Romanian Identity in the Context of European Identity*, Cluj-Napoca, November 2008; roundtable: *Freemasonry in the History of Modern Romania*, the Municipal House of Culture, Cluj-Napoca, the National Council for the Study of the Securitate Archives, March 2009; the symposium *The Roman-Catholic Cathedral and the Episcopal Palace of Alba Iulia. Archaeology and History*, May 2009; *The National Session of Communications of Art Historians*, Cluj-Napoca, May 2009; the symposium *Gherla - History and Culture*, Gherla, June 2009; the symposium *Anti-Communist Resistance in the Land of Făgăraș*, Fourth Edition, Făgăraș- Sâmbăta de Sus, July 2009; the roundtable *Cluj: The Heritage of the Medieval Town*, Cluj-Napoca, July 2009; the conference *Spaces of Otherness*, Lugoj, July 2009; *The Communitisation of the Land of Făgăraș*, the History Museum in Făgăraș and Negru Vodă Foundation, August-September 2009; the national symposium *Romania's Monuments - A National and Universal Patrimony*, Făgăraș, September 2009; the national symposium *Transylvania and the German Minority*, Sibiu, October 2009; the national symposium *St. Ierotei, Bishop of Bălgrad*, Alba Iulia, October 2009; the conference *Personalities and Institutions of Religion and Culture in the Eighteenth-Twentieth Centuries*, the House of the Mureșeni Museum Complex Brașov, May 2010; the conference *130 Years since the Establishment of the National Grand Lodge of Romania*, the Romanian Academy, September 2010; the national symposium *In memoriam Constantini Daicoviciu*, Caransebeș, September 2010; the international conference *Between Worlds: The Age of the Jagellonians*, Cluj-Napoca, October 2010; the international conference *Mediævalia Militaria in Central and South Eastern Europe*, Sibiu, October 2010; the session of international communications on *Recent Studies on Past and Present: Archaeology, History, Religion and Culture in Comparative Perspective*, Cluj -Napoca, October 2010; the international conference *L'Italia e la frontiera orientale dell'Europa. 1204-1669/ Italy and Europe's Eastern Border. 1204-1669*, Rome, November 2010; the international conference *The Formation of National States in Nineteenth-Century Europe: Italy and Romania*, Bistrița, December 2010; *The Seventh Congress of Hungarian Studies*, Cluj-Napoca, August 2011; the international conference *Risorgimento italiano e movimenti nazionali in Europa. Dal modello italiano a realta dell'Europa Orientale*, Târgu Mureș, September 2011; the international conference on *Recent Studies on Past and Present. New Methods, New Sources or a New Public?* Bucharest, September 2011; the national conference *Urban and Rural Dimensions of Transylvania in the Eighteenth-Twentieth Centuries*, the Museum Complex of Bistrița-Năsăud County, October 2011; *The Third Conference of the Young Art Historians*, Cluj-Napoca, October 2011; *The Annual Session of the History Museum of Bukovina*, Suceava, November 2011; the international conference *Methods, Means and Aims in Socio-Humanities*, Rome, November 2011; the international conference *Das 300-Jährige Jubiläum der Ansiedlung der Donauschwaben in Sathmar/ 300 Years since the Colonisation of the Swabians in Satu-Mare*, May 2012; etc.

Publications: Between 2004 and 2012, five issues of the periodical published by the history department of the museum, ACTA MVSEI NAPOCENSIS, *Historica* Series, have come out, as follows: *Acta Mvsei Napocensis*, 41-44-II, 2004-2007, Editura Mega, Cluj-Napoca, 2007; *Acta Mvsei Napocensis*, 45-46/ II, Editura Mega, Cluj-Napoca, 2008-2009; *Acta Mvsei Napocensis*, 47/ II, Editura Argonaut, Cluj-Napoca, 2010; *Acta Mvsei Napocensis*, 48/ II Editura Argonaut, Cluj-Napoca, 2011; *Acta Mvsei Napocensis*, 49/ II, Editura Argonaut, Cluj-Napoca, 2012. The following works have been published in *Biblioteca Mvsei Napocensis*: Ovidiu Muntean, *Imaginea românilor în Franța la mijlocul sec. al XIX-lea* [*The Romanians' Image in Mid-Nineteenth Century France*], Cluj-Napoca, 2005; Ioan Ciupea, Virgiliu Țărău, *Liberali clujeni. Destine în marea istorie* [*Liberals from Cluj. Destinies amid the Great History*], Editura Mega, Cluj-Napoca, Vol. I, II, 2007-2009; Tudor Sălăgean, Melinda Mihaly, *Cluj, "orașul comoară" al Transilvaniei* [*Cluj, Transylvania's "Treasure-City"*], Editura Argonaut, Cluj-Napoca, 2007; Melinda Mitu, Ovidiu Muntean, *Rememorând Revoluția. 1848-2008* [*Remembering the Revolution. 1848-2008*], exhibition catalogue, Editura Mega, Cluj-Napoca, 2008; Daniela Comșa, *Constantin și Hadrian Daicoviciu – Memoria imaginilor* [*Constantin and Hadrian Daicoviciu - The Memory of Images*], catalogue, Editura Mega, Cluj-Napoca, 2010; Claudia M. Bonța, *Baroque Influences in Central-European Medal Work. The Seventeenth-Eighteenth Centuries*, Editura Argonaut, Cluj-Napoca, 2012. Special mention should be made of the catalogue compiled through the joint efforts of all the museum's employees, *Un secol și jumătate de activitate muzeală la Cluj (1859-2009). Catalog aniversar* [*A Century and a Half of Museum Activity in Cluj (1859-2009). Anniversary Catalogue*], Bibliotheca Musei Napocensis, XXXIII, Editura Mega, Cluj-Napoca, 2009 (edited by Carmen Ciongradi, Ovidiu Muntean). In addition, the specialists of the history department collaborated on studies like *Imperiul la Periferie* [*The Empire on the Outskirts*], Impressum Publishers, Vienna, 2007; *Masoneria în Transilvania. Repere istorice* [*Freemasonry in Transylvania. Historical Landmarks*], Cluj-Napoca, International Book Access, 2007; *Restaurarea – știință și artă* [*Restoration - A Science and an Art*], Editura Mega, Cluj-Napoca, 2009; *De la primele scrieri la multimedia* [*From the first Writings to Multimedia*] Editura Altip, Alba Iulia, 2010, etc.

Enriching the patrimony of the history department. The museum's patrimony was enriched during this period, through donations and purchases of documents (letters, photographs, illustrated postcards), decorative art objects (porcelain, glass, fabrics), items of clothing, weapons, technical equipment, etc.

Other activities. In addition to researching and valorising the patrimony, the history department staff have participated in inventory activities: the general inventory, the inventory of assets, the library inventory and sectorial inventories. The specialists of the history department have served as guides in exhibitions, have performed expert appraisals of cultural goods, have granted specialised consultancy and assistance to students from the faculties of history, archaeology, art history, architecture, as well as to specialists in history and art history at home and abroad. Documentation work has been conducted in archives, libraries, museums; archival funds and specialised bibliography

have been studied. A series of individual or collective research projects have been carried out. The department staff has been actively involved in organising the European Festival *Night of the Museums*, the editions of 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010, 2011, and 2012. Permanent preventive conservation actions have been undertaken, in collaboration with the museum's Restoration Laboratory. The popularisation of the museum's collections and activities has been ensured through the informative material issued on the exhibitions and the collections of the museum, and through the interviews granted by the specialists of the history department in newspapers, on television and on the radio.

RECENT PUBLICATIONS FROM THE NATIONAL MUSEUM OF TRANSYLVANIAN HISTORY LIBRARY

1. Valeriu Leu, *Însemnari Manuscrise pe cârți vechi românești*, Timișoara, 2011
2. Gheorghe Dumitroaia, Constantin Preoteasa, *Primul Muzeu Cucuteni din România*, Piatra Neamț, 2011
3. Ioan Opriș, *Provocarea noilor Muzeografi*, Brăila, 2008
4. Mihaela Bedecan, Mircea Birtz, *Bibliografia istorică a României*, București, 2011
5. Ioan Goman, *Politică Statală, economie domeniială și dezvoltare rurală*, Oradea, Ed. Universității Oradea și Muzeul Țării Crișurilor, 2011
6. *Sășii transilvăneni între statornicie și dezradăcinare*, Bistrița, Ed. Accent, Col. Biblioteca Muzeului Bistrița, nr.13, 2006.
7. Cornel Gaiu, Vasile Duda, *Cetatea Bistriței*, Bistrița- Năsăud, ed. Accent, 2009
8. Cornel Gaiu, Vasile Duda, *Sugălete Ansamblul urban-medieval*, Bistrița Năsăud, ed. Accent, 2011
9. Cornel Gaiu, Vasile Duda, *Mănăstirile Bistriței*, Bistrița Năsăud, ed. Accent, 2011
10. Mihaela Goman, *Activitatea didactică și științifică a lui Constantin Daicoviciu*, Oradea , Ed. Universității Oradea, 2011
11. Nicolae Sabău, *Metamorfoze ale Barocului Transilvan*, vol II, *Pictura*, Cluj Napoca, ed. Mega, 2005
12. Augustin Lazăr, Aurel Condruț, *Corpus Juris Patrimonii; Patrimoniul Cultural Național*, București, ed. Luminahv, 2006
13. *Istoria Universității Babeș-Bolyai*, Cluj Napoca, Ed. Mega, 2012
14. Călin Anghel, *Evoluția urbanistică a orașului Sebeș*, Sebeș, ed. Altip, 2011
15. Ana Maria Gruia, *Povestiri la gura sobei – Catalog selectiv al colecției de cahle*, Bibliotheca Musei Napocensis, Cluj- Napoca, ed. Mega, 2012
16. *Intre util și estetic – Scrisul la Apulum*, editori Radu Ciobanu, George Bounegru, Alba Iulia, ed.Altip, 2012.
17. Benonia Jităreanu, *Documente Voievodale (secolele XV- XIX)*, catalog-album, Suceava, ed. Karl A. Romstorfer, 2012.
18. Oliviu Boldura, *Pictura Murală din Nordul Moldovei. Modificări estetice și restaurare*, Suceava, ed. Accent Print, 2007.
19. Florica Zaharia, *Textile tradiționale din Transilvania Tehnologie și estetică*, Suceava, ed. Accent Print, 2008.
20. Virgil Pană, *Emil Dandea. Un Moț primar la Târgu – Mureș, Târgu – Mureș*, ed. Ardealul, 2012.
21. Ana Hancu, *Drama Ardealului 1848-1849. Mărturii*, Târgu – Mureș, ed. Nico, 2012.

22. Revista Bibliotecii Județene Ovidiu Densusianu, *Ardealul. Istorie și dăinuire*, ed. Gligor Hașa, 2012.
23. Revista Muzeului Județean Mureș, *Marisia. Studii și materiale. Istorie*, Târgu-Mureș, 2011.
24. *Bulletin des Musees royaux d'Art et d'Histoire*, Bruxelles, 2008.
25. *Chaires de Civilisation Medievale X-XII siècle*, Poitiers, 2012.
26. *Myrtia. Revista de Filologia Clasica*, Muricia, 2012.
27. *Cahires du Centre Gustave Glotz*, Paris, 2011.
28. *Mitteilungen der Osterreichischen Numismatischen*, Wien, 2012.
29. *Transsylvania Nostra*, Cluj- Napoca, 2012.
30. *Acta Musei Sabesiensis – Terra Sebus*, Sebeș, 2011.
31. *Libraria – Studii și cercetări de bibliologie*, Târgu-Mureș, 2011.
32. *Cetatea Oradea – Revistă de Patrimoniu și turism*, Oradea, 2012.
33. *Angustia. Istorie – Etnografie- Sociologie*, Sfântu –Gheorghe, 2000.
34. *Arctos. Acta Philologica Fennica*, Helsinki, 2011.
35. *Quardeni Urbinati di Cultura Clasica*, Pisa, 2012.
36. *Genava. Revue des Musees et d'Histoire*, Geneve, 2011.
37. *De Arte. Revista de Historia del Arte*, Leon, 2011.
38. *Numisma. Revista de studios Numismaticos*, Madrid, 2011.
39. *Annales Universitatis Apulensis, Series Historica*, Alba – Iulia, 2009.
40. *Codrul Cosminului*, Suceava, 2011.
41. *Revista Teologică*, Sibiu, 2012.
42. *Bsaa – Arte*, Valladolid, 2011.

RECENZII

Dorin Opreș, Monica Opreș (coordinators), *Religia și școala. Cercetări pedagogice, studii, analize* [Religion and School. Pedagogical Research, Studies, Analyses], Bucharest, Editura Didactică și Pedagogică R.A., 2011, 445 p.

In a society that is still in search of balance between the religious and the secular, quotidian spheres, the studies, analyses and reflections concerning the relation between Church and School represent an utmost necessity, particularly given the Protean nature of the educational process over the past decade. In the current social and educational context, the book we shall refer to in the following lines is a necessary scientific product and a natural cultural gesture. The work is coordinated by two academics with extensive teaching and publishing experience, rallying - among its 20 authors - specialists from the domestic and European higher education institutions, researchers, doctoral students, as well as teachers from the preuniversity education system - all of them scholars and educators. The coordinators chose to structure the volume into five main sections, according to topics of interest of the studies circumscribed here: "Religious Education in the Life of the Church and of School Today"; "Experiences and Models in Religious Education"; "Historical Perspectives on Achieving Religious Education"; "Optimising Teaching-Learning-Assessment in Religion. Research-Action"; "Family and Youth Values. Research Findings."

The first two sections deal with the current situation of religious education in Romania and Europe, offering a welcome parallel between the domestic situation and that of other EU countries: Greece, Italy, France, Germany, Scotland and Belgium. From the studies dedicated to the autochthonous realities, we shall mention: educational counselling from the perspective of religious education (Vasile Timiș); the legal framework of religious education in the public schools from Romania (Irina Horga); and the research, based on an investigation, of the true impact exerted by religious education (Adrian Mircea). The coordinators of the volume (Dorin Opreș and Monica Opreș) sign, in turn, a detailed and rigorous study on the subject of pedagogical research in the field of religion as a discipline, a genuine guide for the design and implementation of such an undertaking. As regards the foreign examples, it is worth mentioning that some of their authors (Mihaela Zaharescu, Daniela Ciupală, Gela Oloșutean) are residents of the states they analyse, knowing thus, from first-hand experience and from the inside, the mechanisms of the religious education models they examine. In the ten studies that comprise the first two sections, readers may easily ascertain the diversity of the paradigms proposing religion as a school subject in Europe, as well as the diversity of solutions available to the Romanian education system by way of borrowings, adaptation or avoidance. From this point of view, the comparative perspective provided by the entire first half of the book is recommended not only to professors and ministers of the altar, but also to policy makers in education and, ultimately, even to the political milieu - on whose choices the fate of Romanian education depends.

The third section of the volume includes three studies of history, offering a diachronic perspective on the evolution of religious education. The first, signed by Ovidiu Panaite, analyses the Byzantine educational system, emphasising the role played by the Church in this respect. His conclusions highlight the double intentionality (*litteris et bonis moribus*) of the schooling trajectory, as it was conceived in the Eastern Empire, and the need to relate it to the contemporary pedagogical process in terms of its purpose. The following two studies bring readers back into contemporaneity, their subjects being associated with the period 1918-1945. Alin Albu signs a micro-synthesis of religious school education in the Orthodox Vicariate of Alba Iulia, using largely unpublished documentary sources, from the "Archive of the Archdiocese of Vad, Feleac and Cluj." The author focuses on the reaction of the Church and of

the religious teaching staff to the major political changes that occurred in the summer of 1940, as well as on the constant secularising pressures exerted by the Romanian authorities. The situation of the professors who teach religion, the specific activities (teaching, inspections), the religion textbooks and the attempts to restrict the teaching of religion in schools represent the main points of interest in his research. The third study, written by Pantilimon Popovici, completes the previous approach in a fortunate manner, providing information about religion teaching and learning in the eight-grade middle school from Războieni-Cetate during the interwar period. It is worth noting that the research is largely grounded on the archive of that educational institution, which gives it a monographic character, but also highlights it as an example for other similar initiatives. Starting from the general framework of school legislation, the author insists on several aspects that are essential for understanding the role and place of Romanian religious education between the two World Wars: the situation of the national and confessional minorities, the models of good educational practices and school activities with a religious character - the beginning of the school year, the holiday celebrations, the presence of the Paraklesis, etc. The conclusions of the research stress the need for a return to the past in order to understand the present status of this school subject and to find solutions that may be adapted to the current socio-political context.

The fourth section of the volume brings together five didactic investigations in the field of religion teaching-learning. The topics touch on: the use of the Biblical text (Dorin Opreș); assessment in the subject of religion - between tradition and modernity (Monica Opreș); the School-Church partnership for the deterrence of violent crimes (Olivia Andrei); the role of religious and moral activities in the relations between students (Ana Usca) and in the evolution of preteen personality (Lavinia Ștefănuț). The practical character of the texts - all based on case studies - renders them not only as action-researches, but also as models for the professors and priests actively involved in the pedagogical process.

A final section is devoted to family and youth values in contemporary society. The theological and educational implications of the family problematics are the object of the study signed by Gavril Trifa. Based on a questionnaire administered to the students in Orthodox Theology from Timișoara, the author underlines the trend whereby family sentiment is undergoing a diminishing process even among the theological university milieus - a conclusion that reinforces the idea that reconsidering the place of the family in society must become a priority for the Church too. Another questionnaire, this time administered to the parents, leads Ana Fântână to the conclusion that the effects of the gap emerging between parents and children, as well the role of lesser importance that the former reserve / assume in education, are real problems: to overcome them, the School and the Church must act in a convergent manner. The third questionnaire, presented by Sorin Schiau, focuses on identifying the moral values of the students from the "Horia, Cloșca și Crișan" National College in Alba Iulia.

Benefiting from interesting and valuable research contributions and from a coherent structure that denotes the coordinators' synthesising effort, the volume *Religia și școala. Cercetări pedagogice, studii, analize* represents a work that deserves to be read by academics and educators, by the historians of the Church and, last but not least, by policy makers in the field of education. The latter will find in its pages viable models and constructive suggestions - the elements that Romanian education needs so avidly in these times of searches and experimentation.

Vlad POPOVICI

Dumitru Suci, *Soldați fără uniformă și starea protopopiatelor ortodoxe din Transilvania după Războiul Național din 1848-1849* [*Soldiers without Uniform and the State of the Orthodox Protopresbyterates in Transylvania after the National War of 1848-1849*], Cluj-Napoca, Editura Argonaut, 2011, 313 p.

The events of the years 1848-1849 in Transylvania and Hungary represent one of the topics to which the Romanian historiography has paid substantial attention. This is attested by the large number of works dedicated to them, as well as by the diversity of the historiographical species involved: memoirs, collections of documents, biographies, monographs, programmatic analyses, etc. The historical importance of the moment, its role as a landmark in the genesis of national identity and in the evolution of the Romanians' political programs in the Habsburg Monarchy have undoubtedly contributed to the interest manifested by the historians. The extreme violence of the armed confrontations and, especially, of the reprisals against civilians engendered a further attraction. On one hand, the phenomenon of violence has, at all times, fascinated both those who write and those who read history: without acts of aggression, we would not have the archetypes of victims, heroes or saviours. On the other hand, being accompanied, in this case, by strong ethnic polarisation, violence was - from very early on - elevated to the rank of an argument in the socio-political Romanian-Hungarian polemics.

It is to this long historiographical tradition that the most recent book written by the historian D. Suci belongs, even though his approach differs from those of his predecessors in several fundamental respects. This work - which contains the Orthodox ecclesiastical reports on the human and material losses during the years 1848-1849 - represents the continuation of a volume of documents that has been awaited for much too long in the autochthonous historiographical space.¹ The completion that will be provided by the publication of the similar Greek-Catholic reports will give a precise overview of these losses in the Romanian communities and will pave the way for much more in-depth analyses.

The fundamental thesis the author advances (also expressed in the introductory study of the volume of documents) is the need to reconsider the terminology of the 1848-1849 "revolution" for the particular case of the Romanians from the Great Principality. D. Suci starts from the observation that between March-September 1848, following the revolutionary events in the capital of the Empire, the dualist formula at work here was designed to counteract the rise of the nationalities and to ensure internal stability and unity.² However, the rift between Budapest and Vienna led to a redistribution of the political roles and the beginning of a period that D. Suci calls the stage of "national wars" (p. 16). Whether as allies or as enemies of the Viennese Court, the peoples of the Monarchy engaged in these conflicts hoping to achieve some national goals, their primary target being that of obtaining political autonomy. From the perspective of the author, insofar as the Romanians are concerned, the events and the semantics of this period can hardly be classified under the idea of a "revolution." As a result, D. Suci accepts the existence of two revolutions - the Austrian and the Hungarian revolutions - but rejects the

¹ *Revoluția transilvană de la 1848-1849. Date, realități și fapte reflectate în documente bisericești ortodoxe*, edited by Dumitru Suci (coordinator), Alexandru Moraru, Iosif Marin Balog, Diana Covaci, Cosmin Cosmuța, and Lorand Madly, Bucharest, Editura Asab, 2011, 588 p.

² The idea is not new; it was expressed by the historian from Cluj in his previous works, which successfully argued that the origins of the *Ausgleich* must be sought in the relations between the Habsburgs, the Hungarian aristocracy and the other nations of the Empire starting from the eighteenth century on. Dumitru Suci, *Antecedentele dualismului austro-ungar și lupta națională a românilor din Transilvania 1848-1867*, Bucharest, Editura Albatros, 2000, p. 5-96.

association between the Romanian actions and this term, advocating the use of the concept of "national war" (pp. 228-229).

To support this idea, he resorts to a selection of the material offered in the volume of documents. One by one, all the protopresbyteriates about which information has been preserved are analysed, emphasising the role of the Romanian population in the military actions or in the resistance against the Hungarian independentist army. The Romanian territories outside historical Transylvania are referred to first, because here, more frequently than elsewhere, ethnicity was not always identical with ideological affiliation - important representatives of the Romanian elite adopted and promoted the cause of the Hungarian "war of independence," and a large number of Romanian soldiers were recruited in the revolutionary army units. However, alongside these, D. Suciuc presents the examples of the priests and the peasants who resisted conscription or even supported with information the armed resistance from the Apuseni Mountains. The documents indicate only the names of those sentenced to death, imprisonment or corporal punishment, but suggest, beyond the shadow of a doubt, the existence of a strong counter-current among the Romanians outside the Grand Principality. Its foundations must be sought both in the nationalist consciousness that reacted against the Hungarian "revolutionary" otherness and the Romanians' philo-dynasticism.

Continuing his analysis with the territory of Transylvania, the author presents successively, following the structure of the protopresbyteriates, the data referring to the Orthodox Romanians killed in battles against the Hungarian army, or executed as a result of their participation in military actions. D. Suciuc insists from the start on the impossibility of making accurate quantitative assessments, the reason being the incomplete nature of the sources and the lack of uniformity in the data they contain. Even so, there are also arguments for the inclusion of those mentioned in what might be called a Romanian *Landsturm*: mentioning the units, the leaders of the regular army who took over the command of the Romanian troops conscripted at a regional or local level, of military ranks associated with the dead. Of course, the organisation of the Romanians into legions, the existence of a military hierarchy and the history of armed clashes with the Hungarians have been well-known in the historiography of the subject, but no work has reached the level and extent of the details provided in D. Suciuc's book so far. Through it, the historical information on the Romanian military actions from the years 1848-1849 descends from the level of the units and the heroes to that of the ordinary soldiers, bringing both the victims and the survivors out of anonymity.

Also worth highlighting is the balance of the narrative and the historical perspective, which takes distance, to the extent that the subject allows it, from any accusatory statements. D. Suciuc emphasises that although he presents only the Romanian perspective, atrocities were committed on both sides (thus, he describes cases in which Hungarians were the victims). He insists on the different versions of quantitative estimates regarding human losses, without, however, becoming associated with any of them. He also mentions the existence of local non-aggression pacts that ensured the life and wealth of several mixed communities (pp. 23-24). From a methodological standpoint, the author suggests that the research could be furthered through the prosopographic method (although he does not explicitly mention it), which would result in obtaining extremely valuable statistical data for future approaches. The possible extensions to the field of historical demography and economic history are also mentioned (p. 133). He does not forget to develop a critique of the documentary sources, emphasising their shortcomings (not mentioning the dead without descendants nominally, the impossibility of remarried widows to prove their husbands' death), the inequality of the information, but also the "extreme" information contained therein (the presence of very old peasant-soldiers, some over 70 years of age).

The fiercest criticism to which the last part of the work is devoted focuses on the use of the term “revolution.” The author points out that the Romanians and the Slavs fought against the Hungarian revolution, even though the social, civic, cultural and spiritual freedoms they demanded were identical. What essentially divided them, determining them to join the imperial troops, was the *essential and fundamental national problem* (p. 234), namely the belief that without it, the premises of any freedoms were flawed. For this reason, D. Suciuc does not uphold the idea of a “counterrevolution” either, opting for that of the “national war” and supporting his choice through the necessity of explicitly expressing the character and the nature of the violent phenomena, spurred by the desire of political freedom based on national criteria. Given the fact that the representatives of several nations took part in the events, each with their own political agenda, the need to avoid the term “revolution” is further substantiated (pp. 233-238). The final argument brought by the author concerns the definition that those who experienced the events provided. Analysing the historical and memorialist discourse, D. Suciuc notes, in line with the studies signed by N. Bocșan, that the nineteenth-century Transylvanian Romanians did not talk about themselves as participants in the “revolution,” and when the term appeared in the documents, it was explicitly associated with the Hungarians: the *Hungarians’ revolution*, the *Hungarian insurgents*, etc.

The debate, in our view, remains open. The work of the historian from Cluj is an important step towards re-thinking the historical moments to which the historiographical context has attached simplistic labels, in accordance with the ideological requirements and the depth of analyses in one period or another. The first arguments towards eliminating the term “revolution” have been exhibited; it remains to be seen whether the research on similar Greek-Catholic documents will confirm or refute this view. In the second stage, the entire argumentative scaffolding will have to be gathered in a work whose explicit purpose will be to identify the most appropriate choice of terminology regarding the involvement of the Romanians from the Habsburg Empire in the events of 1848-1849. The comparisons with the state of the problem in the Serbian, Croatian, Slovak and Hungarian historiography, as well as with the level of international knowledge of this theme will be vital. Of equally great importance will be the reference to theoretical research on the history of revolutions.³ Only such an effort can cast, on the intellectual market, a product that will be strong enough in order to shatter entire decades of terminological immobilism, perpetuated both in research and in education.

In parallel, beyond the major historiographical stakes involved, the project launched by D. Suciuc and the team he leads is likely to turn into long-lasting undertakings, with significant results for several research areas. Compiling a prosopographic dictionary of the victims of the revolution is a project advanced by the author and it would be an extremely useful tool - especially to the extent that it might transgress ethnic boundaries. Studies on the amplitude of the demographic effects triggered by the revolution will certainly develop around the volumes of published documents. Research on economic and social history will also find useful information in the sources mentioned. Last but not least, the historians of mentalities might feel inclined to approach these volumes, especially since they are related to their predilect subjects, such as the revolutionary mentalities or the sentiment of insecurity.

In conclusion, D. Suciuc’s study and the volume of published documents it starts from represent two welcome historiographical works. The nature and quantity of the information

³ For a theoretical analysis of the applicability to which the concept of revolution lends itself, see Ela Cosma, “Trei națiuni, trei revoluții în Transilvania la 1848,” in *Călător prin istorie. Omagiu profesorului Liviu Maior la împlinirea vârstei de 70 de ani*, edited by Ioan-Aurel Pop, Ioan Bolovan, Cluj-Napoca, Academia Română, Centrul de Studii Transilvane, 2010, p. 215 sqq.

provided, the absolutely necessary semantic problematisation and the lines of further investigation opened thereby grant this study a prominent place in the historiography of the subject. Finally, both *Soldați fără uniformă* and the volume of documents it is based on demonstrate the enormous potential that documents - as primary historical sources - continue to have and the need to resort to archival sources for a correct understanding and interpretation of historical events.

Vlad POPOVICI

Veaceslav, CIORBĂ, *Biserica Ortodoxă din Basarabia și Transnistria (1940-2010)* [*The Orthodox Church in Bessarabia and Transnistria (1940-2010)*], Chișinău, Ed. Pontos, 2011, 460 p.

The work elaborated by Fr. Veaceslav Ciorbă, with a preface signed by Fr. Acad. Mircea Păcurariu, represents the revised and enlarged version of a doctoral thesis entitled *Istoria vieții bisericești din stânga Prutului, din 1940 până în zilele noastre* [*The History of Ecclesiastical Life Left of the Prut River, from 1940 until Today*], which was publicly defended at the Faculty of Theology from "Lucian Blaga" University in Sibiu in 2007.

The book published now provides a monographic overview of the Orthodox Church left of the Prut, focusing on a period that has so far been (more or less) obscure to the researchers.

The volume begins with a timely review of both the Romanian and the Soviet/ Russian historiography of the problem (pp.14-30), summarising then the main periods in the history of ecclesiastical life in Bessarabia and left of the Dniester prior to 1812 (pp. 31-34), from 1812 to 1918 (pp. 34-56) and between 1918-1940 (pp. 53-73). Ecclesiastical life in Transnistria around the year 1941 is briefly depicted (pp. 73-75), emphasising the destruction of 235 churches from this area and the existence of a single serving priest in Odessa (in 1941).

Church life in the Moldavian Soviet Socialist Republic, newly established within boundaries set by Moscow, and the terrible persecution launched in July 1940 are suggestively illustrated between pages 76 and 106, the interpretive approach also focusing on the amputated territories of Bessarabia which were included in the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic.

It is entirely natural that the liberation of Bessarabia and Northern Bukovina, as well as the conquest of Transnistria in 1941 led to the enthusiasm of the local population, to the re-establishment of ecclesiastical life, important chapters being dedicated here to the restoration of the Orthodox Church in Bessarabia and the role of the Romanian Orthodox Mission in Transnistria (1941-1944) (pp. 107-122, 123-132). The author's attention remains focused not only on the clergy (bishops and priests), but also on the religious press, theological education and the inherent works of charity.

The reinstallation of the Soviet occupation resulted in the resumption of not only religious, but also ethnic persecution, the Church going thus through an unimaginable ordeal.

Important sections address the policy adopted by the Soviet authorities towards the Orthodox Church in the Moldavian Soviet Socialist Republic (pp. 133-172), the attitude of the (Russian speaking) hierarchs and their concrete activity (pp. 172-192), the situation of the clergy (pp. 193-212), the state of monastic life (pp. 213-242), special attention being also given to the mode of operation of the KGB officials, of those entrusted with the supervision of the cults, as well as of the various types of atheistic propaganda.

The chapter dedicated to the restoration of church life after 1989 offers significant references up until the year 2010 (pp. 243-266), highlighting, thus, the re-launching of the

Metropolitan See of Chişinău and All Moldova (the Russian Patriarchate), the reactivation in 1992 of the Metropolitan See of Bessarabia (the Romanian Patriarchate), the restructuring of the dioceses, the campaigns for the canonical and juridical recognition of the new units, and the social involvement of the Church, etc.

The monograph also includes conclusions (pp. 267-272), a summary in French, a documentary appendix (58 annexes, comprising a memorial fragment, four statistical tables and 53 documents) (pp. 321-436) and an onomastic/ toponymical index (pp. 437-460).

The materials consulted in writing this volume included civil documents preserved in the National Archives of the Republic of Moldova, in the archive of the Moldovan Social Political Organisations and others, as well as documents of ecclesiastical origin, found in the Archive of the Metropolitan See of Chişinău and All Moldova.

Given the wealth of information and its systematisation, the neat and concise rhetoric, the author's exegesis represents a thorough examination of the history of the Orthodox Church left of the Prut, harmoniously integrating itself in the series of treatises addressing the more distant or the more recent history of the Romanian Orthodox Church.

We may, however, outline a few suggestions, with a view to a future edition or the continuation of this thematic and chronological undertaking.

It would be interesting if Fr. Veaceslav Ciorbă explored the literary reflections of the church life in Bessarabia, as well as the persecutions suffered by the Romanian or foreign authors residing now in the West.

Sergiu Grossu (1920, Cubolta - 2009, Bucharest) was a tribune of the Persecuted Church in the communist world: a journalist, a political prisoner, and a confessor of the faith, he was exiled in 1969, and through his numerous works and the periodical *Catacombes* (Paris-Courbevois, 1971-1992), he drew the attention of the civilised world to the plight of the multi-confessional church life across the USSR. He remained one of the leading publicists of *samizdats* coming from the homeland of the successors of Lenin, Stalin, Khrushchev and so on, and Bessarabia was also included in this sense.

An analysis of the Churches from the Soviet and East European space was also undertaken in the journal *Religion in Communist Lands* (1973-1994), edited by Keston College (the U.K.), Alan Scarfe and Michael Bourdeaux featuring among the outstanding researchers of ecclesiastical life from this part of the world.

One should also not ignore the works of the theologian and ecclesiastical historian Vladimir Moss, who wrote several Orthodox theological analyses targeting the various stages in the history of the Russian Orthodox Church, as well as encyclopaedias on the new martyrs in Russia.⁴

The volume we are specifically interested in is entitled *The Holy New Martyrs of Southern Russia, the Ukraine, Moldavia and the Caucasus*, which also came out in cyberspace,⁵ emphasising the martyrdom of: Bishop Dionisie Paul I. Sosnowsky (1859, Tambov - 1918, Vyatka), Bishop of Ismail, assassinated through terrible tortures (severed into pieces, see pp. 23-24); Archbishop Procopie Piotr Semionovici Titov (1877, Kuznetk - 1932 Turtkul), Archbishop of Odessa and Kherson, deported and shot; Archbishop Partenie Petru Arsenievici Brianskih (1881, Irkutsk - 1937, Arkhangelsk), Archbishop of Ananiev, suffering an identical martyrdom;

⁴ The first volume of Vladimir Moss's important hagiographic encyclopaedia *The Russian Golgotha: The Holy new Martyrs and Confessors of Russia* came out in 2007, at Monastery Press, Wildwood, Alberta, Canada, being followed by four more. They are accessible on: www.orthodoxchristianbooks.com

⁵ This may be consulted on the site: www.orthodoxchristianbooks.com/downloads/313_THE_HOLY_NEW_MARTYRS_OF_SOUTHERN_RUSSIA.pdf

Confessor Bishop Gabriel Cepura, Bishop of Cetatea Albă/ Akkermann since 1911, repeatedly deported, but still active in 1971 (pp.121-146, 254-271, 282-283); or the group organised around the archpriest martyr Dr. Leonid Krotkov (shot to death in Tiraspol in 1933), imprisoned in 1929/1930 in Tiraspol (pp. 560-574).

These hierarchs, priests, or simple believers, martyrs and confessors rejected both affiliations with the "Living Church" or the schismatic submission sanctioned by the Bolsheviks and obedience to the statement made by the patriarchal *locum tenens* Sergius Stragorodsky (1927), whereby one part of the Russian Church conceded to subordination to and cooperation with the Soviets (the Sergianist heresy). Moreover, they all were directly involved in clandestine pastorate and in the Catacomb Church. It would be interesting to see if, after 1944, the Romanian clergy from Bessarabia kept in touch with the Catacomb Church in Russia.⁶

It would also be desirable for a file of canonicity to be compiled for both metropolitan sees, starting with the Eparchy of Chişinău, which was established in 1813; both the Russian and the Romanian Patriarchates have partisan positions here, with more or less justified arguments and counterarguments.

One fact, however, should be noted: although the Russian Orthodox Church, with its clear imperial and expansive vocation, suffered a hecatomb during the communist regime, it canonised its new martyrs (both through its diaspora branch, in 1981, and through the Moscow Patriarchate, in 2000): more than 2,000 confessors and martyrs killed by the communist plague were officially raised to the dignity of the altars.⁷ Such action has been expected from the Romanian Patriarchate for an unjustifiably long time.

P. MIRCEA BIRTZ

⁶ An overview of the Catacomb Russian Orthodox Church and of its relations with the official Church was carried out by the dissident Lev Regel'son in *Tragedia Russkoi Tserkvi 1917-1945*, Paris, YMCA Press, 1977, a book that has been translated into several languages of international circulation.

⁷ The Romanian readers may find information on the tragedy of the Russian Orthodox Church in the following works: P. Polski Mihail, *Noii Martiri ai Pământului Rus*, 2 vol., I/Schitul Românesc Prodromu, Sf. Munte Athos, 2002, II/Idem, re-edited as *Noii Martiri ai Rusiei*, s.l., Ed. Areopag, 2012; Orlovski, Damaschin, *Noii mărturisitori ai Rusiei*, Bucharest, Ed. Sofia, 2002; Idem, *Rusia Pătimitoare - Martiri ai Secolului XX*, Galați, Ed. Egumenita Cartea Ortodoxă, 2005.

NECROLOG



GHEORGHE BODEA
1939 – 2012

GHEORGHE BODEA

1939 – 2012

Istoricul Gheorghe Bodea s-a născut la 17 iulie 1939 în Someșeni – Cluj, părinții săi numindu-se Ana și Ioan.

A absolvit în 1961 cursurile Facultății de Istorie și Filozofie din cadrul Universității Babeș-Bolyai din Cluj-Napoca, iar în 1978 obține titlul de doctor în istorie al Universității București. De-a lungul timpului și-a desfășurat activitatea, cu acribie și profesionalism, într-o serie de instituții precum Institutul de pe lângă CC al PCR, Intreprinderea Cinematografică, Societatea Română de Radiodifuziune – Studioul Teritorial de Radio Cluj și Muzeul Național de Istorie a Transilvaniei. Toată această muncă s-a tradus prin intermediul celor peste 80 de volume și studii științifice publicate în reviste de specialitate.

După o lungă și demnă suferință s-a stins din viață în 18 aprilie 2012 la Budapesta.

Colegii din cadrul Muzeului Național de Istorie a Transilvaniei regretă dispariția sa, resimt golul imens lăsat în urmă de Prietenul Gheorghe Bodea și-i vor păstra vie amintirea.

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